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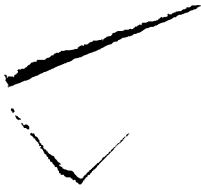
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LIDA PARCE.

Economic Determinism, or the Economic Interpretation of History, is one of the fundamental principles of Socialism. No one can talk or write on Socialism intelligently without a clear understanding of the principle, and unfortunately all the standard works on the subject thus far published have been rather difficult reading. We are therefore particularly glad to announce for publication July 10th a new book by Comrade Lida Parce with the above title, which is admirably adapted to the use of beginners. Her work is a condensed industrial history of the world, showing in detail how progress in methods of producing food has brought social progress, and how the enslavement of workers, and especially of women workers, has destroyed the civilizations of the past. Mrs. Parce is a woman of rare scholarship and of unusual ability as a writer, and she has accomplished a work of immense importance in this book. It contains a wealth of information, attractively arranged, which will be new to many old-time Socialists, and at the same time she has presented her facts and arguments in a way that will attract

rather than repel the reader who is wholly unfamiliar with Socialism. We are printing the book on paper of extra quality, in large type, and the binding will be in library style, dark blue cloth with gold stamping, uniform with the works of Gustavus Myers. The price, postage included, will be **one dollar**, and we trust that several hundred readers of this paragraph will remit the price of a copy **at once**, thus making sure of one of the first copies printed.

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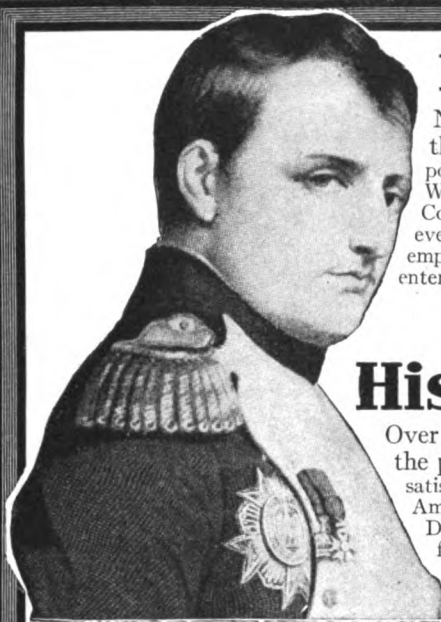
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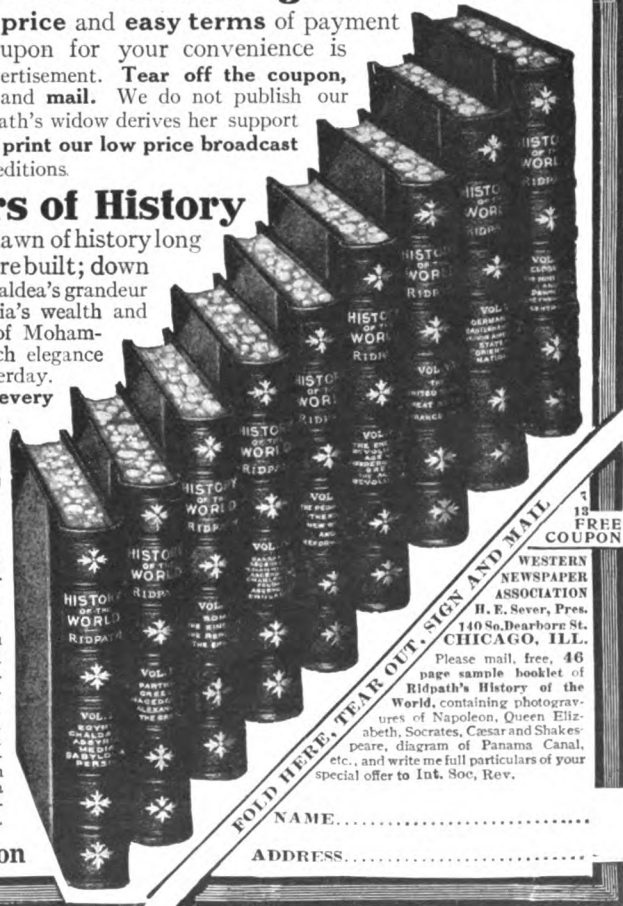
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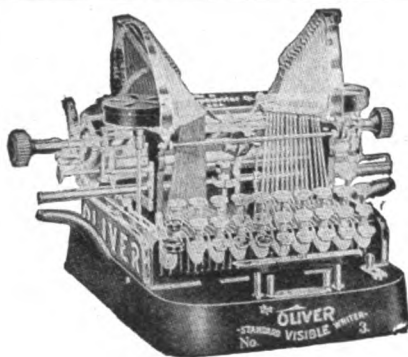
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CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.
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SCENE FROM PATERSON STRIKE PAGEANT—PICKETING THE MILLS—MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

JULY, 1913

No. 1

The World's Greatest Labor Play

The Paterson Strike Pageant

By Phillips Russell

JUNE 7, 1913, was a red letter day in New York. Literally, too. For when dusk fell on Madison Square, high up on the tower of Madison Square Garden, shone the giant letters "I. W. W.," glowing red in the sky and sending scarlet beams through the smoke that drifts incessantly across the face of Manhattan Island.

It was the first time that those significant letters have ever been given so conspicuous a place. Their mission was to announce something new under the sun, a labor play in which laborers themselves were the actors, managers and sole proprietors, portraying by word and movement their own struggle for a better world.

Imagine a great auditorium, the largest in New York, filled with one of the hughest audiences that ever gathered in the metropolis, gazing on the largest amateur production ever staged, with the biggest cast—1,029 members—that ever took part in a play, enacting a life-drama calculated to raise to the highest pitch the most powerful human emotions—and one gets a faint idea of the event in Madison Square Garden on the evening of June 7.

In order to give the reader a mental picture of what happened that night on the stage—which alone cost \$600 to build—it might be well to outline the six episodes composing the pageant as given in the official program, which itself made a good propaganda pamphlet of 32 pages with a lithographed cover:

Scene: Paterson, N. J. Time: A. D. 1913.

The Pageant represents a battle between the working class and the capitalist class conducted by the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), making use of the general strike as the chief weapon. It is a conflict between two social forces—the force of labor and the force of capital.

While the workers are clubbed and shot by detectives and policemen, the mills remain dead. While the workers are sent to jail by hundreds, the mills remain dead. While organizers are persecuted, the strike continues, and still the mills are dead. While the pulpit thunders denunciation and the press screams lies, the mills remain dead. No violence can make the mills alive—no legal process can resurrect them from the dead. Bayonets and clubs, injunctions and court orders are equally futile.

Only the return of the workers to the mills can give the dead things life. The mills remain dead throughout the enactment of the following episodes.

EPISODE ONE.

1. The Mills Alive—The Workers Dead.

2. The Workers Begin to Think.

Six o'clock on a February morning. The mill windows all aglow. The mill whistle sounds the signal to begin work. Men and women, old and young, come to work in the bitter cold of the dawn. The sound of looms. The beginning of the great silk strike. The striking workers sing the Marseillaise, the entire audience being invited to join in the song of revolt.

EPISODE TWO.

The Mills Dead—The Workers Alive.

Mass picketing. Every worker alert. The police interfere with peaceful picketing and treat the strikers with great brutality. The workers are provoked to anger. Fights between police and strikers ensue. Many strikers are clubbed and arrested. Shots are fired by detectives hired by the manufacturers, and Valentino Modestino, who was not a striker or

a silk mill worker, is hit by a bullet and killed as he stands on the porch of his house with one of his children in his arms.

EPISODE THREE.

The Funeral of Modestino.

The coffin containing the body of Modestino is followed by the strikers in funeral procession to the strains of the Dead March. The strikers passing drop red carnations and ribbons upon the coffin until it is buried beneath the crimson symbol of the workers' blood.

EPISODE FOUR.

Mass Meeting at Haledon.

Great mass meeting of 20,000 strikers. I. W. W. organizers speak. Songs by the strike composers are sung by the strikers. They also sing the International, the Marseillaise and the Red Flag, in which the audience is invited to join.

EPISODE FIVE.

1. May Day.

2. Sending Away the Children.

The May Day Parade. The workers of Paterson, with bands playing, flags flying, and women and children dressed in red, celebrate the international revolutionary labor day.

The strikers give their children to the "strike mothers" from other cities. The strike mothers receive them to be cared for during the war in the silk industry. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn speaks to the strikers and the children, dwelling upon the solidarity of labor shown in this vividly human episode, and is followed by William D. Haywood.

EPISODE SIX.

Strike Meeting in Turn Hall.

The strikers, men and women, legislate for themselves. They pass a law for the eight-hour day. No court can declare the law thus made unconstitutional. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca and William D. Haywood make typical strike speeches.

The New York *Press* the next day said:

"The Garden has held many shows and many audiences, from Dowie to Taft to Buffalo Bill, but it is doubtful if there ever was such an assemblage either as an audience or as a show as was gathered under the huge rafters last night. In fact, it was a mixed grouping that at times they converged and actor became auditor and auditor turned suddenly into actor. When more than 10,000 sang and shouted within, 5,000 outside clamored for admittance and were willing to pay double the prices to get in."

The New York *Evening World* said:

"Fifteen thousand specators applauded with shouts and tears the great Paterson Strike Pageant at Madison Square Garden. The big mill aglow with light in the dark hours of early winter morning, the shrieking whistles, the din of machinery—dying away to give place to the Marseillaise sung by a surging crowd of 1,200 operatives, the fierce battle with the police, the sombre funeral of the victim, the impassioned speech of the agitator, the sending away of the children, the great meeting of desperate hollow-eyed strikers—these scenes

unrolled with a poignant realism that no man who saw them will ever forget."

No spectacle enacted in New York has ever made such an impression. Not the most sanguine member of the committee which made the preparations for the pageant believed that its success would be quite so overwhelming. It is still the talk of New York, most cynical and hardened of cities, and will remain so for many days.

There were times when the committee were assailed with oppressive doubts. When one sat down and thought it over in cold blood, the idea of arranging for and carrying through such a thing in two weeks' time seemed almost grotesque. Outside of the mechanical difficulties involved, the multitudinous details to be attended to, the advance outlay of money that would be necessary seemed to present an insuperable obstacle. There was the single item of \$1,000 to be put down for the rental of one night, the \$750 needed for scenery, the huge sum for advertising, all to be provided.

After plunging in with enthusiasm for the first few days, a bad reaction seized the promoters. They called a meeting in which the most gloomy forebodings were indulged in. There were disturbing reports of the small advance sale of tickets and there were serious proposals to give the whole thing up.

It was the workers themselves who stepped into the breach. Delegates from the New York silk strikers, whose cause has almost been lost sight of in the more spectacular struggle of Paterson, arose indignantly.

"What?" they cried. "Give this thing up after our people have set their hearts upon it? Never! Is it money you need? Leave it to us—we'll raise that! We are poor. We are on strike. But a lot of us still have a few dollars left in the savings bank that we've been putting by through many years. We'll get it out and lump it together. We will go to our business men and say: 'Here, we've been trading with you a long time. We have helped to make your profits. Now you help us or we won't trade with you any more.' Never mind. You leave it to us—we will raise the money."

And they did. Other generous people, more richly upholstered with ready cash,

also came forward with contributions and in four days there was ample money with which to cover all deposits.

And it was found that the result was worth all the toil and trouble involved. The lives of most of us are sordid and grey. So tightly are we tied to the petty round of toil to which our galley-masters bind us, that most of us probably are born, live and die without experiencing one deep-springing, surging, devastating emotion. We are either afraid to feel or we have lost the capacity.

The Paterson pageant will be remembered for the sweeping emotions it shot through the atmosphere if for no other reason. Waves of almost painful emotion swept over that great audience as the summer wind converts a placid field of wheat into billowing waves. It was all real, living, and vital to them. There were veterans of many an industrial battle in that audience, though the cheeks of many still held the pink of youth.

Who could sit quietly in his seat when that mill, wonderfully portrayed on canvas in the first scene, suddenly ceased its grinding whirr and shot from its belly that mass of eddying, struggling human beings loudly chorusing their exultant war songs as they proclaimed themselves or strike? Stage managers annually spend months of toil on a "mob scene" that the Paterson strikers outclassed with a single rehearsal. As a spectacle it was perfect. Nowhere was there a suggestion of "acting," of going through "a part." The people on the stage had long ago forgotten the audience. The audience had long ago forgotten itself. It had become a part of the scene. All simply lived their battles over again.

Then in strong contrast came the death and burial of Modestino, killed by a detective's bullet. There was no attempt at theatrical effect here. It was conducted with the utmost simplicity. And the Garden knew it. It held its breadth in utter silence for throbbing minutes,

while Modestino's widow, seated in a box nearby, buried her head in her hands.

There followed the reproduction of a Haledon open-air meeting, with its magic singing by the Germans and Italians. There was a chorus leader who sang in a clear, musical voice that reached the uttermost parts of the Garden, and how his people did respond to him with their lyric replies! Again and again the audience demanded repetitions of these strange, wonderfully musical chants, composed and sung by the strikers themselves. The words, meaningless without the voices, went as follows:

Now friends and fellow workers;
this strike we shall win!

(Chorus: this strike we shall win,
this strike we shall win!

Let us all join in the chorus:

Hurrah for Miss Flynn!

(Chorus): Hurrah for Miss Flynn.
hurrah for Miss Flynn!

Italian, French and German,
Hungarian, Jew and Polish;
We'll make all together
one nationality.

Llallara', llallara', llallara', lla',
(coro) llallara', llallara', llallara', lla'.

Stu sciopero fa conoscere
ca nuie nce mantenimmo
uniti e cumpattimmo
cu forza e abilita'

E llilliri' llilliri' lli'
e ellilliri' llilliri' lla'

Vivi Tresca Haywood e Flynn,
notte e ghiuorno 'imm'allucca',
(coro) repeat:

Another vivid contrast came in the sending away of the children, with Gurlley Flynn holding children, mothers on the stage and audience alike hanging on her words as if the scene was real.

The pageant was the suggestion of William D. Haywood. The scenes were arranged and staged by Ernest Poole and Thompson Buchanan, playwrights both. The difficult work of rehearsal was done by Jack Reed, the young magazine writer, who got 20 days in Paterson jail because a policeman objected to the set of his ears. The people who deserve credit for putting the pageant through are without number.



COMRADE SCOTT.

The Conviction of Alexander Scott

A STATES Prison sentence of not more than fifteen years nor less than one year, with a fine of \$250, was imposed, June 6th, on Alexander Scott, editor of the *Weekly Issue*, official organ of the Socialist party of Passaic County, who was convicted on June 3rd on a charge of "aiding and abetting hostilities to the government of the City of Paterson," by Judge Klenert in the Court of Quarter Sessions.

No sooner was sentence announced when Henry Carless, a Socialist attorney of Newark, and Henry Marelli, both of whom defended Scott, filed notice that a writ of error had been applied for, a copy of which notice was presented to the judge. Bail of \$3,000 was fixed and Scott was later released when Samuel Ginsburg, of Passaic, furnished the bond.

Scott was found guilty and sentenced under a law placed on the statute books in 1902 shortly after the assassination of President McKinley, but never before invoked in the State of New Jersey. Scott's indictment was caused by the publication of editorials and pictures in the *Issue* in which the police, especially Chief Bimson, was characterized as the "boss anarchist" and the "boss strike-breaker."

Scott's conviction practically makes it a crime for any paper to criticize public officials, and makes the constitutional guarantee of free press a dead letter. In the prosecution of the case the state contended that the police were a part of the city government and that ridiculing the police was ridiculing the government.

"If we can't criticize a policeman for his brutality, we might as well give up publication of newspapers in this country," remarked a prominent newspaper man who was a visitor in court when sentence was imposed on Scott. He was highly indignant over the sentence, and said he would start a nation-wide movement to have the Scott verdict reversed.

That the authorities of Paterson have made up their minds to suppress the *Issue* was evidenced by the fact that they forced the sentence of Scott as soon as he was convicted. Though Patrick L. Quinlan, the silk strike leader, was convicted several weeks ago, the authorities made no move to sentence him, but they hurried the sentence of Scott.

While Scott's case was rushed through, the authorities have made no move to prosecute the policemen who stole an edition of the *Issue* by breaking in the So-

cialist party headquarters and taking possession of 5,000 copies of the paper. The policemen are now out on \$200 bail each, while Scott's bail is fixed at \$3,000.—*N. Y. Call*.

While the lawyers were arguing over technicalities, Scott, unconcerned, was busily engaged noting the proceedings in a notebook. "I am in the fight to win, and I am confident of exoneration in the higher courts," said Scott. "They cannot suppress the *Issue*."

But the Socialists and Industrial unionists do not propose that Scott should serve one month in prison if they can help it. The S. P. of New Jersey, will appeal to the National Socialist Party to take up the Scott case and make a nation-wide fight in his behalf.

Solidarity, the I. W. W. organ has issued a call for protest meetings. "Scott has stood by the I. W. W. and the I. W. W. must stand by him," writes Justus Ebert.

Rarely is it permitted the Socialist party to feel as justly proud of the work of one of its newspaper editors as we have long felt of Comrade Scott. Day by day, week by week, when all the press was denying the Paterson strikers a hearing and when the strikers were unable to present their side of the fight, Comrade Scott stood valiantly by them, exposing the plots and counter-plots of the police to start trouble and throwing the light of publicity upon all the dark methods of the mill owners.

The capitalists in Paterson are fully aware of the great service the *Passaic Weekly Issue* rendered the strikers and it is to teach Socialist and labor editors that they cannot aid the working class in its labor struggles, with impunity, that they have fought so hard to convict Scott.

Contributions for the defense fund may be sent to this office or to W. B. Killingbeck, State Secretary, S. P., address 62 Williams street, Orange, New Jersey.

SCOTT'S RINGING DEF.

Guilty or not guilty, prison or no prison, I will continue to exercise my constitutional right of free speech. As long as I live I shall voice my protest, in one way or another, against conditions which I consider to be unjust and unwarranted. I shall always consider it, not only my right, but my duty to criticize brutality and despotism, whether the transgressor be one of Paterson's brass-buttoned ruffians or the President of the United States.

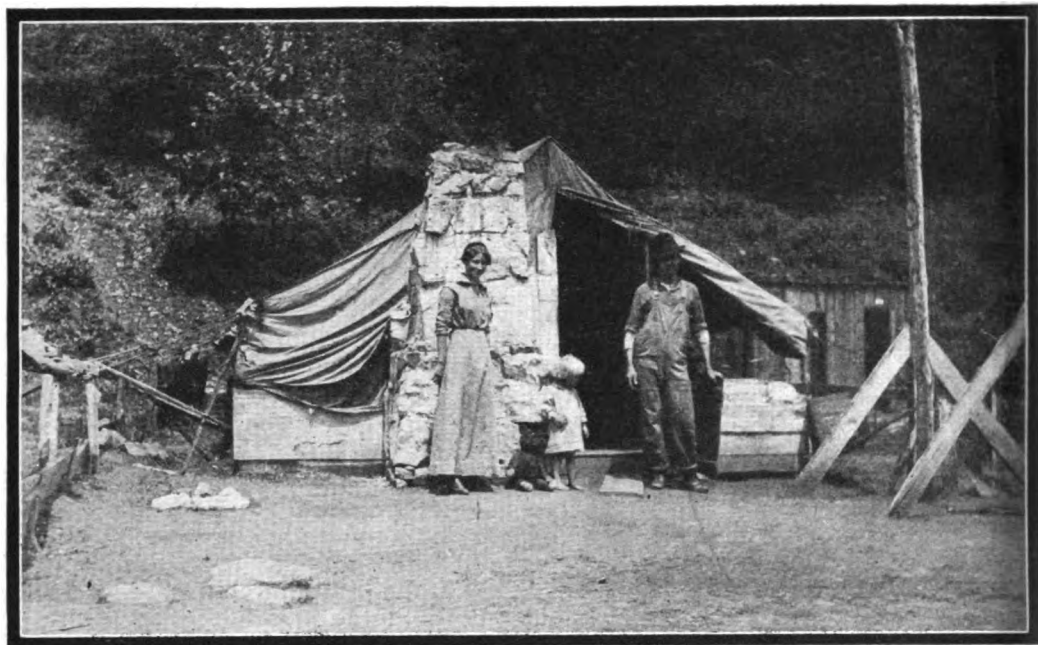
If it is a crime and forbidden by the laws of this country and state to criticize public officials and employes for violating the Constitution then it is high time we changed the law. For with the right of free expression taken from us we are on the high road to an oligarchy, compared to which Russia is an ideal of democracy.

But the Constitution, both state and national, guarantees the right of free press, free speech and free assemblage, and I am still of the opinion that the Constitution is greater than the authorities of Paterson.

It is because the *Weekly Issue* fought with the strikers that its editor is persecuted. The paper has been an inspiration to the strikers. It has nailed the lies of the manufacturers' newspapers, which from the beginning did all in their power to break the strike. It has exposed the lawlessness of the officials and the police, and it will continue to do so. It refuses to be suppressed. It refuses to be muzzled. Its editor is not afraid to go to jail. Better men than he have died in jail.

You may jail men, but you cannot jail an idea.

Let me say with Lloyd Garrison: "I will not retract a single inch and I will be heard."



HOME, SWEET HOME, AT HOLLYGROVE, PAINT CREEK. FOR FOUR SEASONS THE FIGHTING MINERS HAVE LIVED IN THE HILLS.

How a Victory a "Settlement"

BY

W. H. Thompson, Editor



COMRADE

Was Turned Into in West Virginia

Huntington

Socialist and Labor Star

THOMPSON.

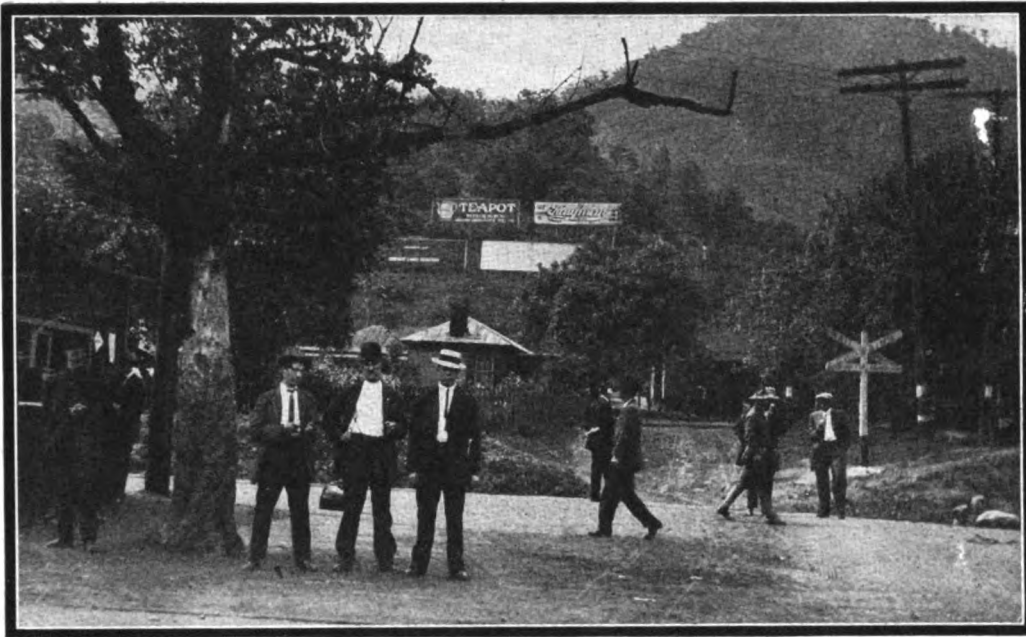
TO those who have been actively engaged in the epochal struggle of the coal miners in this state the present status of affairs is anything but optimistic.

The miners after having put up a fight that won the admiration of the entire working class the country over, have lost their strike and are being driven sullenly back to the Coal Trust's subterranean hells to produce coal for their brutal masters under the same conditions which have prevailed in the West Virginia coal

fields for years, and against which these miners revolted over a year ago.

It is not my intention to give a recapitulation of the stirring events of the Paint Creek strike, but rather a hurried sketch of the manner in which a well earned victory was turned into an empty and meaningless *settlement*, by a combination of forces against which the miners found themselves helpless.

The coal diggers of the Kanawha valley have proven themselves to be as brave and loyal a set of men as ever established



MILITARY HEADQUARTERS AT PRATT. THE FOUR MEN FACING CAMERA WERE MILITARY PRISONERS FOR 101 DAYS. ROME MITCHELL, SOCIALIST CONSTABLE; BRANT SCOTT, SOCIALIST JUSTICE OF THE PEACE; G. F. PARSONS AND A. D. LAVENDER.

a picket line. They have stoically and uncomplainingly borne the barbaric and inhuman treatment to which they were subjected by the Coal Trust and its political creature—the state government. They had by the sheer force of solidarity, and in spite of the weakness of the antiquated tactics taught them by the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, brought the coal barons to their knees. The state government, too, had exhausted its ingenuity and failed to break the strike. There remained but one hope for the masters of the mines. That was to enlist in their behalf the United Mine Workers of America.

When in the course of these remarks I use the expression “U. M. W. of A.,” it is meant to apply, not to the men who actually dig coal, but rather to the official oligarchy known as the National Executive Board, members of which were handling the strike in this state.

Overtures were evidently made to these representatives by Governor H. D. Hatfield, acting for the coal autocracy. An agreement was reached, and the three organizations, viz: the Coal Trust, the State government and the U. M. W. of

A., acting co-operatively, played the last card which won for the mine owners that which they would have never gained unaided by their last ally.

Everything being “understood” and agreed upon, Hatfield made public what he termed a “proposal for the settlement of the Kanawha strike.”

The proposal made no mention of the three cardinal demands of the miners: the elimination of the hated guard system, the right to belong to a union and the payment of the “Kanawha Scale” of wages. In fact it offered absolutely nothing in the way of concessions from the operators — merely insisting — when sheared of its luxuriant verbosity—that the miners return to work under the same conditions that existed before they struck—if the mine owners would let them.

The U. M. W. of A. called a delegate convention to act upon the proposal, while the operators immediately notified the governor that they would accept it. The miners’ delegates, called from the camps up in the hills, were unanimous in treating the “proposal” as a huge joke. It was a thing of emptiness—offering

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them nothing but what they could have secured at any time since the strike began. Judge then their surprise when upon being called to order by their National officials they found that these leaders were seriously advocating the acceptance of the proposition!

The delegates voiced their objections so strenuously that the leaders decided that a whole lot of "educating" must be done before the delegates could be persuaded to accept the raw mess offered them.

A campaign of speechmaking began and for three days the convention was compelled to hear exhortations favoring the acceptance of the proposal, delivered by everybody interested in its acceptance—from Governor Hatfield down to the paid attorneys for the U. M. W. of A.

All this being unavailing, on the third day of the convention, Director Hatfield issued his famous (now infamous) 36-hour ultimatum, which gave the miners their choice of returning to work on the terms dictated by him or being immediately deported from the state.

Of course this threat had little effect upon the delegates. They had fought and beaten the army of murderous mine guards, faced machine guns in action and successfully defied the state Cossacks—threats were the smallest of their worries. But with the "officials" in charge it was different. The governor's threat said to them in so many words: "You are slow in carrying out your part of the bargain—hurry."

Realizing that laudatory speech-making and persuasion were not going to induce these hard-headed delegates to sell the blessing of victory for a mess of burned pottage, they were compelled to resort to downright trickery and deceit.

A committee was appointed from among the delegates to draw up a counter-proposition, setting forth the terms upon which they would be willing to return to work, this to be submitted to the governor in answer to his proposal. The committee drew up the proposition which was presented to and endorsed by the convention. It was then turned over to the officials with instructions that they present it to His Highness.

The following day the convention was given to understand that Hatfield had ac-

cepted their proposal as an amendment to his proposition. The two documents were then read and a vote was taken upon what the delegates afterwards, and now, claim they believed was the acceptance of their own proposal. However, the two propositions had been juggled in such a manner, by those who are adepts in such arts, that the miners—necessarily untrained in the gentle ways of parliamentary legerdemain, had in reality voted for and accepted the original odious Hatfield offer, their own proposition having been promptly turned down by that gentleman with the remark that he "could not force the mine owners to comply with it."

These things were not made public, of course, until after the convention had adjourned. You can imagine the surprise and chagrin of the miners upon being informed by the daily papers that they had tamely submitted to the dictator's demands after he had spurned their own offer of a basis of settlement.

This information was followed by orders from headquarters at Charleston to the effect that the miners return to work at once. This they refused to do. Then the officials, escorted by detachments of the governor's hated yellow-legs, visited the tented villages in the mountains and bluntly informed the rebellious strikers that their relief would be cut off at once and the tents burned over their heads if they did not submit to the settlement and return to work.

Under these circumstances there was nothing to do but obey and the strikers began to apply for work at the mines. All those known to have been most active during the strike were refused employment. These to the number of 400 are still idle, for the good and simple reason that they are very effectively black-listed at every coal mine in the valley. All others are working under the same, or worse conditions than existed before the strike began.

Of course it was thoroughly realized by the powers that be that there was one remaining obstruction in the way of a complete establishment of their neatly planned "settlement." That was the Socialist press.

Editor C. H. Boswell, of the *Charleston Labor Argus*, had been approached some months before and it was insinuated

that a "settlement" might be arranged. He promptly and forcefully informed the "approachers" that *The Argus* was fighting for *victory* for the rank and file and that if any crooked work was attempted something would drop. Boswell was arrested a few days later and safely planted in the bull pen. *The Argus*, however, had continued, and the Huntington *Socialist and Labor Star* had also begun to show an inquisitive interest in the happenings affecting the strikers. These two agencies must be silenced, temporarily at least, decided the three-armed combination most interested in the success of the settlement. No sooner said than done. Martial law was in effect in the coal field, so the commander-in-chief simply dispatched a detail of yellow-legs to Charleston to confiscate *The Labor Argus* and "jug" Fred Merrick, who was suspected of being editor pro tem. The same gentle methods of suppression were used on the Huntington *Star*.

With all those who would doubtless make an effective protest against the deal being put over on the fighting miners by the unholy trinity, safely "jugged," the settlement proceeded apace. The coal operators, the prostituted press and the U. M. W. of A. officials all joined in sing-

ing hosannas of praise for the highly satisfactory manner in which His Highness, Hatfield, had settled the strike.

But the last act of despotism on the part of the trinity, the confiscation of the Socialist papers, brought on unexpected complications. The Socialist and labor papers, and hundreds of the capitalist papers throughout the country severely condemned this blundering attack upon the rights of a free press. The National Socialist organization was at last shocked into action and decided to send a committee into West Virginia to find out if we really were having a fight down here. The committee arrived, established headquarters at the most expensive hotel in the capitol city and immediately went into conference with the leaders of the U. M. W. of A.

From conferences with this branch of the triumvirate the committee naturally drifted into conferences with the other branches, Hatfield, the local politicians and the coal barons.

After a week devoted exclusively to these secretive but doubtless instructing conferences, and before they had visited the mining camps or talked with the local Socialists, members of the committee began talking—to the capitalist papers.



SOCIALISTS' INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE AT THE "HOME" OF COMRADE F. S. NANTZ, WHO WAS SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS IN THE PENITENTIARY BY THE MILITARY COURT FOR TELLING CAPTAIN BOND TO "GO TO HELL."

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The sayings attributed to them had a familiar sound. They were practically the same sentences that the U. M. W. of A. officials had used, and that the newspapers themselves had used, and that Hatfield himself had used, to justify existing conditions and official anarchy.

Here are some of the headlines appearing over these interviews, quoted *verbatim*:

"Debs Exonerates Hatfield."

"'A Manly Man,' Says Debs of Hatfield."

"'Conditions Have Improved Under Hatfield,' Says Socialist Committee."

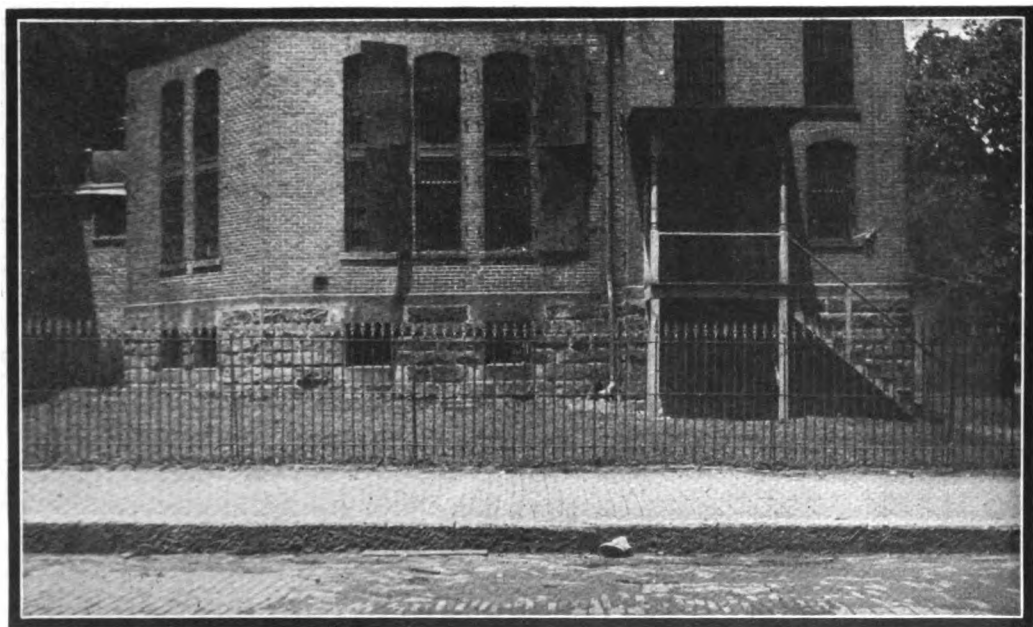
And so on *ad nauseam*.

At the time the committee was giving out these interesting interviews, fifteen Socialists were lying in the filthiest jail in West Virginia with nothing charged against them other than that the U. M. W. of A. was afraid that they might interfere with their little "settlement" of the strike; two Socialist papers were suppressed and their plants destroyed, the striking miners were being forced back

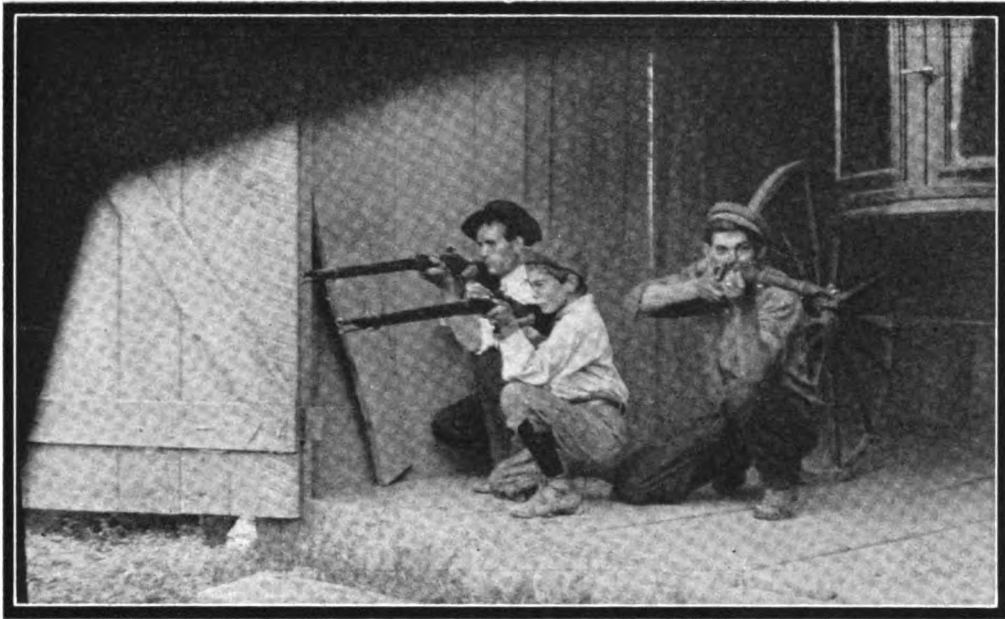
into the mines by the mine guards, the state soldiery and the U. M. W. of A. officials.

After the committee began to "see things in the right light," we prisoners were released. Comrade Berger in interviewing himself in his paper says the committee secured our release. As for this I can't vouch, but I do say that if the committee's endorsement of Hatfield and his despotism was the price paid for our liberty, then it made a damn poor bargain, and one that we had repeatedly refused to consider while confined in bull-pens and jails at the absolute mercy of this monster.

The suppression of the papers also had a good effect upon the then pending Kern resolution calling for a federal investigation of the new style of government established in West Virginia. It passed the senate, despite the frantic opposition of our "invisible government" and the committee begins its investigation the day after this is written. This appears to be worrying the powers-that-be more than anything else that has happened in connection with the class struggle down here. Herculean efforts have been made



KANAWHA COUNTY JAIL AT CHARLESTON. THE FILTHIEST PLACE OF ITS KIND IN THE UNITED STATES. WHEN THIS PHOTO WAS TAKEN IT CONTAINED FRED MERRICK, W. H. THOMPSON AND SEVEN OTHER SOCIALISTS WHO WERE BEING "DETAINED" BY THE HONORABLE GOVERNOR HATFIELD.



THE YOUNG IDEA LEARNING HOW TO SHOOT.

to obliterate evidences of the titanic battle that has been waged. If the coal barons get by this investigation scatheless, they have won their fight at every point.

The miners have been forced to return to work under the old hellish condition of virtual peonage; the precedent of military drum-head trials and convictions of agitators has been firmly established, in fact the right of Mammon to rule, to rob, to crush and kill has been more firmly enthroned than ever before, and more securely guarded.

As a fitting reward for faithful service in helping to bring about the pleasing "settlement," today's papers carry the cheering intelligence that the U. M. W. of A., including its principal officials, has been indicted in the Federal court here, charged with being a conspiracy in

restraint of trade and a buster of the sacred Sherman Anti-Trust law.

All those working class comrades who see clearly the situation in this state are pessimistic in their utterances. Personally, I know of but one thing that could possibly turn the miners' defeat into victory and that is to initiate these mountaineers into the mysteries of Twentieth century fighting tactics, including a thorough working knowledge of that powerful weapon—industrial unionism—One Big Union, in which the **rank and file** decide all questions for **themselves**.

Note.—Last reports say that Thomas Haggerty, U. M. W. of A. official, is suing Comrade Boswell for exposures of his methods in handling the strike, alleged libel. Comrade Boswell is back on the *Labor Argus* to stay, and to tell the truth no matter who gets hit.

The latest telegraph dispatches state that the miners in the Paint and Cabin Creek districts have repudiated the settlement and are demanding their officials to call a general strike.

The Betrayal of the West Virginia Red Necks

By Fred H. Merrick, Editor (Pittsburgh, Pa.) Justice



PROFESSIONAL MAN KILLERS AND A
MACHINE GUN.

IT WILL be hopelessly impossible within the narrow confines of this brief article to give the reader more than a skeleton of the real "inside" story of the great strike raging in West Virginia, which the greed of coal operators, subserviency of political officials, especially the courts and sheriffs, brutality of heartless degenerates known as "Baldwins" or "mine guards," drum-head court martials of the militia, duplicity of their own attorneys, misrepresentation by newspapers, treachery of many officials of their own union and the crowning act of all, the betrayal or misrepresentation of their cause to the Socialists of America

by a committee elected by the National Committee to investigate conditions in West Virginia—all have utterly failed to break.

To all the horrors which a strike of a year's duration in tents on the bleak winter mountains of "Little Switzerland" means, was added the base conduct of those labor and so-called "Socialist" parasites who today make their living as advisors of the toilers without themselves undergoing the privations incident to toil and revolution. Volumes could and undoubtedly will yet be written on this phase of the West Virginia struggle which is far more vital than the spectac-

ular battles which have been described again and again.

It is not unfair to say that the facts merely suggested here will never find publicity through the orthodox labor or Socialist press, but if the reader has his class conscious curiosity sufficiently aroused by this brief resume to thoroughly investigate the sordid tale of the betrayal of the West Virginia "red necks" as many of the officials and organizers of the U. M. W. of A. contemptuously refer to the West Virginia miners, the purpose of this story will have been accomplished. Before passing judgment on the harshness of some of the terms used in this article examine each statement of fact carefully and see if such conduct should not be described in terms calculated to arouse the militant toilers of America, whether the object be our formerly "beloved 'Gene,'" who seems to have fallen by the wayside, or our genial friend from Milwaukee.

The West Virginia strike may roughly be divided into three distinct stages:

1. The unorganized strike stage when the miners aided by the local Socialists made their valiant fight at a time when the officials of the U. M. W. of A. did absolutely nothing to help. Towards the latter part of this period "Mother" Jones appeared and helped her "boys" to "fight like hell." The method of breaking the strike employed during this time was confined entirely to the physical brutality of Baldwin mine guards and the less efficient National guard or militia. The miners were able to handle this sort of "suppression" with some first-class "direct action." During this period the miners scored a decisive victory.

2. Immediately following election in November different tactics were employed. Certain treacherous officials of the union deliberately asked for martial law. Following this they attempted to compromise the strike which the militia was unable to break alone. The climax of this period dominated by the officials of the U. M. W. of A. came with Hatfield's notorious deportation ultimatum of April 27th, which was endorsed and supported enthusiastically by the officials of the U. M. W. of A. from President White down through Frank Hayes, Thomas Haggerty and Joe Vasey. However, the



A LITTLE FATHERLESS SOCIALIST.

(Comrade Estep had his little daughter in his arms when he was murdered by Mine Guards, who riddled his cabin with a machine gun.)

tactics employed of attempting to break the strike with the machine of the U. M. W. of A. failed miserably and another trick was employed.

3. This period is marked by the advent of the Socialist National Investigating Committee which endorsed the conduct of Governor Hatfield for the most part thereby giving a clean bill of health to the officials of the U. M. W. of A. who had accepted Hatfield's "settlement," thereby becoming the agents through whom the operators hoped to accomplish a "settlement" which police brutality, the diplomacy of Hatfield and the treachery of U. M. W. of A. officials had failed to accomplish. Due to the splendid common sense education on Socialism the miners had received for two years through the columns of the *Charleston Labor Argus*, edited by fearless Charles H. Boswell, the miners and local Social-

ists received the committee not as heroes, but as ordinary human beings. They refused to accept the "settlement" because its sponsor had been whitewashed by the committee, just as before.

The first period has been adequately dealt with by the capitalist magazines where it received more attention than was ever given it by the Socialist press, who seemed afraid of it for some reason.

The second period is marked by successive steps of compromise which are a disgrace even to the black record of the U. M. W. of A., who have so often betrayed the West Virginia miners that it has become an old story. Let us get a birds-eye view of how the machine of this organization pulled the sting out of the demands of the miners so gradually that the miners themselves did not realize that it was being done.

1. In the early Spring of 1912, a convention of miners was called at Charleston, where it was understood the demands of the miners would be the same as elsewhere in the United States and were to include an EIGHT-HOUR DAY. As West Virginia coal is mined cheaper per ton than any other coal there is less reason for working more than eight hours than there is in other states.

2. Another convention of miners was held in Charleston in April, 1912. In the interim the Cleveland scale had been adopted and at this convention the local officials, with the acquiescence of the national organization, persuaded the miners to modify their demands to ONE-HALF the Cleveland scale and, from an EIGHT-HOUR to a NINE-HOUR DAY. Following the strike, the miners kept up such a hot fight that the union officials were apparently afraid to attempt any more compromises until following the court martialing of "Mother" Jones, Brown, Boswell and other Socialists. Immediately after Hatfield's inauguration on March 4th, with everyone apparently intimidated, things temporarily quiet, President White, on March 26th, walked into the Governor's office without authority of the miners to change their already compromised demands, and submitted a type-written proposition to the governor upon which he proposed to sign a contract binding every miner in the state of West Virginia for three years. In this propo-

sition PRESIDENT WHITE HAD USURPED THE POWER TO DROP THE DEMANDS OF THE APRIL, 1912, CONVENTION FOR INCREASE EQUAL TO HALF OF CLEVELAND SCALE.

By submitting this proposition of economic demands to an officer of the political state to act as a go-between for operators and miners he had also made a very dangerous compromise. The moral effect of his act was to impress the miners with the idea the governor was a disinterested third party who would do justice to the two parties engaged in class war. Hatfield was not long in taking advantage of the opportunity offered. He called the operators in and they submitted a counter proposition in which White's offer was still further modified. Hatfield then submitted through the press to the public a "suggestion" of settlement which was the basis the operators offered to settle on.

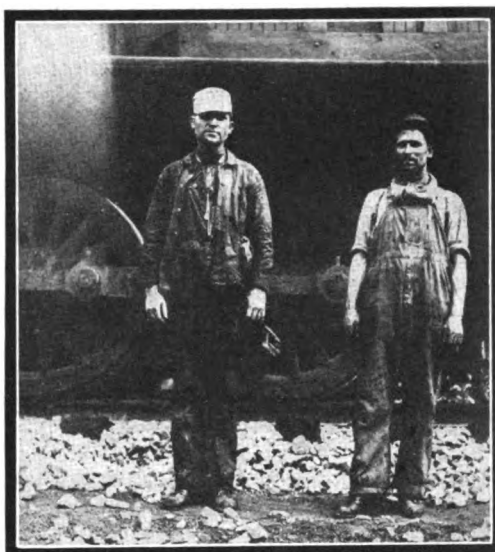
The National officials of the union called a convention April 22, 1913, at Charleston, of delegates from Paint and Cabin Creeks and Coal River strike zones. When this convention was convened it was found that more than 90 per cent of the delegates and two officials of the union were bitterly opposed to the governor's proposition, which was simply the bare ultimatum of the operators. These delegates for days arose and rehearsed the year of bitter suffering as conclusive argument why they should not go back on such a basis of compromise. Day after day the officials argued and coaxed and threatened. The "pay-roll" worked the streets and hotel lobbies at night like ward heeling politicians, recalcitrant delegates were doped in saloons and every dirty trick known to labor union politics was attempted. On Wednesday evening Harold W. Houston, at that time Secretary of the Socialist party of West Virginia and attorney for the U. M. W. of A. made a radical Socialist speech which was applauded vigorously by the miners. He won their confidence.

But Friday, April 25th, rolled around and the "God damn red necks couldn't be controlled," a prominent official put it. The miners wouldn't accept the compromise. Hatfield became im-

patient over the inability of Haggerty, Vasey & Company to deliver the goods, and he issued his ultimatum of April 25. With this as a club the officials tried to scare the "red necks," but men who had fought Baldwin guards and faced machine guns and dum-dum bullets weren't much afraid of the threats of a Hatfield. So the last trick was pulled from the stacked cards of craft union politics. Harold Houston was approached. He was made to believe that it was the best thing for the miners to go back. He was then told that he was the only one the miners had confidence enough in to listen to and that if he would advocate their acceptance of the proposition the delegates would accede. Houston weakened and agreed that on condition that a communication be sent the governor interpreting "discrimination" to mean that no striker should be refused employment he would advise acceptance. This was done and the miners reluctantly followed the advice of their trusted lawyer "leader" and adjourned April 26th with the distinct understanding that the national officials would stand by them against any discrimination—that "all or none must return to work."

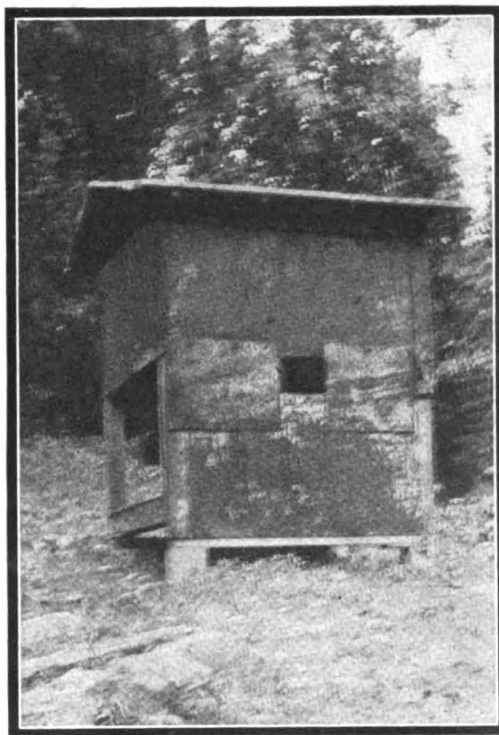
But the operators saw that the miners had begun to weaken and they gave Hatfield to distinctly understand that the "agitators" would not be taken back. And despite the months of persecution and the imprisonment of many Socialists, there were scores more on the creeks. Hatfield, true to his capitalist interests, immediately issued his now famous 24-hour ultimatum of April 27th threatening deportation to all miners and sympathizers unless every miner in the strike zone was at work Monday morning, April 28th, and in this, distinctly said regarding the re-employment of all the strikers, "It would be presumptuous for me to tell employers whom they should employ." Everyone understood immediately that the "agitators" would not get back. Hundreds refused to apply for work as being a violation of the action of the convention of April 22nd, and the solemn pledges of the national officials that they would stand by the men and support them in a continuance of the strike if they did not all get back.

Despite the governor's outrageous and



TWO GOOD BROTHERHOOD MEN WHO RUN THE ENGINE OF THE BULL MOOSE MURDER TRAIN. FIFTY-TWO ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN REFUSED BEFORE THESE TWO UNION SCABS WERE SECURED.

unconstitutional conduct which was in addition a violation of his own flowery



MINE GUARDS' FORT OF SHEET STEEL FROM WHICH MACHINE GUN FIRE WAS OPENED UPON DEFENSELESS WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

promises, Joe Vasey, who had been conveniently left in charge of the situation by Haggerty, issued a statement to the press which was published Monday morning as follows: "At 9:30 p. m. Governor Hatfield called up the President at Clarksburg." Yet with the villain responsible for these outrages present, Vice-President Hayes, whose "Socialism" has been used as a bait for the radical miners for years, introduced Hatfield to the miners in a disgustingly laudatory fashion and the governor then proceeded to make a speech characteristic of the finished politician, in which he said he was the laboring man's governor and that "By God the interests don't control me."

Following this was the advent of the Socialist National Investigating Committee. This committee's report should be reviewed at length, but that is impossible here. Harsh terms must be used in dealing with it, but ample proof can be adduced for every charge including personal witnesses if necessary.

The writer charges that when Debs says that the conduct of the committee was received with rejoicing and enthusiasm he either ignorantly or intentionally misrepresents the facts as scores of witnesses can be produced to prove the contrary.

The writer further brands as absolute falsehood the statement that the court-

martialing of "Mother" Jones, Brown, Boswell, Parsons and others occurred under Glasscock. Hatfield was inaugurated on March 4th. The Governor had full control of martial law and under Hatfield's administration the drumhead court martial sat on March 7th and placed on trial 51 persons. The sessions of this court continued until March 12th. More than this, it can be proven that the committee's attention was called to this error before they left Charleston and yet they deliberately returned to Chicago and sent broadcast to the country a statement they had been informed was unqualifiedly false. Witnesses can be produced to prove this also.

Numerous other glaring misstatements could be shown did space permit. However, the important point is that the committee was impelled to whitewash Hatfield because officials of the U. M. W. of A. had endorsed Hatfield's conduct and the Paint-Cabin Creek "settlement" of April 28th. If the Socialist committee condemned Hatfield, it would lead to condemnation and exposure of the "settlement" and the treachery of officials of the U. M. W. of A. Vote wooers do not wish to offend influential craft union leaders.

Send your subscription to the *Labor Argus*, Charleston, W. Va., and help the fight. Seventy-five cents a year. In clubs of ten, 50c.

Unions Repudiate Debs' Escort, Haggerty

BEECH GROVE, W. VA.,
SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1913.

AT a mass meeting of the miners comprising the membership of Locals No. 2508, No. 1209 and No. 2353, District No. 17, U. M. W. of A., assembled at Beech Grove, West Virginia, June 1, 1913, at which R. O. Mitchell was elected permanent chairman and Judson Godfrey permanent secretary, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, it has become necessary for us, the miners of this locality and of the different locals, to condemn the policy of the international board member, Thomas Haggerty of District No. 2, and National Organizer Joe Vasey as detrimental to our best interests by using the capitalistic press to forward the policy of Gov. H. D. Hatfield, whose interest is entirely with the coal operators of this state and against the miners; be it

Resolved, That we request International President John P. White to recall said Thomas Haggerty and Joe Vasey from this

state immediately as their public utterances through the press are an insult to our imprisoned brothers who have been incarcerated in bull-pens and different jails and on the cold floors of these prisons for over 100 days. And be it further

Resolved, That we condemn the policy of Governor Hatfield as unfair to organized labor as he is powerless and incompetent to make any agreement for us, the miners of District No. 17, West Virginia, and that we ignore every act of Haggerty and Vasey.

This meeting is held in the martial law zone. Martial law is still on in a district where peace and quietness reign and has been since the 10th of February, 1913, and that we denounce martial law, and that we, the organized miners, abhor the presence of Haggerty and Vasey as we do a Baldwin thug, and that you, President White, recall them from our midst, at once, and that a copy be published in the *Labor Argus*.

(Stamped with the seal of the three local unions.)

Reconstruction in West Virginia

By

Edward H. Kintzer, State Secretary Socialist Party.

A GAINST the forces of capitalism and capitalist methods and tactics, the Socialist and miners of West Virginia made a defense that should go a long way toward removing internal differences of the Socialist party, over mooted questions of direct and political action. In no instance where force was used in the strike can it be shown that the Socialists and miners were the aggressors; not in any instance can it be learned where they lacked courage, conviction, or where they stood in fear of censure or expulsion from their political party for a violation of Art. II, Sec. 6. They did not do it from choice, but from necessity.

—THEY VOTE—

And yet they are not opposed to political action. In fact they have long known the power of their political weapon. They stood by the Socialist party as the Socialists have stood with them. In Paint Creek and Cabin Creek districts the Socialists polled a majority over all other political parties combined, electing Justices of the Peace and Constables. The miners remained with the party in their locals so long as they could hold together in the "war," and immediately upon cessation of hostilities old locals began to dues are requesting "strike stamps," as take on life, and the miners unable to pay dues are requesting "strike stamps," as they term the "exempt" stamps.

Here is a situation such as never before favored party work in any state. West Virginia is a ripened field for the harvest. In these mountains, where it may generally be understood that Socialism is backward, one hears the talk of the Revolution; of Socialism and Unionism. It is a well-balanced condition, and there is not the slightest friction over the kind of unionism, so long as it is revolutionary. It must be that, or it soon will be. The miners will make it so if it isn't, and any set of principles or any person that is not responsive to this condition has

small quarter with the miners, and no endorsement by them.

Socialists All.

Quite recently 5,000 men in the New River district were organized as District 29, U. M. W. of A. For president the miners selected L. C. Rogers, State Executive Committeeman of the Socialist party; and other avowed Socialists were chosen for the offices under him. Rogers was the guide and companion of John Kenneth Turner, during his recent investigation of "Barbarous West Virginia."

Many sub-districts are being formed in the New River section, where a strike is now in progress.

Along with the work of organizing miners' unions, the political side need not be neglected. Where one can be accomplished the other is possible of being organized. Where it is impossible to organize unions, there no propaganda for Socialism can be carried on and a local cannot be formed. In the lower section of the state, where the mine guards are operating, it is still unsafe to hold meetings.

Thugs Must Go.

But the tide is turning. Public sentiment is favoring the miners. Many public officials are in disgrace. Citizens are aroused. At Beckley, where District 29 held its first meeting a few days ago, the citizens of Raleigh county were represented. Stirring resolutions were passed condemning the mine guard system, and a committee, among them the prosecuting attorney for Raleigh county, was selected to journey to Charleston and lay before the governor the proposition that the mine guards and sluggers will not be tolerated in that county.

As rapidly as the feudal system of West Virginia can be corrected, so rapidly does the propaganda of Socialism become less difficult. As fast as the ground is broken by organizers in the economic organizations, the paths for Socialist or-

ganizers become easier. Where one can go there the other can also enter. But it is safe to say that only by unity of action and thorough harmony can any good be accomplished for either.

It is usually the Socialist worker that is discharged for agitating among his fellow workers, and as soon as this takes place the U. M. W. organization make of him an organizer; that is, they pay him organizer's wages. Then he is free to go ahead with his work. As soon as the operators of the mines understand this method the discharged workers will be fewer, for with many of these turned loose in a community there will soon be a sentiment for unionism and Socialism that will not down.

Concerted Action.

The State and National Committees are now working together for the first time in years. During the strike it was out of the logic of events to push organization of the political party. Every nerve was strained to sustain the purpose of the economic organization in its fight.

The plans for future activity are only in the rough, and consist, first, of securing funds through the National organization, by instituting a call for funds from the loyal Socialists to help build the state movement; second, to build that movement. Not by the useless instruction of propagandists only, comrades who side-step the real work of organization—but to keep a corps of organizers in the field who are strictly "on-the-job" fellows, whose work will consist of reviving the

weak and fallen locals, building new ones, and instructing the comrades in party work.

Red Card Socialists.

All else is useless at this time. We can not eternally go on propagating Socialism without making Socialists. By that I mean, red-card Socialists—men, who will not only express their political convictions by marking a ballot under the clasped hands, but Socialists who will support the organization in its furthering of the Socialist philosophy.

The best estimate obtainable now shows there are 50 to 60 voters of the "clasped hands" ballot for every red-card Socialist in West Virginia. This is an abnormal development, due largely to the strike, and it needs correction. And it will be corrected.

Everybody Help.

You who read this, will you help change this condition? We need funds and must get it from our friends. Our enemy, the coal barons, have enough to do in keeping up the mine guard system, buying legislation and keeping the political offices filled with subservient tools of the Glassfield and Hatcock kind.

Remit your contribution to the *REVIEW*, if you wish, or send to the National Office of the Socialist Party, Chicago, or to the writer, at Clarksburg, W. Va. Give address and obtain a receipt.

This is an unusual condition and needs heroic methods. Help us put West Virginia in the Socialist column.



Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism

By Louis Fraina

THE healthy discussion of Unionism now on in the Socialist Movement has a decidedly regrettable feature—the virtually general rejection of Industrial Unionism, and the adoption of Syndicalism as a synonym for Revolutionary Unionism. It is regrettable because:

1. Theoretically, Syndicalist philosophy is opposed to the Socialist philosophy. Industrial Unionism is the application of Socialist principles to economic organization, whereas Syndicalism is Anarchy unionized.

2. Tactically, the structure and goal of Industrial Unionism and Syndicalism differ materially, a difference which I consider should be emphasized rather than minimized.

Wm. English Walling having, in the March *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, pointed out some of these differences, Robert Rives LaMonte, in the May *NEW REVIEW*, rejoins that Walling "bears down so hard on the differences that his article practically obscures or eclipses the essential identity of the two movements."

On the contrary, far from needlessly emphasizing these differences, Walling does not emphasize them sufficiently.

LaMonte pleads for unity: "Let us cease hunting for points of difference! Let us search unceasingly for points of union." But that is rather a dangerous basis for unity. It was the spirit in which the British Labor Party was formed, and that party is hardly a credit to the Movement. And it was in that spirit that the International Congress recognized organizations repudiating the class struggle, and even betraying the proletariat, as the Australian Labor Party has done repeatedly.

"Anarchists and Socialists are reconciled in Syndicalism," says LaMonte. A surprising statement. In France Socialists and Anarchists have been in each other's hair over the control of Syndicalism.

Socialists and Anarchists have convulsed the American Industrial Union movement over the question of political action, the Anarchists ridiculing and opposing class political action. Is "unity" to exist by Socialists "lying low" and allowing political action, an indispensable weapon of the Revolution, to be hostilized? Unity among revolutionary unionists should imply mutual concessions—Socialists modify their extremist pro-political attitude, Anarchists drop their hostility to political action.

This important question must be met now. Many Comrades, having seen a "great light," are prone to minimize the anti-political trend among revolutionary unionists. Enthusiasm for Revolutionary Unionism should not stimulate extremes. It is the part of wisdom to anticipate. Unless we here and now make efforts to stem the anti-political tide we may have a deluge in the future.

Syndicalism is anti-political. Many deny this, holding that Syndicalism simply means revolutionary economic action. The "syndicalism" of the C. G. T., however, arose as a revulsion against political action and is distinctly anti-political; while in England and America Syndicalism has been adopted as a *particular* form of unionism—anti-political. "Syndicalism" is the French name for Unionism—nothing more. In France there exists Revolutionary Syndicalism (unionism) and Conservative Syndicalism (unionism). The term has been adopted in England and America in the revolutionary sense of the C. G. T.—a particular form of revolutionary unionism, aiming at the Revolution through violence, the General Strike and Revolt.

Many persons in adopting Syndicalism have modified it to suit their convenience, with the consequence that pro-political Industrialism is being preached in the name of Syndicalism. This confusion is to be deplored. Consequently, the Syndi-

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alist League of North America, recently organized, serves a useful purpose. The League sticks to undiluted Syndicalism, and its pamphlet on "Syndicalism" makes clear the anti-political feature. "Syndicalism's rejection of political action and opposition to the Socialist Movement are due to: (1) the superiority of direct action to political action; (2) that the Syndicalist and Socialist movements are rivals and cannot co-operate."

LaMonte says that "the Anarchists did not invent Syndicalism." Yet revolutionary Syndicalism in France arose with the entrance of the Anarchists into the syndicates who "bored from within," emphasizing not revolutionary principles, but militant possibilist action. Sorel, in his "Reflections on Violence," says:

"Historians will some day see, in this entrance of the Anarchists into the syndicates, one of the greatest events that have happened in our time.

"Anarchistic writers who remained faithful to their old revolutionary literature do not seem to have regarded with favor the passage of their friends into the syndicates; their attitude shows us that the Anarchists who became Syndicalists were men of true originality and did not apply theories which had been manufactured by cloistered philosophers. Above everything else, they taught the workers that it was not necessary to blush over violent actions. Until then, they had tried, in the Socialist world, to minimize or to excuse the violence of strikers; the new Syndicalists looked upon these acts of violence as the normal manifestations of the class war."

Industrial Unionism, on the other hand, was inspired by Socialism. An editorial in "The American Labor Union Journal" (December, 1904), organ of the industrial American Labor Union, expressed itself as follows:

"The economic organization of the proletariat is the heart and soul of the Socialist Movement, of which the political party is simply the public expression at the ballot box. The purpose of Industrial Unionism is to organize the working class on approximately the same departments of production and distribution as those which will obtain in the Co-operative Commonwealth."

The Industrial Workers of the World, as organized in Chicago in 1905, planted itself upon political action as an indispensable weapon; although it must be admitted that the Manifesto calling the Chicago Conference rather unduly accentuated politics.

Syndicalism is Anarchic in structure as well as tactics. French Syndicalism opposes centralization, carrying the principles of federated autonomy to its logical limit. It does away with a "central authority" in the orchestra of production. It stands for many unions instead of One Big Union. Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists agree in aiming at the overthrow of the state; but while Industrial Unionism seeks to supplant political government with *industrial government*—Engles' "administration of things"—Syndicalism has *no use* for government of any sort. In structure, Syndicalism is really sectional unionism; in theory, Syndicalism holds to the old Proudhonian idea of independent, communal groups, producing and exchanging commodities on an independent basis—a sort of communal competition.

It is true, as LaMonte holds, that the craft autonomy of Syndicalism reflects French undeveloped Capitalism. But he ignores the fact that Syndicalism holds to craft autonomy as a *theory* on which it basis its conception of present organization and future society; and that Syndicalists in England and America emphasize industrial autonomy in their fight against Industrial Unionism. The pamphlet of the S. L. N. A., previously mentioned, says:

"In the future society the shop organization will be perfectly autonomous—each automatically regulating its own affairs and requiring no interference from without. The producing force of society will be composed of autonomous units—each industry constituting a unit."

Again:

"In the future society all industries will be monopolized and each will regulate its production according to the demands placed upon it by the rest of society. The relations between the various industries will be simply the filling of each other's orders for commodities."

And again:

"Society as a whole is not consulted. The steel industry dictates to the rest of society in matters pertaining to the steel industry."

These American Syndicalists cite the "recent breaking up of the Harriman railroad system into five autonomous sub-systems" as proof of their claim that industry is trending toward autonomy. Were this true, the Syndicalist claim would be logical. But its truth is only apparent.

At the time the unions on the Harriman system federated, industrial unionists argued that as the roads *were united into an organic system*, the workers should follow suit. Only those deceived by appearances will claim that the Harriman roads have de-centralized; what slight decentralization there has been resulted from the internecine strife among interests concerned. The Harriman system is still under a central control.

Is the alleged de-centralization of Standard Oil into "independent, mutually competing" groups proof of the autonomy trend? The financial district of New York knows better. Standard Oil is as much centralized as ever, though under a different form. For some time, the Southern Pacific has been trying to "de-centralize," but all its plans have been rejected by the Government. Why? Because the re-organization schemes submitted virtually maintain centralization, under a form, however, which would throttle anti-trust laws.

There IS a form of centralization that intelligent capitalists are discarding and financial papers warning against. That is centralization which strains for "monopoly" at any price. President Mellen, of the New Haven system, purchased a road that was absolutely non-paying and of no use to his system, *simply to monopolize* New England's railroads. An absolutely vicious procedure, the practice of which largely brought on Mellen's financial troubles. The *Journal of Commerce* (N. Y.) condemned this sort of action as inefficient and a relic of the past.

We must, however, necessarily differentiate between centralization and "monopoly"—I use "monopoly" in its true, *limited* sense, absolute monopoly being only theoretically possible, as Marx showed and modern conditions prove.

Centralization is an economic necessity; "monopoly" generally a *forced* condition. Centralization is industrial; "monopoly" financial, and this may be destroyed without disturbing industrial centralization. The rejection of Mellen "centralization" does not imply de-centralization and autonomy.

Under Capitalism, centralization undoubtedly has limits because of the evils it generates. Men of the Brandeis type have distorted this truth, and condemned ALL centralization as inefficient; and it is peculiar that Anarchists and Syndicalists should echo this talk. The evils in centralization flow from *autocratic* or *oligarchic* control, but are not inherent.

Secretary of Commerce Wm. C. Redfield, addressing the American Cotton Manufacturers' Association convention in Washington, on April 9, said:

"A good many years ago the late Edward M. Shepard said to me that he believed the trust form of organization carried within itself the seeds of its own decay; that its economies were more apparent than real, and that the serious difficulty of obtaining the men who could manage efficiently, with firm grasp, these great organizations, would itself result in ultimate segregation."

In vast organizations like the trusts, with ONE MAN rule, efficiency depends largely upon the capacity of one man. "Is there a point," asked Redfield, "where the mere nerves and fibers of the industrial organization required to handle the larger force become so complex and delicate that the frictional transmission, so to speak, of the will and thought of the head becomes so great that it is weakened or lost?" Assuredly, where despotism prevails; and because of the despotism, not the centralization. Representative government in those vast centralized trusts, and in the vaster industrial system centralized as a WHOLE, would eliminate the evil.

Trusts are a sort of industrial empire. An empire, ruled autocratically from above, disintegrates when its limits expand beyond the possible efficient control of ONE man. History shows the Roman Empire, ruled autocratically, first de-centralizing into two "sub-systems"—the Eastern and Western Empire; and then collapsing under its own weight. The

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vast empire reared by Charlemagne crumbled in the hands of his successors who lacked his genius and powerful personality.

But here we have the United States, with a territory larger than the Empire of Rome or of Charlemagne, in no danger of crumbling under its own weight, because of its representative government, its division of authority into State units and the centralization of these State units into a Federal government.

In a sense, Industrial Unionism applies on the economic field this American form of government—the local union comparable to the municipality, the industrial union to the State, and the amalgamated industrial organization with its administrative, representative government, to the nation. But this, of course, implies Democracy; and the Syndicalist is rabidly anti-Democratic, one of the counts in its indictment against Socialism being our theory of Industrial *Democracy*.

The trend of economic evolution is toward centralization. Civilization presuppose maximum production with minimum labor; this requires large-scale production; which, in turn, demands highly centralized production, consequently also Industrial Government.

Were this purely a matter concerning the future social structure, it might possess only a theoretical interest. But its importance lies in this, that autonomous revolutionary unions can with difficulty act spontaneously and effectively, all the

more so when, as will undoubtedly be the case in America, strikes assume gigantic proportions. Considered tactically, the structure of Industrial Unionism is a necessity for the preliminary struggles of the Revolution—what our French comrades call “revolutionary gymnastics.” Spirit, aspirations, must have effective *forms* of expression.

Syndicalism emphasizes tactics; Industrial Unionism emphasizes *structure* and *goal*, tactics flowing naturally therefrom. The tactical emphasis of Syndicalism generates slavery to means; Syndicalism, accordingly, considers violence a *creative principle*. But violence is in no sense creative; it is a *method*, a *matter of expediency*. Industrial Unionism, considering methods purely a matter of expediency, apotheosizes neither violence nor legality;—not violence or legality, but either or both as conditions may demand.

Summarizing conclusions:

Syndicalism arose primarily as a protest against political inefficiency and cowardice.

Industrial Unionism arose primarily as a recognition of the vast power inherent in the industrial groups into which the mechanism of centralized capitalist production marshals the workers.

Industrial Unionism, accordingly, is the expression of the highest development of Capitalism. Why, then, should Industrial Unionism adopt the nomenclature, structure and tactics of Syndicalism, a product of inferior Capitalism?



Sex Sterilization

By Eva Trew

Article Two

WHY has this subject, STERILIZATION OF THE UNFIT, leaped into such amazing prominence?

Is it because the capitalist class believe they see in this measure the effective means of wiping out the EFFECTS of a long list of cruelties practiced upon the working class by preventing them from having children?

A legislative measure providing for the sterilization of defectives and criminals is now ready to be laid before Gov. Fletcher of Vermont.

In Utah a bill was recently introduced in the House of Representatives providing for a state bureau of eugenics to govern marriage and for the sterilization of the "criminal and the unfit."

In Indiana, where the law authorizing the sterilization of the unfit was passed seven years ago, 300 men have been thus operated on at the Jeffersonville reformatory alone.

In Pennsylvania the bill was vetoed by the Governor and in Kansas and Nebraska the experiment of sterilization as a means of dealing with offenders of the law, has temporarily been abandoned.

In Oregon there is much public sentiment being aroused against the law permitting this operation on criminals and an organization called "The Society for the Abolishment of the Sterilization Law" has been formed for the purpose of invoking the referendum on the grounds that the law is liable of abuse and is dangerous.

The American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology at a meeting recently held in Milwaukee, received a report from a committee which had been appointed to look into the matter of sterilizing undesirables.

The sweeping classification of people who are regarded as defectives and unfit to propagate their kind include neurotics, drunkards, paupers and criminals.

Yet the eminent biologist Dr. Eichholz

when questioned by the Royal Commission on Degeneracy, said: "Even illigitimacy is no proof of inferiority of stock. It shows the danger that arises from the tendency to judge civic worth according to such pre-conceived notions as pauperism, criminality, etc."

At the proceedings of the National Congress of Charities and Correction held in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1912, Miss Adams, a blind musician, said in reference to the sterilization law: "As an intelligent woman handicapped by blindness, I do not in the least object to the classification which has associated us with the 'unfit,' though 60 per cent of our class earn their own living. But when I observe the idle, selfish, shallow daughters of the rich spending their days in worthless pursuits, making no contribution of life and service to society, no answer to the great cry of humanity, I ask myself the question—who, in the sight of God, are the unfit?"

The student seeking for the scientific authority which actuates these believers in the irrevocable laws of heredity into enacting such drastic checks, has thrust into his hand at every turn two books which trace through many generations the progeny of an "unfit" man.

One is called "The Kallilak Family," the other "The Jukes Family."

Since the family of Jonathan Edwards is cited in the latter work—as an example of distinguished traits transmitted to descendants in contra-distinction to the degenerate qualities inherited by the progeny of the Jukes family, I append the following quotation:

HISTORY OF JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Born, 1703; results:

In 1900 he has 1,394 descendants, of these
13 were university presidents.
65 were university professors.
60 were M. D.'s.
60 were authors (prominent).
30 were judges.
100 were lawyers.
75 were officers in army and navy.
80 were in high public office.
3 were senators, 1 vice-president.
100 were clergymen or missionaries.

Several governors, members of Congress, ambassadors, mayors, managers of large railroads, banking and financial companies. 120 states and cities benefited (?) by their public activity. Not one reported as ever convicted of crime.

HISTORY OF MARK JUKES. (Drunkard and too lazy to work.)

Born, 1720; results:

In 1900 he had 1,250 descendants, of whom
300 died in childhood.
310 died in poor houses.
440 were viciously diseased.
400 were physical wrecks of their own wickedness.
50 were notorious for gross immortality.
7 were murderers.
60 were habitual thieves, averaging more than twelve years in prison.
In all, 130 were convicted of crime.

Since the above is adduced as irrefutable proof of the inexorable law of heredity, it might be expedient to examine it more minutely.

Jonathan Edwards, if history tells us aright, was himself a neurotic and in nine states would today be a candidate for sterilization in any intelligent community.

He records in his diary his religious ecstasies and he states "I lost all feeling that the election of some to salvation and others to eternal damnation was a horrible doctrine, and reckoned it exceedingly pleasant, bright and sweet."

In 1731 he preached a series of sermons the tenor of which has cast its black pall down through the succeeding century.

His "message" was: "It was God's good pleasure" and "mere arbitrary grace" that any man should or should not be saved.

He advocated teaching terror to young children, who in God's sight, were "young vipers."

His practices of "bodily effects" of conversion finally aroused the community to rebel against his vicious teachings and he was driven in disgrace from his church at Northampton.

His doctrine of "election" was, however, of use to the great land-owning lords, as it kept the working-class in their place by a decree of "Divine Providence" (of which Mr. Baer of the Pennsylvania Coal Company, has but recently reminded us), and he, therefore, was made president of the college of New Jersey.

Of his grandson, Aaron Burr, this great religious fanatic had small reason to be proud.

As one of the distinguished lawyers classed in the above list, Burr perpetrated an act which robbed the people of this nation of land to the extent of a principality.

While land commissioner he "sold" to himself and a few friends 3,630,200 acres of land in New York for the ridiculous price of 8-pence an acre, to be paid in eight installments without interest.

It was openly charged that he obtained the charter for the notorious Manhattan bank by wholesale methods of bribing senators.

It was no doubt owing to such brilliant strokes of genius that the family tree could support so many lawyers, ministers, bank presidents, railroad magnates, etc.

In fact this renowned family with many others of their kind was referred to by The Workingman's Party of 1829 in its resolution adopted at Military Hall, New York City, as being composed of "The greatest knaves, imposters and paupers of the age."

The working-class is still bending its back under the incubus of the gigantic land thefts practiced by the eminent lawyers, bankers, judges, etc., of the Edwards family whose colossal frauds lifted them out of the class of common thieves into the ranks of eminent financiers.

It is also not an evidence of total depravity that "sixty members of the Jukes family spent more than twelve years in prison" at a time when our laws demanded imprisonment for debt.

The system of Indenture which was then in effect for white workers, practically sold them into slavery for a number of years, and during this time if they became broken down and incapacitated for labor they were sent to the poor house or to prison. The employer was under no compulsion to take care of sick or disabled indentured slaves as was the case with the black slaves.

In a report of the Prison Committee of the city of Baltimore for 1831, we find that nearly one thousand persons had been imprisoned for debt in that city alone.

More than half of this number owed less than \$10.

In reading the history of the period when the Edwards' family flourished, we are led to the conclusion that the frauds

practiced upon the workers today are mere bagatelles in comparison to the daring thefts of a century ago when a judge could with impunity award himself 100,000 acres for a cow pasture.

However, the crimes which society propose to punish by this mutilation are not acts of bold rebellion against her laws by billion dollar capitalists, or splendid thefts which compel by their virility, but usually the pitiable, feeble dodgings and evasions of those who strike futile and ineffectual blows at the unseen monsters riding on their backs.

It is difficult to agree with Mr. Scott Nearing, who, after quoting the Jukes family, adds: "The one family has produced twelve hundred social burdens, while the other has given to the race

nearly fourteen-hundred social servants."

The higher classes (meaning higher income classes) inherit social status, but we have no reason to believe they inherit genius.

The greatest service rendered to humanity has been achieved by the successful leaders of democracy and they have sprung from the "lower classes."

Since it is the labor of the working class that supports the parasitic members of the descendants of the Edwards' family as well as the degenerate progeny of the Jukes', would it not be well to wait until the demand for sterilization legislation comes from the ranks of the laboring class instead of from millionaire philanthropists and their professional dependents?

California and the Japanese

By S. Katayama

ANTI-JAPANESE legislation in the state of California has caused a great deal of stir in Japan. Many meetings and resolutions were held protesting against the anti-Japanese bill. The writer has been in fear for many years that such a development would be the result and cause a great deal of fear and anxiety for both countries. He has warned the workers of his own country. I remember that I wrote a long article to the *Neue Zeit* on the subject and gave a full account of the movement in the Pacific Coast and warned the American workers; for our Japanese workers are not organized to give their true voice on the question and might very easily be made the victims of jingoism.

But the present movement in Japan, although so noisy, is not in fact the people's movement. It is necessary at this time to give to the workers of the United States the real attitude of the Japanese and especially the worker's attitude toward the matter.

You have no doubt heard of the stirring movement that has been going on since the anti-Japanese bill was introduced. In fact a war cry has been raised and in some cases bellicose resolutions

were adopted. Newspaper reports exaggerated the matter. In the first place the present movement is entirely bourgeois in nature and our workers are not interested in this at all. Those who are connected with the movement are mostly connected with the Japanese in California or those recently entertained by the rich Japanese on the Pacific Coast. There are others in this movement who are interested in the Navy expansion so that the present movement against the anti-Japanese bill on the Pacific Coast is not reported through the newspapers. At least it is the fact that in this movement our workers are not interested in whether a few hundred Japanese in California may or may not own the land.

The movement has become heated and bellicose by the spirit of red hot jingoism. The authorities are far more interested in the naval expansion and the building of dreadnaughts than the anti-Japanese movement in the Pacific Coast.

Our workers are not much interested in the things of the Pacific Coast because they are busy with the work of keeping themselves alive amidst the heavy taxes and dullness of industry and consequent low wages and unemployment. They

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have no money or expectation to have money in future to go to California and buy land there.

I am sorry that such anti-Japanese legislation is necessary to shut out the Japs and I am sure many Japanese may feel just as I do. But the majority of our people are satisfied with the existing arrangement between the American republic and Japan. Anyway our workers are not the least dissatisfied with it. But they do not like the matter to be stirred up in the interest of Naval expansion. The present Premier, Count Yamamoto, is the admiral and very much interested in the building of men-of-war because in this he will get a big commission. The situation is like the exposures of Dr. Liebknecht. It is those who will make profit by war that want to stir up war.

The navy will spend three hundred and fifty million yen extra for the expansion or building of men-of-war in ten years. The present fiscal year a million yen was voted for the first installment. Thus you see the recent movement from the worker's standpoint. The bourgeoisie are very sensitive as to the money matter or property. Petty capitalists (Japanese) in California send many cables or reports on the matter painted in the worst shape so as to stir up the jingo spirit at home. This news was taken up by those who recently visited the Pacific Coast—such as Baron Shibusawa, Messrs. Nokano, Shimada and others. I say that our workers are not interested and did not take a part in the movement. At the big demonstration at Kokugikan on the 17th inst. there were over 5,000, but there were very, very few workers, if any, and the majority of them were either students or loafers.

It is to the best interest of the American workers at this time to know the real attitude of the Japanese workers and where they stand on this matter. In the first place, our workers have no organizations of their own and moreover, they have no vote to decide any political matter. They have only the necessity of paying indirect taxes and serving in the army and getting shot down in the war!

As to emigration to the Pacific Coast or any part of the United States, Canada and Mexico, our workers are entirely prohibited from leaving Japan for these countries under any circumstances whatever.

In fact, nowadays, almost no one is permitted to sail for these countries, especially for the United States. Even a student, if he is not a son of the very rich and educated in the high school, is not allowed to leave the country for America, although his intention is purely to study some more advanced lines. Thus for many years the Japanese have not been allowed to leave the country because the authorities will not give them a passport. From almost the beginning of the last two decades of the 19th century workmen were not allowed to emigrate to the American continent. They were taken first to Hawaiian Island by the American sugar kings in the islands. From there these poor contract laborers crossed the ocean to the United States or to Canada. Those now on the Pacific Coast are almost all originally workers on Hawaiian sugar plantations.

Moreover, under ordinary circumstances our workers are unable to come to the United States because, in order to come to America, they have to have at least 200 yen (\$100.00) to begin with. This sum is not small money for a worker who gets from 60 to 70 yen (30 to 35 cents) a day! Thus the anti-Japanese movement of California is not of the least interest to our workers; they are far more interested in the higher and ever higher prices of food and in low wages. We therefore wish our American fellow workers and comrades to understand clearly that we are not affected by the passage of the much talked-of Land bill. We want international peace!

We hope that our American workers would not be led astray by the jingoistic movement in Japan and played into a dreadful war fever! Our workers have no enmity against American workers. We do not like to fight with workers of any country, especially with American workers. Japan has been spending one-third of the national budget (575 million yen) for military affairs and little over 24 per cent of the national income for the national debts which were contracted in the time of the Russo-Jap war. Thus, more than a half of the national expenses are used for war affairs. If they stop the army and navy expansion then our taxes will be reduced more than half and there will be better times for us.

Born For What?

By Elsie Henry Latimer

I AM born; born for what?
What is the heritage of such as I?
To live to work; to work to live;
And than to die; to die like dogs—
That is the heritage of such as I.
Shut out from nature's bounteous store
By fellowmen, who own the earth
And all therein,
I beg for that which nature gives from birth
To all brute kind; and am denied.
"We cannot give, oh, child of mine."
I ask the reason why, and mother sobs;
"We cannot earn enough to buy;
Go ask the miller for a job."
I ask, and asking, I become the slave of them
Who own the tools wherewith I work.
"Work, and we'll give you bread," they say;
And I am willing, for hunger presses,
And the chill cuts deep into the bone.
So fare I forth to mine or mill or factory,
Where whir great wheels from daylight unto dark.
A child I stand, the dormant intellect,
The brotherhood of man within my soul,
Putting on the shackles at an age
When life should be all play,—and all for bread.
Good-bye to childhood, youth and learning—
To hope, ambition, love—
For these are attributes of freedom.
From morn to night I labor, and for pay
Receive a rag, a crust, a place to sleep.
A cog in the whirring wheel,
My masters count the wheel of greater worth than I.
My happiness, my life hold they within their hands
Because, they own my job.
I starve; I pay their price
In ignorance, sweat and heartache.
Work I must, and when my masters say I shall not work,
I cry aloud and madness come, or perchance
I cast myself uncalled into the open grave.
I fill the halls of charity to o'erflowing;
I fill the jails for stealing
That which masters stole from me.
I know no home; the love of wife and child denied
Or crushed, I live an animal at bay.
Beauty, art and science mock me;
Learning laughs me to scorn.
Poverty, disease and degradation
Lay their blight upon my soul,
And all the while the masters take their pound of flesh
And call it profits.

The Agricultural Industry

By Robert Johnstone Wheeler

Photos by courtesy of International Harvester Company and M. Rumely Manufacturing Company.

(Note:—The immensity of the subject makes it impossible to do it justice within the limited space of this article. The effort put forth in this writing will be to indicate the most important tendencies, leaving further amplification for future articles. This article presents:

1. Some concrete evidence of progress toward capitalistic development in the agricultural industry.
2. The proposition that modern machinery and scientific management tends to produce unemployment, or rather limits opportunity for employment in agriculture as in other industries.
3. A restatement of a position set forth in previous articles, viz.: "Vocational training cannot make opportunity for the workers in agriculture any more than it can in other industries.

Machinery, scientific management and vocational training schools of every sort, all work together to dispense with human labor.

The object of these writings is not to oppose the new system of education. On the contrary, the purpose is to show its vast importance as a factor in connection with machinery in the wonderful revolution now going on. Machinery and scientific management adapted to the problems of production are making it possible for man to do the socially necessary work without the expenditure of as much human energy as formerly. Industrial education will give the youth sound scientific training and cultivate individual aptitudes to a degree hitherto unknown, will provide society with great numbers of scientists, inventors and socially harmonious people. The result will be faster progress industrially; a wider scope of knowledge; a broader basis for mutual understanding and agreement; greater power of cohesion socially and a certain and sure organization for the abolition of undesirable and unsocial conditions.

In discussing agriculture, the writer is not without practical experience, having worked as a farm laborer for many years in the states of New York and Pennsylvania.

AGRICULTURE is the basis of all civilization and industry. Man's progress is measured more by his achievements in husbandry than in any other field of endeavor. Not the sword nor the pen, but the plow is the greatest of all inventions. The rude tiller of the soil, as he is pictured in history, has always been the "corner stone" upon whose strength the security of society depends.

Machinery made its appearance in agriculture more than 500 B. C. The Roman historian Pliny tells of a reaper, used by the Gauls, that was pushed by an ox, harnessed in shafts. It cut off the heads of the grain like the modern header. Four hundred years after Pliny wrote of it, another historian, Palladius, wrote of it again. But this invention with many

others was lost to the world when the Roman conquests swept over the world. About 78 B. C. some Grecian genius gave the



world the water wheel. This was the first instance among the ancients, of the adaptation of power to machinery, that is, other than man or animal power. The invention of the water wheel raised great hopes in the minds of the workers of Greece. They hailed it as a means of relief from excessive toil. There was a tradition among the ancient workers that man had once lived free from the curse of poverty. That food and clothing were obtained without the necessity of hard and constant toil. This tradition was deep-seated and finds joyful expression in the poem written by Antiparos, who probably saw the water wheel. The water wheel was first set to work grinding grain. Antiparos sings:

"Spare the hand that grinds the grain, oh miller maids, and softly sleep.

Let Chanticleer announce the morn in vain.

Deo has commanded the work of the girls to be done by the water nymphs;

And now they skip lightly over the wheels, so that the shaken axles revolve with their spokes and pull round the load of the revolving stones.

Let us live the life of our fathers;

And let us rest from work and enjoy the gifts that the goddess sends us."

When the darkness of the middle ages began to give way to the dawn of modern civilization, inventive genius gave its attention to machinery for manufacture. Commerce demanded goods to trade. Agriculture remained in about the same state as when Rome ruled the world. The Dutch were the first to make important improvements in the rude Roman plow.

The English began to improve the plow in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Dutch had invented the moldboard. The English added a sheet-metal covering and invented the clevis. Jethro Tull, an English agricultural scientist of that period, made many important improvements in



farm tools. Tull complained that too little attention was given to agriculture by the thinkers of that time. In his book, "The Horse Ploughing Husbandry," he says: "'Tis strange that no author should have written fully of the fabric of ploughs. Men of the greatest learning have spent their time in contriving instruments to measure the immense distance of the stars, and in finding out dimensions and even weight of the planets; they think it more eligible to study the art of plowing the seas with ships than of tilling the land with ploughs; they bestow the utmost of their skill, learnedly, to prevent the natural use of all the elements of destruction of their own species, by the bloody art of war. Some waste their whole lives in studying how to arm death with new engines of horror and inventing an infinite variety of slaughter, but think it beneath men of learning (who only are capable of doing it), to employ their learned labors in the invention of new (or even improving the old) instruments for increasing bread."—Ellis, "Power and the Plow."

It remained for Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States to raise plow-making to a science. Jefferson worked out a mathematical formula by which a plow of any sort could be designed with

the certainty that it would do the work desired of it. England and France promptly recognized the value of Jefferson's theories and gave him formal honors. Strangely, today the world honors Jefferson as the enunciator of certain principles of liberty and democracy, which he really borrowed from the French revolutionists, while his contribution to the science of agriculture, a work of inestimable value to the whole world, was lost for more than a generation. Even to this day, few people know that Jefferson's work as a statesman was small compared to his gifts to the world as a plow maker.

American inventors have brought the plow to perfection. The aim of the inventor today is to produce some machine which will do the work of the plow and harrow combined and do it with more efficiency.

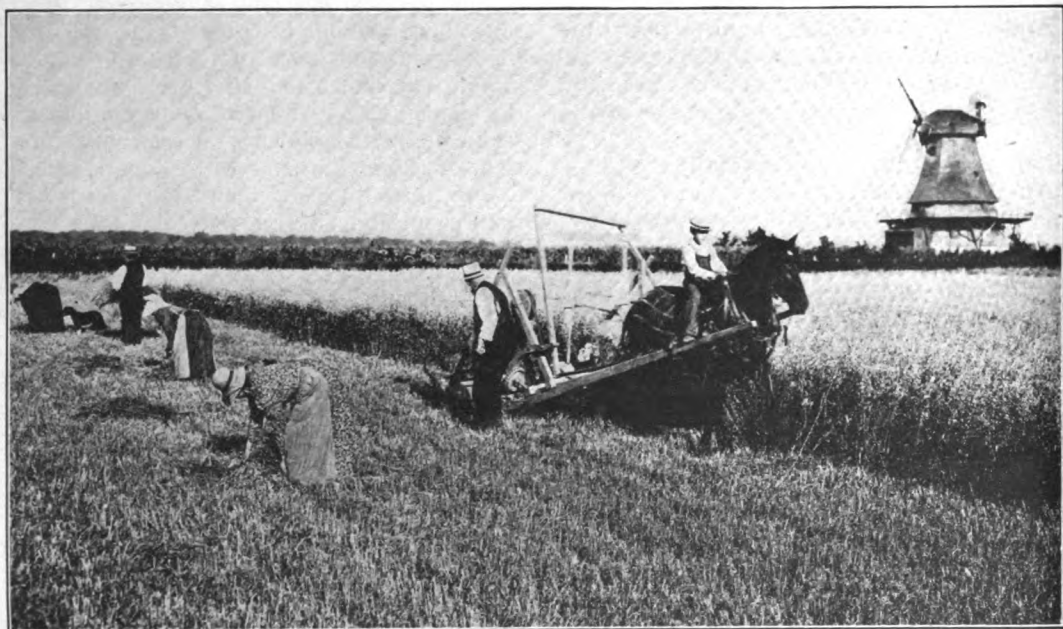
Because greatest profits were to be made in manufacture of commodities for sale, vast amounts of capital concentrated therein. Agriculture was left to develop as chance favored it. Therefore, agricultural development has lagged far behind manufacture. But capitalism has finally brought about a state of comparative perfection in the manufacture of goods. With the unlimited capital which has been poured into manufacture, scientists and inventors found

the greatest inducement offered for their services. The increased demand for goods spurred improvement. Now that part of the work is about finished.

In the manufacturing industries, machines have been so perfected that human workers are becoming less and less a necessity. So wonderful has been the development, that it is hardly too much to say that if no more inventions or improvements were made for several generations, sufficient goods could be produced with our present equipment to supply all the needs. This seems to be supported by the fact that trustification of manufacturing industry has been going on for more than a generation. Great efforts are put forth to curtail production. Thousands of factories are shut down and left to rot, all because we can produce goods so rapidly.

In agriculture it is different. At present, it seems as if population would outrun the food supply. There is a great cry for more efficient methods of farming. Prices have been rising for a decade. Farming promises profits. Trustified industry pays big dividends which cannot well be invested in manufacture again, so big capital now turns to agriculture.

During the last hundred years, while manufacture has been making giant strides,



M'CORMICK'S FIRST REAPER BUILT IN 1831

agriculture has not been standing still. With each generation it has shown a faster rate of progress. Science and invention have brought about great changes. Wonderful machinery has been devised and put to work. Agricultural colleges have carried on a work which is nothing short of phenomenal. Scientific farming, sneered at by the average husbandman thirty years ago, is respected today by all but the hopelessly stupid. We no longer farm by chance and main strength. With the agricultural schools turning out thousands of trained men each year with mighty power machinery ready for use, capital finds agriculture a ripe field for exploitation.

The writer fully understands that a certain class of economists will differ here, but facts have a peculiar habit of differing with economists. Big capital is going into agriculture. The movement has reached such proportions that power machine companies are spending millions to equip their plants for the rush they know is coming. The capitalist has no risks to take in this enterprise. The scientist has searched out the secrets of the soil and plant life; the inventor has perfected the machinery; the trained agriculturalist is ready to supply the brains. All these await the magic touch of capital.

The Census of 1910, Bulletin on Tenure, Mortgages and Size of Farms, gives the following information as to farms adaptable to capitalistic development. Such farms may be divided into three census classes. These figures are compiled from the table on page 19:

It will be said that the class of farms from 1,000 acres up, lost 15.5 per cent in area, or 30,702,109 acres. But the next class, farms from 500 to 999 gained 23.3 per cent, or 15,789,371 acres. The third class, farms from 175 to 499 gained 13.9 per cent in area, or 32,334,554 acres. This class, the balance of the loss of the first class, not taken up by the second class,

amounting to 14,922,728. At the same time, the third class gained 17,520,787 from the small farms. So the loss in acres of the first class was not a gain for the small farms, but an adjustment within the classes of farms adaptable to capitalistic development.

The various methods by which this development is being carried on may be summed up as follows:

Farms operated by owners, assisted by expert agriculturalists.

Farms operated by owner in part and by tenants in part, under direction of expert agriculturalists.

Farms operated by tenants wholly, divided into small farms of regular size, tenants obliged to follow directions of expert.

Farms operated by corporations, under regular industrial corporation methods—(i. e.) expert superintendents, scientific managers, best labor eliminating machinery, cost accounting system, efficiency tests.

Farms operated by ring system—(i. e.) co-operative group of independent farmers, who co-operate in owning and working, plowing and threshing outfits, using gas or oil or steam tractors for power. This last system tends toward the farm cooperation, as a means of reducing expenses and raising profits.

So much progress has been made along the lines indicated above, that one is not going too far to say that some of the tendencies have become fixed. To the casual observer they are becoming commonplace. The press exploits them. The popular magazines feature them. Our light literature presents them in stories in which the hero, after quarreling with his "stand pat" father, leaves the farm and works his way through an agricultural college, returns home and works wonders on the old farm. Or perhaps, some eager youth, inspired by love for the daughter of a successful scientific farmer in the vicinity, frowned on by

	Number	Per cent of all land of total.	Per cent in farms.	Number of acres.	Average size. Acres.	Average value.
Very large.....	50,135	0.8	19.0	167,082,047	3,346.4	\$156,076
Large	125,295	2.8	9.5	83,653,487	667.6	31,139
Big	978,175	15.4	30.2	265,289,069	291.5	14,356
Total	1,153,615	19.0	58.7	517,024,603
Total capital						\$24,114,192,484.92

the father of the girl because of his poor prospects as an ignorant farmer, resolves to make himself worthy. He too goes to an agricultural college, learns the new methods, graduates, gains practical experience, is eagerly snapped up by some new farm corporation which is glad to pay him a handsome salary, returns to his old home, claims the girl from a now willing father and lives happy ever after in the large and useful life of the modern agricultural expert.

Concrete illustrations of the several systems are to be seen in a great many periodicals. One of each sort is included here. Limited space will permit of but brief presentation. They follow in order to show the several methods mentioned above in actual operation. The first shows the large farm operated by the owner.

What an immense business a well conducted farm can be is indicated in a letter that has just been sent the secretary of agriculture by Dr. B. T. Galloway, chief of the bureau of plant industry of the department of agriculture.

He has recently received a detailed account of the Borden ranch, in Texas, from Mr. Kinsler, a young employe of the department, who has been for some time in Texas on departmental work, and has kept in close touch with the development of the big ranch.

The owner has made a big business of his farm, and is the patriarchal head of quite a community.

He has 11,000 acres in rice alone, 1,100 acres in cotton and 1,200 acres in alfalfa. He imports his laborers from Russia and keeps 11,000 head of cattle on his place, feeding practically everything he produces to his stock, and thus getting it back in fertilizer on the land.

He is the man who made quite a national reputation some years ago by importing the humpbacked Brahma cattle from India to cross with the native stock so as to make a breed that would resist tick infection and allow raising cattle in spite of the Texas fever. In connection with the ranch, Dr. Galloway says:

"You visited this plantation some years ago and you will probably remember the owner as having made a special trip to India to introduce the humpback Brahma cattle.

Cattle from India.

"Mr. Kinsler says that efforts in the breeding of the Brahmins are proving very successful. Last season was an exceptionally severe one in the matter of ticks, and, while it was necessary to dip thoroughbred cattle and shorthorns from three to four times, the cross-breed cattle went through the season without any dipping whatever, and were practically free from ticks. Mr. Kinsler further says that

as a rule the crossbred cattle are averaging from 100 to 200 pounds heavier than the thoroughbred when grown.

"As indicating the ranchers activities along agricultural lines, it may be interesting to know that he produced last year 185 tons of sorghum seed. The seed he sells to farmers of Texas for planting, and the sorghum itself he silos. He usually cuts two crops, leaving the third crop for seed.

"At the last cutting he averaged fifteen tons of silage and sixty bushels of seed per acre. He produced last year about 25,000 bushels of corn and 400,000 pounds of rice. He has 11,000 acres in rice and Mr. Kinsler states he produces about 2 per cent of the rice crop of the United States. He has 1,200 acres in alfalfa, which he cuts two or three times. He is going quite extensively into hog raising, and is shipping his hogs now to Fort Worth and Houston. Eight carloads went out of his place a short time ago, so Mr. Kinsler tells me. He is not producing as much cotton as formerly, owing to the fact that he finds other crops more profitable. He has now about 1,100 acres in cotton.

"A quite radical change has recently been made in his labor force at the convict farm which you visited when you were in Texas.

"The state has been steadily raising the price of convict labor; moreover, the rules, under pressure, have been made so strict that it was found difficult to get the convicts to do a full day's work, hence the owner got rid of them all and is now conducting his farm through the help of Russian peasants. These men are brought in directly from Galveston, and he pays them \$20 per month and feeds them and takes care of them when they are sick. Mr. Kinsler says that for two or three years they make most excellent farm help. After that they become more or less Americanized and strike out for themselves as small land renters or sometimes owners. They do much better work, however, than the negro convicts and do not have to be guarded or kept in squads, which is an important factor in accomplishing results.

"The owner has in the last few years quite materially changed his system of feeding cattle.

"He has divided up his extensive grazing grounds into pasture, and through his production of corn, sorghum, silage, alfalfa and similar crops, has been able to intensify greatly his production. He now has about 11,000 head of cattle, and endeavors to maintain about that number each year. All of his cattle are fed silage; in fact, everything on the place is fed silage at some time. The alfalfa furnishes excellent grazing ground for his hogs, so that practically all of this crop is used up on the place."

The Country Gentleman, of Jan. 25, contained an article by Frank G. Morehouse illustrating the success of Mr. Fred Gibson, who carries on a very extensive business, combining personal operation with

the tenant system. The following briefly illustrates this method:

Every morning, promptly at five o'clock, a semi-bald young man, on the sunny side of thirty, leaps out of his bed and starts the day with a cold plunge. After a hearty breakfast he cranks his sixty horse-power automobile and is away on the dusty roads radiating from Stuttgart, first to one farm and then to another, until the entire eight which he owns and operates have been visited. At noontime he stops wherever he may be, fills up his tonneau with hired men and hauls them to the house of the foreman, where all sit down together to the wholesome food prepared by the foreman's wife. He is perpetually busy, stopping momentarily to fix an obstreperous connection between the tractor and the trailing gangplows or harvesters, running from his automobile to gather up perhaps a hundred scattered stalks of grain, missed by the binder, and pile them neatly with the others, shaping up an irrigation dike here and cleaning out a sluice gate there, and then, as the sun sinks to rest, he fills his tonneau once more with the tired workers, has them home in a jiffy and is himself back at Stuttgart—but not to rest.

After supper there are the daily time records to look over and file away for each of the hundred hands on the eight farms, the computation of profit and loss on each tractor and mule and man for the day and a huge pile of formidable looking volumes, crammed full of figures, which make farming fully as scientific and accurate as running a store, a mill or a factory. Such is the daily life, down in Arkansas, of a man who owns and cultivates something over ten thousand acres in Arkansas, Nebraska, Illinois and Colorado and who is a splendid example of the new type of farmer. Only this man, Fred D. Gibson, terms himself an Agriculturist, always with a capital A. That capital shows the pride which he feels in his daily work. There is none of the "only-a-farmer" drudgery with him, although he works harder and longer than most of his fellow farmers—beg pardon, Agriculturists.

Today, only three years since he started farming, Mr. Gibson owns 6,000 acres of land in Arkansas, 2,500 in Illinois, 2,000 in Nebraska and 1,000 in Colorado. The Arkansas land, distributed mainly among the eight farms near Stuttgart, he cultivates himself; the rest he rents out on the crop-sharing basis. He has proved that farming can be made just as systematic and exact as any other business.

By figuring the percentage on his investment, the wear and tear and the feed cost, he knows to a cent the daily and the hourly cost of every machine and mule on his farms. By keeping a daily time record of every man, showing the hours spent on every bit of work

and the machines and animals employed thereon, he knows the creating value of every one of his employees. These daily records are gone over every night in the central office at Stuttgart and when filed away make not only a cumbersome volume of figures, but a record of the cost of bringing to maturity and harvesting every crop on every one of the six thousand Arkansas acres.

The cost per hour of each mule having been found to be eight cents, it is an easy matter to figure out whether a tractor, burning fifty gallons of gasoline a day at seventeen cents a gallon, and costing so much for wear and tear and interest on the purchase price, is paying for itself or not as it labors back and forth over the fertile fields, with gang-plows or seeders or harvesters in tow.

Mr. Gibson specialized in mathematics at the University of Illinois; he expected to use it in figuring tensile strength and other architectural matters. He finds it useful now in figuring out that one tractor is doing the work of forty mules, six disks, two 20-hole drills, two harrows and ten men, at a cost of \$13.50 a day. Another sheet of paper and he knows the saving of that tractor for that day. It is time well spent, though the night draws on as he figures in his office, the clerks' heads nod and the farmers of the Grand Prairie sleep while the Agriculturist figures and schemes and strikes his monthly trial balance, just as would any city business man who expects to make his business pay.

Mr. Clyde J. Wright, writing in the *New York Call*, tells of the new renting system now developing in Oklahoma and Texas. In the Texas instance, Mr. Wright tells of the farm of Mr. Preston Smith, where 35,000 acres are plotted out in farms of from 50 to 100 acres. Tenants are obliged to sign an agreement to follow out the directions of the agricultural experts who are employed by the owner. The tenant is furnished with the best of seed, tools and supplies. Experts advise him constantly. Power machinery does the plowing, reaping and threshing. An expert salesman markets the crops. All this service is charged up to the tenant, who finally gets the net proceeds as agreed upon in the contract. The advantage to the capitalist in this system is obvious. The tenant's advantage is not so clear. Unless he can make a favorable contract, his position cannot be much better than that of the city industrial worker.

(To Be Continued)

CLASS STRUGGLE NOTES

Capitalist Dynamiters.—William Wood, president of the American Woolen Trust, has been declared innocent of planting dynamite in the late Lawrence strike. It will be remembered that Dennis J. Collins confessed to having aided Breen plant the dynamite for the purpose of throwing the blame on the Lawrence strikers and arousing public indignation against the workers.

Collins has been convicted. Breen was also convicted shortly after the Lawrence strike. Breen declared he had hoped to make himself mayor of Lawrence. It is evident that mighty dirty work is required of the Woolen Trust to make it support any mayoralty candidate.

Both Breen and Collins swore that they received their pay from Fred E. Atteaux, a dealer in chemicals. The prosecution proved that the night before the dynamite was planted, a meeting was held at the home of Wood, at which Atteaux and other "employees of the mills had gathered to discuss the strike."

The District Attorney produced two checks, one signed by William Wood and made out to Atteaux for \$500.00 for services during the Lawrence strike, and one for \$505.00 signed by the treasurer of the Woolen Company. It was proven that Atteaux had been paid over \$2,600.

Collins swore that while he sneaked about Lawrence planting the dynamite with Breen, in order to frame up the plot against the strikers, he had no idea what the packages contained. Such a simple-hearted chap!

An attempt was made to throw the blame of the whole conspiracy upon Ernest W. Pittman, who committed suicide after the strike. Breen insisted that Pittman gave him the dynamite and that Atteaux paid the bills. Atteaux has secured a disagreement.

The papers report that the judge ruled out all incriminating evidence against President Wood. The telephone conversation purporting to show Wood was giving orders was thus thrown out, they say.

The I. W. W. may well be proud. It has not only proved itself innocent of the

dynamiting, but that the capitalist enemies actually did all the conspiring and dynamiting themselves. And the closer we look at the dirty trail, the nearer it brings us to William Wood. This is the public verdict in Massachusetts.

HENRY BERCOWICH.

Pennsylvania's Federation of Labor held its annual convention, May 12 to 16. Its deliberations were marked by a militant radicalism foreign to the character of Federation as it has been known.

At its first day's session, it decided to march on Harrisburg in a body and attend the Senate hearing, held on the 14th, to decide the fate of important labor legislation. The hearing was a memorable event. Three thousand people crowded the Senate chamber, where the hearing was held. President Maurer made a powerful address in which he flayed the Special Interests who opposed the labor bills. A sharp, wordy encounter took place between Maurer and the notorious "Jim McNickol," of Philadelphia. Maurer shook his fist in McNickol's face and told him to shut up" and not interrupt again while he was speaking. It was something unusual for the "Boss" of the Senate to be cowed by anyone, to say nothing of a workingman.

The convention resumed business Thursday morning and concluded its work Friday afternoon at 5 o'clock.

Maurer, the Socialist, against whom all the political power of Penrose and Oliver was directed, through labor union agents sitting in the convention as delegates, was re-elected president by unanimous vote. The politic-labor fakirs were entirely discredited on the floor and their efforts against Maurer availed them nothing. Comrade Maurer will be a great power in the state from this on and the crooked labor fakirs and corrupt political bosses know it.

In spite of the floods of advice the workers of Pennsylvania have received during the past year, from the ultra political Socialists who have had the field to themselves for a year, and have been predicting dire results from "direct ac-

tion," industrial unionism and anything else but "pure and simple" politics, the workers, driven by economic pressure, have gone straight ahead.

This convention will mark the end of chaotic unionism in the state and the beginning of a real labor movement, tending surely toward Industrial Unionism.

The convention adopted four resolutions which indicate the temper of the workers of Pennsylvania.

1. A resolution endorsing Industrial Unionism. The Fraternal Delegate to the A. F. of L. Convention will work for this end in the next meeting of that body.

2. A resolution pledging the active support of the Federation to the Woman's Suffrage campaign was adopted by a vote of 220 to 1.

3. A resolution declaring the intention of the Federation to boycott the Bread Trust. The importance of this action lies in the decision of the convention to defend the right of the workers to use the "boycott."

4. A resolution pledging the moral and financial support of the Federation to the Paterson strikers.

Nothing more striking took place in the convention. It illustrated the fine spirit of solidarity which has been developed in the state during the past year. When this resolution was brought in, the last hour of the convention, Executive Officer Hall, of Joe Golden's Textile Workers' Union, spoke for its adoption. Hall said: "I do not care if they do belong to the I. W. W., they are fighting the capitalist class and we ought to be with them." This voiced the sentiments of the convention, which adopted the resolution amid vigorous applause.

So after all, the real workers know their business. They believe in "direct action" to back "political action" up when that is weak. They will stand shoulder to shoulder with their persecuted brothers, even though they do belong to the I. W. W. They know that a Socialist has made a strong, trusty president. So they choose Jim Maurer again. Now we will test whether craft unions can be made into industrial unions. If they cannot, we will have industrial unions some way, even if it has to be the I. W. W.. Watch us.—Wheeler.

Legere Sentenced to One Year.—Comrade Benjamin Legere was convicted of rioting at Little Falls, May 23. His sentence is from one year to fifteen months at the Auburn prison. Comrade Legere's only crime is his effective work in helping the Little Falls mill hands to win their strike. Comrade Legere is of the working-class—a machinist. At 25 years of age he is a playwright as well as a convicted labor criminal. His plays are "The Yule Tide Story," "The Reformer," and "The Woman's Place." "The Woman's Place" has been pronounced more powerful than any of Bruix's plays on sex problems. It was produced in Tanton, Mass., where its boldness excited the repressive opposition of the Mayor after many presentations. When he received his sentence Comrade Legere said: "To my mind if anything has been shown by this case it is that the law has no place whatsoever in our social system of today, except as a weapon in the hands of mill owners who live by robbing the workers of the wealth they produce."

Buffalo—From all reports Buffalo, N. Y., holds the medal these days for rebellion of the members of the working class. Comrade W. F. Cattell, editor of the *Buffalo Socialist*, is in jail and the city can boast of twelve strikes. The Machinists' Union is increasing its membership and a general federation that will enable all to fight at the same time is being planned. They say at this time that the strike is practically won. The bell boys at the Ellicott Club, are among those on strike. The police are working side by side with the bosses, as usual, and some of the newspaper reporters are acting as special police. They are determined to stop all street meetings. The Socialists have proven so active in the strikes that the authorities have decided to kill off Socialism and discontent by crushing Free Speech in Buffalo. The more they fight us the stronger we grow.

Cleveland—C. E. Ruthenberg, editor of the *Cleveland Socialist*, was arrested while speaking on a street corner. The demand was made that he stop speaking. It looks as though we would not have any ACTIVE RESPECTABLE members in the Socialist party if this sort of thing keeps increasing.

No Sunday Shaves.—"What is so rare as a shave on Sunday" in New York, asks the *New York Call*, and replies, "A haircut, of course." About one million men in New York City and vicinity wanted shaves or hair-cuts on Sunday, but they found the new union of the barbers formed by the I. W. W. had succeeded in closing almost every shop. Union barbers surround some of the shops that keep open and they succeed in getting other barbers to quit at every attempt. Many barbershop windows now bear placards advising customers that "We Are Closed on Sunday." Most boss barbers have signed agreements with the I. W. W. to remain closed upon the Seventh Day. The *New York Call*, for June 2, reported: "Permanent headquarters were established yesterday for the new union of Manhattan barbers which has been organized by the I. W. W. at 52 East 4th street. Large numbers of boss barbers who had not previously made settlements called there yesterday to sign agreements." The new union has already succeeded in cutting off Sunday work for barbers in New York in a large majority of the shops. They intend to continue until every tonsorial artist in Manhattan shall have a chance to rest on Sunday like other folks.

Conspiracy and Street Speaking

Harry M. McKee and E. E. Kirk, Socialist attorneys for the free speech fighters at San Diego, Cal., have been convicted of conspiring to violate a law that was believed to be illegal by the defense. In the San Diego free speech fight, Socialist party members and members of the I. W. W. held meetings on the street to test the legality of a city ordinance. The fine and punishment for breaking this ordinance is 30 days and a \$50 fine, while conspiracy to break the law is punishable with six months in jail and a \$300 to \$1,000 fine. The two comrades will be serving their sentence before this copy of the REVIEW is off the press.

It will be remembered that this infamous free speech fight in San Diego originated when members of the Socialist Party were prohibited from holding street meetings. The fight had the endorsement of the entire local as well as the entire trades and union element in that city.

This latest atrocity on the part of the San Diego authorities is an attempt to revive an old English conspiracy law and to apply it to labor disturbances in America. It is sweep-

ingly menacing in its application, for Socialists everywhere may be railroaded to the penitentiary without ever having violated any of the laws of the land.

It may be used to crush out all street agitation of the Socialist party. The participants of every free speech fight, the soap-boxer who is determined to hold street meetings under the rights guaranteed him by the constitution, may be dragged off to jail and incarcerated at the will of the ruling class. The conspiracy law as applied to holding street meetings is one of the subtlest weapons yet forged by the enemies of labor. Freedom of speech and the rights of assembly are being wrested from the workers and without these rights, slavery is absolutely certain.

It is singular that Kaspar Bauer, who confessed to having held 150 street meetings, should have been acquitted, while Comrades McKee and Kirk were convicted. It is reported that Bauer had a conversation with J. L. Schon about a week after his arrest. Schon was the councilman who introduced the obnoxious ordinance and who was commissioner of police. Schon testified regarding his conversation with Bauer:

"We were talking about this subject, and this question of the violation of the ordinance, and during that conversation Bauer claimed that really, as a matter of fact, the thing had gotten away from them, that they had not intended to have so many violate the ordinance as had done so. I said, you are one of them, and he said yes, and I said Kirk was one, and he said yes, and then I named McKee and he said yes, and I said Mrs. Emerson and he said yes, and I said who are the others, and he said, I don't remember. We have got the list up at our office, and I said who were they, and he said, well I cannot recollect, but we only intended to have about five or six violate it." Pages 669-670 and 751. Reporters' transcript. *People vs. Wright, et al.*

Thirty-nine people were originally arrested for conspiracy and it seems from the testimony of the Police Commissioner that Kaspar Bauer's information given to the police is the primary evidence that convicted our comrades. Bauer got off free. Other free speech fighters have served, or are going to serve sentences.

The cases of all but fourteen of the original friends charged with conspiracy were dismissed. On trial, eight were acquitted—six I. W. W. men, George Woodbey and Kaspar Bauer. Six were convicted: two of these were given probation without having to serve a sentence—the organizer and secretary of the I. W. W. local.

Those who were convicted were Woodford Hubbard, organizer of the S. P. of Oklahoma, who served 30 days, Jack Whyte, member of the I. W. W. (whose manly defiance of the court was the probable cause of his sentence of six months), and the two Socialist attorneys—Comrades Kirk and McKee—three Socialists and one member of the I. W. W. We hope our comrades will call the attention of Comrade Korngold to these corrections.

War in Paterson

By John Reed

From "The Masses."

THESE war in Paterson. But it's a curious kind of war. All the violence is the work of one side—the Mill Owners. Their servants, the Police, club unresisting men and women and ride down law-abiding crowds on horseback. Their paid mercenaries, the armed Detectives shoot and kill innocent people. Their newspapers, the *Paterson Press* and the *Paterson Call*, publish incendiary and crime-inciting appeals to mob-violence against the strike leaders. Their tool, Recorder Carroll, deals out heavy sentences to peaceful pickets that the police-net gathers up. They control absolutely the Police, the Press, the Courts.

Opposing them are about twenty-five thousand striking silk-workers, of whom perhaps ten thousand are active, and their weapon is the picket-line. Let me tell you what I saw in Paterson and then you will say which side of this struggle is "anarchistic" and "contrary to American ideals."

At six o'clock in the morning a light rain was falling. Slate-grey and cold, the streets of Paterson were deserted. But soon came the Cops—twenty of them—strolling along with their night-sticks under their arms. We went ahead of them toward the mill district. Now we began to see workmen going in the same direction, coat collars turned up, hands in their pockets. We came into a long street, one side of which was lined with silk mills, the other side with the wooden tenement houses. In every doorway, at every window of the houses clustered foreign-faced men and women, laughing and chatting as if after breakfast on a holiday. There seemed no sense of expectancy, no strain or feeling of fear. The sidewalks were almost empty, only over in front of the mills a few couples—there couldn't have been more than fifty—marched slowly up and down, dripping with the rain. Some were men, with here and there a man and

woman together, or two young boys. As the warmer light of full day came the people drifted out of their houses and began to pace back and forth, gathering in little knots on the corners. They were quick with gesticulating hands, and low-voiced conversation. They looked often toward the corners of side streets.

Suddenly appeared a policeman, swinging his club. "Ah-h-h!" said the crowd softly.

Six men had taken shelter from the rain under the canopy of a saloon. "Come on! Get out of that!" yelled the policemen, advancing. The men quietly obeyed. "Get off this street! Go on home, now! Don't be standing here!" They gave way before him in silence, drifting back again when he turned away. Other policemen materialized, hustling, cursing, brutal, ineffectual. No one answered back. Nervous, bleary-eyed, unshaven, these officers were worn out with nine weeks incessant strike duty.

On the mill side of the street the picket-line had grown to about four hundred. Several policemen shouldered roughly among them, looking for trouble. A workman appeared, with a tin pail, escorted by two detectives. "Boo! Boo!" shouted a few scattered voices. Two Italian boys leaned against the mill fence and shouted a merry Irish threat, "Scab! Come outa here I knocka you' head off!" A policeman grabbed the boys roughly by the shoulder. "Get to hell out of here!" he cried, jerking and pushing them violently to the corner, where he kicked them. Not a voice, not a movement from the crowd.

A little further along the street we saw a young woman with an umbrella, who had been picketing, suddenly confronted by a big policeman.

"What the hell are you doing here?" he roared. "God damn you, go home!" and he jammed his club against her mouth. "I no go home!" she shrilled

passionately, with blazing eyes. "You bigga stiff!"

Silently, steadfastly, solidly the picket-line grew. In groups or in couples the strikers patrolled the sidewalk. There was no more laughing. They looked on with eyes full of hate. These were fiery-blooded Italians, and the police were the same brutal thugs that had beaten them and insulted them for nine weeks. I wondered how long they could stand it.

It began to rain heavily. I asked a man's permission to stand on the porch of his house. There was a policeman standing in front of it. His name, I afterwards discovered, was McCormack. I had to walk around him to mount the steps. Suddenly he turned round, and shot at the owner: "Do all them fellows live in that house?" The man indicated the three other strikers and himself, and shook his head at me.

"Then you get to hell off of there!" said the cop, pointing his club at me.

"I have the permission of this gentleman to stand here," I said. "He owns this house."

"Never mind! Do what I tell you! Come off of there, and come off damn quick!"

"I'll do nothing of the sort."

With that he leaped up the steps, seized my arm, and violently jerked me to the sidewalk. Another cop took my arm and they gave me a shove.

"Now you get to hell off this street!" said Officer McCormack.

"I won't get off this street or any other street. If I'm breaking any law, you arrest me!"

Officer McCormack, who is doubtless a good, stupid Irishman in time of peace, is almost helpless in a situation that requires thinking. He was dreadfully troubled by my request. He didn't want to arrest me, and said so with a great deal of profanity.

"I've got your number," said I sweetly. "Now will you tell me your name?"

"Yes," he bellowed, "an' I got *your* number! I'll arrest you." He took me by the arm and marched me up the street.

He was sorry he *had* arrested me. There was no charge he could lodge against me. I hadn't been doing anything. He felt he must make me say

something that could be construed as a violation of the Law. To which end he God damned me harshly, loading me with abuse and obscenity, and threatened me with his night-stick, saying, "You big — — lug, I'd like to beat the hell out of you with this club."

I returned airy persiflage to his threats.

Other officers came to the rescue—two of them—and supplied fresh epithets. I soon found them repeating themselves, however, and told them so. "I had to come all the way to Paterson to put one over on a cop!" I said. Eureka! They had at last found a crime! When I was arraigned in the Recorder's Court that remark of mine was the charge against me!

Ushered into the patrol-wagon, I was driven with much clanging of gongs along the picket-line. Our passage was greeted with "Boos" and ironical cheers, and enthusiastic waving. At Headquarters I was interrogated and lodged in the lock-up. My cell was about four feet wide by seven feet long, at least a foot higher than a standing man's head, and it contained an iron bunk hung from the side-wall with chains, and an open toilet of disgusting dirtiness in the corner. A crowd of pickets had been jammed into the same lockup only three days before, *eight or nine in a cell*, and kept there without food or water for *twenty-two hours*! Among them a young girl of seventeen, who had led a procession right up to the Police Sergeant's nose and defied him to arrest them. In spite of the horrible discomfort, fatigue and thirst, these prisoners had *never let up cheering and singing* for a day and a night!

In about an hour the outside door clanged open, and in came about forty pickets in charge of the police, joking and laughing among themselves. They were hustled into the cells, two in each. Then pandemonium broke loose! With one accord the heavy iron beds were lifted and slammed thunderingly against the metal walls. It was like a cannon battery in action. "Hooray for I. W. W.!" screamed a voice. And unanimously answered all the voices as one, "Hooray!"

"Hooray for Chief Bums!" (Chief of Police Bimson).

"Boo-o-o-o!" roared forty pairs of lungs—a great boom of echoing sound that had

more of hate in it than anything I ever heard.

"To hell wit' Mayor McBride!"

"Boo-o-o-o!" It was an awful voice in that reverberant iron room, full of menace.

"Hooray for Haywood! One bigga da Union! Hooray for da Strike! To hell wit' da police! Boo-o-o-o! Boo-o-o-o! Hooray! Killa da A. F. of L.! A. F. of Hell, you mean! Boo-o-o-o!"

"Musica! Musica!" cried the Italians, like children. Whereupon one voice went "Plunk-plunk! Plunk-plunk!" like a guitar, and another, a rich tenor, burst into the first verse of the Italian-English song, written and composed by one of the strikers to be sung at the strike meetings. He came to the chorus:

"Do you lika Miss Flynn?"

(Chorus) "Yes! Yes! Yes! Yes!"

"Do you lika Carlo Tresca?"

(Chorus) "Yes! Yes! Yes! Yes!"

"Do you lika Mayor McBride?"

(Chorus) "No! No! NO! NO!!!"

"Hooray for I. W. W.!"

"Hooray! Hooray!! Hooray!!!"

"Bis! Bis!" shouted everybody, clapping hands, banging the beds up and down. An officer came in and attempted to quell the noise. He was met with "Boos" and jeers. Some one called for water. The policeman filled a tin cup and brought it to the cell door. A hand reached out swiftly and slapped it out of his fingers on the floor. "Scab! Thug!" they yelled. The policemen retreated. The noise continued.

The time approached for the opening of the Recorder's Court, but word had evidently been brought that there was no more room in the County Jail, for suddenly the police appeared and began to open the cell doors. And so the strikers passed out, cheering wildly. I could hear them outside, marching back to the picket-line with the mob who had waited for them at the jail gates.

And then I was taken before the Court of Recorder Carroll. Mr. Carroll has the intelligent, cruel, merciless face of the ordinary police court magistrate. But he is worse than most police court magistrates. He sentences beggars to *six months' imprisonment* in the County Jail without a chance to answer back. He

also sends little children there, where they mingle with dope-fiends, and tramps, and men with running sores upon their bodies—to the County Jail, where the air is foul and insufficient to breathe, and the food is full of dead vermin, and grown men become insane.

Mr. Carroll read the charge against me. I was permitted to tell my story. Officer McCormack recited a clever *mélange* of lies that I am sure he himself could never have concocted. "John Reed," said the Recorder. "Twenty days." That was all.

And so it was that I went up to the County Jail. In the outer office I was questioned again, searched for concealed weapons, and my money and valuables taken away. Then the great barred door swung open and I went down some steps into a vast room lined with three tiers of cells. About eighty prisoners strolled around, talked, smoked, and ate the food sent in to them by those outside. Of this eighty almost half were strikers. They were in their street clothes, held in prison under \$500 bail to await the action of the Grand Jury. Surrounded by a dense crowd of short, dark-faced men, Big Bill Haywood towered in the center of the room. His big hand made simple gestures as he explained something to them. His massive, rugged face, seamed and scarred like a mountain, and as calm, radiated strength. These slight, foreign-faced strikers, one of many desperate little armies in the vanguard of the battle line of Labor, quickened and strengthened by Bill Haywood's face and voice, looked up at him lovingly, eloquently. Faces deadened and dulled with grinding routine in the sunless mills glowed with hope and understanding. Faces scarred and bruised from policemen's clubs grinned eagerly at the thought of going back on the picket line. And there were other faces, too—lined and sunken with the slow starvation of a nine weeks' poverty—shadowed with the sight of so much suffering, or the hopeless brutality of the police—and there were those who had seen Modestino Valentino shot to death by a private detective. But not one showed discouragement; not one a sign of faltering or of fear. As one little Italian said to me, with blazing eyes: "We all one bigga da Union. I. W. W.—"

dat word is pierced de heart of de people!"

"Yes! Yes! Dass righ'! I. W. W.! One bigga da Union"—they murmured with soft, eager voices, crowding around.

I shook hands with Haywood, who introduced me to Pat Quinlan, the thin-faced, fiery Irishman now under indictment for speeches inciting to riot.

"Boys," said Haywood, indicating me, "this man wants to *know* things. You tell him everything!"

They crowded around me, shaking my hand, smiling, welcoming me. "Too bad you get in jail," they said, sympathetically. "We tell you ever't'ing. You ask. We tell you. Yes. Yes. You good feller."

And they did. Most of them were still weak and exhausted from their terrible night before in the lock-up. Some had been lined up against a wall, as they marched to and fro in front of the mills, and herded to jail on the charge of unlawful assemblage! Others had been clubbed into the patrol wagon on the charge of "rioting," as they stood at the track, on their way home from picketing, waiting for a train to pass! They were being held for the Grand Jury that indicted Haywood and Gurley Flynn. *Four of these jurymen were silk manufacturers, another the head of the local Edison company—which Haywood tried to organize for a strike—and not one a workingman!*

"We not take bail," said another, shaking his head. "We stay here. Fill up de damn jail. Pretty soon no more room. Pretty soon can't arrest no more picket!"

It was visitors' day. I went to the door to speak with a friend. Outside the reception room was full of women and children, carrying packages, and pasteboard boxes, and pails full of dainties and little comforts lovingly prepared, which meant hungry and ragged wives and babies, so that the men might be comfortable in jail. The place was full of the sound of moaning; tears ran down their work-roughened faces; the children looked up at their fathers' unshaven faces through the bars and tried to reach them with their hands.

"What nationalities are all the people?" I asked. There were Dutchmen, Italians, Belgians, Jews, Slovaks, Germans, Poles.

"What nationalities stick together on the picket line?"

A young Jew, pallid and sick-looking from insufficient food, spoke up proudly. "T'ree great nations stick togedder like dis." He made a fist. "T'ree great nations—Italians, Hebrews an' Germans!"

"But how about the Americans?"

They all shrugged their shoulders and grinned with humorous scorn. "English peoples not go on picket line," said one, softly. "'Mericans no lika fight!" An Italian boy thought my feelings might be hurt, and broke in quickly: "Not all lika dat. Beeg Beell, *he* 'Merican. *You* 'Merican. Quinl', Miss Flynn, 'Merican. *Good! Good!* 'Merican workman, he lika talk too much."

This sad fact appears to be true. It was the English-speaking group that held back during the Lawrence strike. It is the English-speaking contingent that remains passive at Paterson, while the "wops," the "kikes," the "hunkies"—the "degraded and ignorant races from Southern Europe"—go out and get clubbed on the picket line and gaily take their medicine in Paterson jail.

But just as they were telling me these things the keeper ordered me to the "convicted room," where I was pushed into a bath and compelled to put on regulation prison clothes. I shan't attempt to describe the horrors I saw in that room. Suffice it to say that forty-odd men lounged about a long corridor lined on one side with cells; that the only ventilation and light came from one small skylight up a funnel-shaped air shaft; that one man had syphilitic sores on his legs and was treated by the prison doctor with sugar pills for "nervousness"; that a 17-year-old boy *who had never been sentenced* had remained in that corridor without ever seeing the sun for over *nine months*; that a cocaine fiend was getting his "dope" regularly from the inside, and that the background of this and much more was the monotonous and terrible shouting of a man who had lost his mind in that hell hole and who walked among us.

There were about fourteen strikers in the "convicted" room—Italians, Lithuanians, Poles, Jews, one Frenchman and one "free-born" Englishman! That English-

man was a peach. He was the only Anglo-Saxon striker in prison except the leaders—and perhaps the only one who *had been* there for picketing. He had been sentenced for insulting a mill owner who came out of his mill and ordered him off the sidewalk. "Wait till I get out!" he said to me. "If them damned English-speaking workers don't go on picket I'll put the curse o' Cromwell on 'em!"

Then there was a Pole—an aristocratic, sensitive chap, a member of the local Strike Committee, a born fighter. He was reading Bob Ingersoll's lectures, translating them to the others. Patting the book, he said with a slow smile: "Now I don't care if I stay in here one year." One thing I noticed was the utter and reasonable irreligion of the strikers—the Italians, the Frenchmen—the strong Catholic races, in short—and the Jews, too.

"Priests, it is a profesh'. De priest, he gotta work same as any workin' man. If we ain't gotta no damn Church we been strikin' t'ree hundred years ago. Priest, he iss all a time keeping working man down!"

And then, with laughter, they told me how the combined clergy of the city of Paterson had attempted from their pulpits to persuade them back to work—back to wage slavery and the tender mercies of the mill owners on grounds of religion! They told me of that disgraceful and ridiculous conference between the Clergy and the Strike Committee, with the Clergy in the part of Judas. It was hard to believe that until I saw in the paper the sermon delivered the previous day at the Presbyterian Church by the Reverend William A. Littell. He had the impudence to flay the strike leaders and advise workmen to be respectful and obedient to their employers—to tell them that the saloons were the cause of their unhappiness—to proclaim the horrible depravity of Sabbath-breaking workmen, and more rot of the same sort. And this while living men were fighting for their very existence and singing gloriously of the Brotherhood of Man!

The lone Frenchman was a lineal descendant of the Republican doctrinaires of the French Revolution. He had been a Democrat for thirteen years, then suddenly had become converted to Social-

ism. Blazing with excitement, he went round bubbling with arguments. He had the same blind faith in Institutions that characterized his ancestors, the same intense fanaticism, the same willingness to die for an idea. Most of the strikers were Socialists already—but the Frenchman was bound to convert every man in that prison. All day long his voice could be heard, words rushing forth in a torrent, tones rising to a shout, until the keeper would shut him up with a curse. When the fat deputy sheriff from the outer office came into the room the Frenchman made a dive for him, too.

"You're not producing anything," he'd say, eyes snapping, finger waving violently up and down, long nose and dark, excited face within an inch of the deputy's. "You're an unproductive worker—under Socialism we'll get what we're working for—we'll get all we make. Capital's not necessary. Of course it ain't! Look at the Post Office—is there any private capital in that? Look at the Panama Canal. That's Socialism. The American Revolution was a smugglers' war. Do you know what is the Economic Determinism?" This getting swifter and swifter, louder and louder, more and more fragmentary, while a close little circle of strikers massed round the Deputy, watching his face like hounds on a trail, waiting till he opened his mouth to riddle his bewildered arguments with a dozen swift retorts. Trained debaters, all these, in their Locals. For a few minutes the Deputy would try to answer them, and then, driven into a corner, he'd suddenly sweep his arm furiously around, and bellow:

"Shut up, you damned dagos, or I'll clap you in the dungeon!" And the discussion would be closed.

Then there was the strike breaker. He was a fat man, with sunken, flabby cheeks, jailed by some mistake of the Recorder. So completely did the strikers ostracize him—rising and moving away when he sat by them, refusing to speak to him, absolutely ignoring his presence—that he was in a pitiable condition of loneliness.

"I've learned my lesson," he moaned. "I ain't never goin' to scab on working men no more!"

One young Italian came up to me with

a newspaper and pointed to three items in turn. One was "American Federation of Labor hopes to break the Strike next week"; another, "Victor Berger says 'I am a member of the A. F. of L., and I have no love for the I. W. W. in Paterson,'" and the third, "Newark Socialists refuse to help the Paterson Strikers."

"I no un'erstand," he told me, looking up at me appealingly. "You tell me. I Socialis'—I belong Union—I strike wit' I. W. W. Socialis', he say, 'Worke'men of de worl', Unite!' A. F. of L., he say, 'All workmen join togedder.' Bot' dese organ-i-zashe, he say, 'I am for de Working Class.' Awri', I say, I am de Working Class. I unite, I strike. Den he say, 'No! You *cannot* strike!' Why dat? I no un'erstan'. You explain me."

But I could not explain. All I could say was that a good share of the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor have forgotten all about the Class Struggle, and seem to be playing a little

game with Capitalistic rules, called "Button, button, who's got the Vote!"

When it came time for me to go out I said good-bye to all those gentle, alert, brave men, ennobled by something greater than themselves. *They* were the strike—not Bill Haywood, not Gurley Flynn, not any other individual. And if they should lose all their leaders other leaders would arise from the ranks, even as *they* rose, and the strike would go on! Think of it! Twelve years they have been losing strikes—twelve solid years of disappointments and incalculable suffering. They must not lose again! They can not lose!

And as I passed out through the front room they crowded around me again, patting my sleeve and my hand, friendly, warm hearted, trusting, eloquent. Haywood and Quinlan had gone out on bail.

"You go out," they said softly. "Thass nice. Glad you go out. Pretty soon we go out. Then we go back on picket line."

Social Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effect of Pure-and-Simplism Upon the German Labor Movement Since 1900

Part IV—Continued

THE employers became alarmed at this rapid growth of organized labor in Germany and formed powerful employers' leagues for aggressive action against the labor organizations. This aggression took the form of the blacklist and lockouts. We have not the figures at hand, but it is a matter of universal knowledge that during this period organized labor in Germany had to fight off more lockouts than the workers in any other country with large industry. The German employers began closing up their fighting ranks more and more, hedging in their employees by lockouts following lockouts ever larger in scope, in extent of industry and territory affected, and ever more frequent.

This aggressive move on the part of German capitalism goaded the workers into

organizing more and more. Capitalist concentration and persecution proved a stinging lash, or rather a sort of what the medical practitioner calls *heroic treatment*. Under its effective action the sluggish blood and nerve of the craft unions began tingling and pulsating with new energy. The unions grew in membership and became more and more compact in organization.

This tendency to consolidation found its clearest expression in the powerful federations of the craft organizations in the building trades, the metal industry, among longshoremen, seamen, woodworkers, and miners.

A few figures are in place to show the unprecedented growth of organized labor in Germany in point of membership and

financial strength. The total membership of all the trade unions to date is, in round numbers, 2,700,000, or fully one-third of all the industrial wage earners. The income of all the labor unions affiliated with the General Commission of Trade Unions in 1910 was slightly over 64,000,000 marks and the total expense 57,000,000 m.* Of this amount twenty millions were paid out in strike and lockout benefits; one million in traveling benefits; six million in out-of-work; nine million in sick; 316,000 marks in removal; 505,000 in invalidity; 540,000 in distress, benefit 330,000 m. for legal aid, and 884,000 m. in death benefits. Funds on hand in 1910 amounted to 53,000,000 marks. The above unions also maintain 113 labor secretariats and 213 information bureaus or agencies for affording legal aid in cases involving workmen's insurance, civil law, the penal code, labor and service contracts, local and central government regulations, and the labor movement. 610,897 cases were handled by the secretariats, 46,346 cases by the agencies.

Besides the trade unions proper, the German workers have, during this period, built up a strong movement for co-operative distribution and production. This movement was launched and nursed to its present strength largely through the initiative and later efforts of the *fringe* in the Social Democracy. Its leadership was, until very recently, quite progressive, its whole spirit and methods more or less socialistic. Of late, though, this co-operative movement is slowly drifting away from its former class struggle and social-democratic moorings and near to the bourgeois type of the English co-operatives. Still, this movement is radically different from the co-operative doings and aims of the societies organized and developed under the leadership of Schulze-Delitsch and his co-workers among the bourgeois philanthropists and the clergy.

This new type of co-operation is noted for its energy and push and is quite up-to-date in its business methods. A chain of co-operative stores opened in the large industrial communities are doing a rushing business on a national scale. In point of their financial soundness, the annual volume

of trade they do, as well as in point of coherent, well-knit organization and federation and the amount of competent leadership and managerial ability they have developed, the United Co-operative Societies of Germany yield the first place only to the co-operative movement of the United Kingdom. Recently some of the German societies went into manufacturing with a fair degree of success from the business point of view. This co-operative activity has also proved quite helpful to the workers during strikes and lockouts.

To sum up, it is safe to say that, as borne out by the above brief sketch, the German labor movement is the strongest in the world in point of paid-up membership in proportion to the total number of industrial wage workers in Germany, and is best equipped with hard cash. These trade unions may also be ranked first on the European continent as the ideal type of craft union organization and federation, well-knit, compact, and efficient. But this is true *only provided we gauge the achievements of the German workers in this field by the standards, ideals, and methods worked out by our own A. F. L. or the archaic remnants of British trade unionism of the old school.*

True, the German workers possess a high level of intelligence. They are to a great extent class-conscious and imbued with solidarity in the parliamentary fields. They are untiring, painstaking, and thorough in their efforts even in the economic field as far as the above standards of fossilized unionism can reach. In spite of the chilling frowns or the half-hearted nods of approving condescension on the part of the pure-and-simplist core of the Social-Democracy, they have, since 1900, done admirable work along the lines of economic organization and economic combat as far as the dying-out school of more or less federated craft-unionism can go. Their tills are well stocked with cash, their bank deposits are quite bulky.

Yes, they have all these assets, but they *lack something else*. Their liabilities are quite heavy and their failure is very tangible. What is this *something* which they lack? What is the name of this lack? And who or what is responsible for it? We shall be in a much better position to find its fitting name and dig down to its bedrock cause if we first take a close look

*The German mark, nominally equivalent to 24 cents, may be estimated at 33-35 cents as far as purchasing power is concerned.

at the many weak spots in which this fundamental *minus* crops out very often and very glaringly into full view.

The first weak cog in the trade union machine is the fact that a number of "yellow" and otherwise reactionary groups of workers under various names disgrace the labor movement in Germany. These benighted wage workers were hauled in on the dragnets of popes, parsons, and other sky-piloting gentry of various hues. Then came other sharks from the camp of social reformers, out for baiting labor in the interest of "social harmony." The bait was so alluring and the haul so rich that the membership in these various fish ponds rose from about 200,000 at the close of the last century to some 600,000 or over 22 per cent of all the organized wage workers in 1910, while the membership in the Social-Democratic unions rose during the same period from 500,000 to about 2,100,000.

What does it mean? These tell-tale figures simply show that the first increased 200 per cent and the latter 300 per cent; that is, the ratio of increase was pretty near the same in both cases. It means that the seemingly tremendous growth of class-conscious unionism has failed to stem the tide of these reactionary groups *to the same extent*; instead of reducing them at its own rate of growth (300 per cent), it has allowed them to expand to two-thirds of its rate. How are we to account for this mathematical puzzle?

What deepens the mystery is the fact that the influence of these herds upon the labor movement in Germany is far above their mere numbers. Their combined reactionary weight is often surprisingly heavy and decisive; they tip the scale just at the critical moments of the class struggle in the economic field. Take, for instance, the mining industry in Germany. In all other countries, the miners are the most revolutionary, the most class-conscious section of the working class. Among them all lines of race, color, or creed are wiped out. These militant workers always march in close ranks and fight to a man. Their class vision and closer feeling are remarkably keen.

In England, the son of Erin, the Welshman, the Scotchman, and the Englishman—all forget their creeds and their racial ani-

mosity that the tools of capitalism craftily create and nurse among them; they unite in battle on terms of solidarity in the face of their common foe. The same is true of Darkest Russia, revolutionary France, or this country, where the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners are such a Babel of tongues and races. In Germany, however, the 200,000 organized miners are cleft in two hostile camps. Nearly 100,000 miners belong to the above herds. The disastrous effects of this state of things were shown in the recent general strike in the Ruhr Coal Fields. The German miners walked out in sympathy with the great strike of the English coal miners. It was a critical moment for the German coal barons and the whole industry was on the point of a complete tie-up.

Had the German mine workers stood united and had the transport worker refused to handle the scab-mined product, not a pound of coal would have been shipped to relieve the coal famine in England. The Germans would have thus given a tremendous lift to their English comrades in their glorious struggle and they themselves would have won all their demands for higher pay and shorter hours. They would have made short work with pluck-me stores, frauds in checking the weight of coal mined and hauled, fines, rack rent and company-owned ramshackles, together with all other forms of fraud, extortion, persecution, and brutality on the part of the mine-owners and their hirelings. Now, instead of all this, 85,000 of this "yellow" herd proved traitors; they refused to follow the strike call, and so helped smash what might have been the most brilliant upheaval in the history of the German labor movement.

We see, then, that the Social-Democratic trade unions have done almost nothing, or, if they tried, have failed almost completely to win over any *tangible* portion of these benighted wage-slave groups.

Now, the Social-Democratic unions boast of their splendid cash tills, their rapid growth in membership, and their compact craft-union federations. They had, besides the priceless services the fringe of the Social-Democracy itself with its enormous party and labor press and its powerful mechanism for class-conscious propaganda. Then, they are of one race, speak the same

language; they think, feel, and strive in more or less the same way, that is their mental and moral make-up is cast in pretty nearly the same Germanic mould. They have the same standard of life, and their tastes and habits are more or less the same and much more so than in the case among workers in any other country under the sway of large industry. Again, they are not handicapped by immigration or cheap labor power to any appreciable extent.

Geographical, climatic, industrial, political, and all other conditons that have any bearing on the success of trade union organization on a large scale are far more uniform all over Germany than, *for instance*, in England, Italy, Russia or the United States. The territory or field of operation of the German unions, the size of the country to be won for organized labor, is far smaller in extent than in the two last mentioned countries. Finally, they had the powerful stimulus for economic organization supplied, as we have seen above, by the rapid growth and concentration of German industry with its foreign trade and all its other peculiarities. These are forces which make for organization at the shop, mine, and field. These forces, ought to weld workers into a *class* organization at the point of production,—an organization at once compact and well-knit in its make-up, efficient and militant in action, and irresistible in its reaching out for the large *inert* layers of unorganized wage-slaves. The workers of no other country have these forces at their command, neither all of these forces together, nor any of them to the same extent. And yet, with all this tremendous leverage in their grasp, the Social-Democratic trade unions *failed signally, astoundingly, hugely*, to carry the war into the enemy's camp. What is the secret of this failure?

Prominent German trade unionists of the pure-and-simplist dye, with Legien in the lead, advance the lame plea that the above reactionary miners and many thousands of benighted workers in southern Germany are what they are because they are led by Jesuits and other Catholic clericals of the Centrist Party. They are, Legien adds, an *insignificant minority* and so of no consequence. But, first, the Jesuits and Centrists are not the only labor baiters at the behest of the Vatican. There are the various Christian, patriotic, and other reactionary

groups, all of them good Protestants, and some are led even by so-called Progressives.* Nor are they confined to southern Germany with its small industry. We also saw above how *significant* they frequently become.

Again, and what clinches the point is the *absurdity* of the above plea as a whole. What Legien pleads is *simply begging the question!* How did it happen that so many thousands of German proletarians were and are so helpless, so devoid of class feeling as to fall a prey to the cunning wiles and tight clutch of the above Catholic-clerical brood? Are not the Irish, French, Italian, Poles, and many other workers just as much or even more under the sway of their Catholic clergies? And do they prove traitors in the class struggle? Besides, in this very Ruhr district and in the teeth of the clerical clique, the Social Democracy polled a vote heavy enough to defeat the Centrist candidate.

How does this *parliamentary* good luck square with the above disgraceful loss in the economic field? Where were the Social-Democratic unions with all their wonderful resources and advantages as pointed out above? Why have they failed to capture the field in the South? And what have they accomplished in the Protestant North as far as the "yellow" unions are concerned? Organized workers in other countries, and especially miners, very often in small minorities, develop enough organizing energy irrespective of creed, color, or race. They never fail to stir up the most backward sections of the workers and carry them along in their onward dash during great strikes or other mass upheavals. Why, then, have the *millions of organized Social-Democratic* workers failed to impart the same *impetus* to their own misguided fellow workers? Why could they not jerk up and inject some life into this drowsy mass of inert wage-slaves?

With their splendid organizations in the North, their bulky money bags, and all the other resources and agencies in their favor, they ought to have accomplished, along this line, far more than the workers in any other country under modern capitalism. But, instead, they have done far less in this field, in proportion to their apparent economic strength, than even what the poorest

*Members of the Progressive Party in the Reichstag.

Russian wage-slaves did prior to and during the general strike of 1905 and continue to do even now.

The Russian workers, were poor, ignorant, and inexperienced. They were in the mighty grip of that medieval monster called the Orthodox Russian church with its hordes of fanatical priests, monks, and other vampires trading in unctuous cant and pious fraud. Then, there was the bloodiest of Czarisms that ever cursed the human race, that fiendish autocracy with all its brutality, its despotism, its cossacks and knout, its huge grasping brood of bureaucrats, nobles, and all other parasites trampling down the workers and crushing out their life blood in its iron grip. In spite of all these enormous odds against them, the Russian proletarians have done wonders in a few years where the Germans have failed in 30 years.

(2) *Comparative sterility in their own field with scraps and pickings as the measure of success is the second weak point of the German trade unions.* The following items are practically all the gains they have made in the economic field during 1905-1910: 400,000 members of the building trades have raised their wage level 2.8 marks (70-80 cents); in the printing, wood-working, clothing, textile, food, drink, transport, and retail trades many thousands of workers have gained an advance in wages of 1.5 to 2 marks (from 38-50 cents to 50-70 cents) per week; in the metal trades, 2.8 marks (70-80 cents) per week.

Of those receiving the above advance in wages during 1910, 53 per cent never took

part in strikes or were affected by lockouts; in 1909, 73 per cent; in 1908, 88 per cent. The metal trades are the best organized, and next to them are the building trades, and these two *strongest* federations gained the paltry raise of some 80 cents per week! And the average advance in wages for all these trades, that is the banner trades in point of organized membership, during this period of the greatest growth and activity of the trade unions, amounts to 66 cents per week! What is more striking, over 72 per cent is the average for the years 1908-1910 of those receiving any raise in wages that never took part in strikes or were not affected by lockouts.

That is, 72 per cent of the workers in the best organized trades owe the slight swelling in their pay envelopes to agencies *outside* of the militant efforts of the trade unions! If we take into account the enormous jump in the cost of living and especially in the price of foodstuffs, cereals and meat included, during this period, we are almost appalled at the utter inability of the German trade unions to keep the pace. As a matter of fact, the German workers, in spite of their bulky union funds, are the poorest fed if compared with the workers in England or the United States. Any one who has lived in Germany for some time knows well how poor and limited the dietary budget of a well-paid German mechanic is. Meat is a comparative luxury with him, even during industrial prosperity and low prices. At present the industrial proletariat in Germany is glad to eat dog meat, but can't get enough even of this!

Socialism and Education

William E. Bohn

(A review of Chapters XI and XII in William English Walling's "The Larger Aspects of Socialism.")

WE need a book on this subject. We need a good book, and we need it now. But in lieu of the book which has not yet appeared, the present writer receives with profound thankfulness the two chapters on education in Comrade Walling's newly published volume.

Walling has done a new thing in Socialist writing. A good many expositors of the faith

of Marx, write as if they had Socialism to sell at a reduced rate. The very best representatives of it, like Bebel in Germany and Gustavus Myers in this country, give a solid and comparatively exhaustive view of some one of its aspects. What Walling has tried to do is to give a general view of Socialism in its relations to modern philosophy, science, religion, and education. One who attempts a task as daring as this must be content with partial success. But the attempt in itself is enough to give us a new landmark, and Walling's success is sufficient to give deep satisfaction to

those who have an abiding faith at once in Socialism and in the great forces at work in our civilization.

In no part of his task was our author's work more difficult than in these chapters on education. As he himself indicates, European works on the subject have little help to offer. And in this country discussion of the subject has been extremely limited. For a time the *Progressive Journal of Education* dealt with it vigorously and intelligently. But the existence of the *Journal* was short as it was brilliant. At present we have the *American Teacher* in the field fighting vigorously against some of the worst features in our educational system. But in view of its vast importance the total amount of thought which American Socialists have given to the subject of education is negligible. In dealing with this subject, therefore, the author of "The Larger Aspects of Socialism" was practically entering upon a virgin field.

The substance of the chapters in question can be stated very briefly: Our author secures an outline of the Socialist ideal of education by combining the work of three or four of the most advanced educationists, and then shows that this ideal cannot be attained without the domination of society by the working-class. The authorities most liberally drawn on are Madame Montessori, John Dewey, and Boris Sidis. Montessori, with her scientifically based sense training for little children and her emphasis upon education through the doing of real things that have a real social value, furnishes the first part of the system roughly sketched, the part having to do with the kindergarten age. John Dewey, with his broad social view of the educational process and his insistence upon industrial education as opposed to vocational training, furnishes the second part, that having to do with the years usually spent in the elementary school. Boris Sidis, with his brilliant achievement in dealing with the more purely intellectual phases of education, furnishes the last part, or that having to

do chiefly with the years spent in high school and college. Leo Tolstoi, Francisco Ferrer, Max Stirner and G. Stanley Hall are also levied upon for various ideas which are welded rather skillfully into the author's scheme of things.

Capitalism, Walling contends, will never realize this ideal or anything like it. "While the demand of the people and of most educators is for a broader education than we now have, the demand of the business man is for a narrower one." Capitalism demands docility; modern education aims at originality and adaptability. Moreover, education as exemplified in the best private schools demands a teacher for every ten or fifteen pupils; the best education which a capitalist government is willing to furnish provides a teacher for every forty or fifty pupils. We now spend \$450,000,000 on education; the realization of our ideal would necessitate the expenditure of many times that amount. Therefore the progress of education beyond certain very definite limits depends upon the advent of the Socialist commonwealth.

Of course it would be easy to find fault with this treatment of the subject of education. Comrade Walling writes evidently as a reader of books on education rather than as an educator. There is, moreover, a suggestion of superficiality about this rapid method of outlining an educational system by combining the work of three widely different authorities. But it may be said in defense that this book is not an attempt to produce a new system of education, philosophy or anything else. The author is rather giving a rapid account of those features of our intellectual forward movement which are more or less definitely connected with Socialism. Whatever his success in the other fields, he has certainly succeeded in this one of education. And incidentally he has made several suggestive combinations of theory and throws out ideas which will be of great usefulness if Socialists pay even a little attention to them.

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EDITORIAL

The Hatfield Whitewash

WE had intended to comment editorially on the Socialist Party Investigating Committee's endorsement of Governor Hatfield of West Virginia, but we think it best merely to reproduce here a very few of the opinions on the situation and on the committee's report as expressed by Socialists and trade union friends who have been or are *on the ground*. In the *Appeal to Reason* of June 7, Comrade John Kenneth Turner says:

"The Governor is more a criminal than the Felz brothers themselves; for in addition to the crimes they have committed he has committed others, among them, a plain violation of his oath of office. Governor Hatfield a few days ago declared that Mother Jones had never been imprisoned. **Hatfield is a liar.**"

The *Parkersburg Socialist* comments:

"The Governor has exercised despotic powers and ridden rough-shod over the liberties and rights of the citizens of West Virginia."

The *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* remarks:

"The Demo-Re-Bull newspapers of West Virginia, which have so valiantly supported all those responsible for the reign of anarchy which has prevailed in the Kanawha coal fields for the past year, are getting a lot of satisfaction out of the fact that the Socialist Investigating Committee 'EXONERATED' Governor Hatfield."

In the *Appeal to Reason* of June 12 Comrade Debs says: "I would take Governor Hatfield's word every time." Well, we wouldn't. We prefer to take the word of the Socialists and miners who have been fighting, and writing, and going to prison at the command of Governor Hatfield.

In the *Social Democratic Herald* of June 7, Comrade Berger says:

"Governor Hatfield had no use for the Socialist Party prior to our conference with him, but that his views changed was evident from what he did **after** the conference. Even the two Socialist papers which were suppressed recently have been re-established and all the owners will be reimbursed for all damages done by the militia."

In referring to this statement, Com-

rade W. H. Thompson, editor of the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star*, writes us:

"In regard to Berger's interview with himself, we were all released from prison BEFORE the committee succeeded in gaining a conference with the King." He adds, "and the Governor has not reimbursed the owners of the two confiscated Socialist papers. When we sent a committee to see His Highness in regard to making good this damage, he told them to GO TO HELL."

Two other Socialist editors of West Virginia write as follows:

"Hatfield, Haggerty & Company set a trap and our Socialist Investigating Committee walked right into it. The committee's report is absolutely incorrect in regard to Hatfield. "The Investigating Committee have made asses of themselves."

Another comrade writes, "The report that Debs signed was not true" and Comrade C. H. Boswell says: "The Governor has completely failed to keep his promise made so freely to the Investigating Committee." Another friend writes:

"Read the *Labor Argus*, edited by Charles Boswell or the *Huntington Socialist and Labor Star* if you want to know what the rank and file think of Our Committee's Report."

The Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly, which has steadily exposed the methods of Hatfield, expected reinforcements when the Socialist Committee came to West Virginia. When it was reported that Debs, Berger and Germer had endorsed the Governor, *The Intelligencer*, one of the bitterest foes of the working class, came forth screaming with delight in the following:

NOW GO AFTER DEBS AND BERGER.

"Debs and Berger have come into West Virginia, have seen the situation and have publicly commended Governor Hatfield for his course towards the miners and during the strike.

"Now it will be up to the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly to denounce Debs and Berger as hirelings of capital who ought to be sent to jail. Now by all means let us

have another mass meeting in which those two rank plutocrats, Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger, will be pilloried as public foes and as assassins of popular rights.

"There have been a good many evidences recently that the present leaders of the Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly did not have the character worthy of an organization supposed to represent the great labor interests of the Ohio Valley. That leadership committed the Trades and Labor Assembly to the endorsement of a city charter which was full of defects and weaknesses. In spite of the frenzied appeals of Socialist orators, the working people of Wheeling voted almost to a man against the charter. Again we see the Trades and Labor Assembly by the same leadership committed to a virulent verbal assault upon the governor of West Virginia, and making charges against him which are found to be utterly untrue by such distinguished labor advocates as Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger.

"Isn't it about time that conservative and level headed men in the Trades Assembly began to make themselves heard?"

Thus they used the report of the Socialist Committee to discredit Socialists and union opponents of Hatfield.

Three locals of the U. M. W. of A. simultaneously have demanded the recall of Thomas Haggerty, member of the International Executive Board of the organization, charging that he is supporting their worst enemy—Governor Hatfield (see report elsewhere in the REVIEW). It will be remembered that Haggerty is suing Comrade Boswell, editor of the *Labor Argus*, for libel. Boswell denounced Haggerty for defending Hatfield in his action of forcing the odious "strike settlement" upon the miners.

This same Haggerty was Debs' escort in the conference between Governor Hatfield and Debs. This conference took place BEFORE DEBS HAD INVESTIGATED AMONG THE STRIKERS and resulted in Debs' endorsement of the Governor.

It was Hatfield who issued the famous ultimatum commanding the strikers to get back to work within thirty-six hours or be deported from the state. It was the U. M. W. officials who went into the strike zone (accompanied by soldiers) to tell the strikers their financial support would be withdrawn, thus FORCING the strikers to return to the mines.

Strange as it may seem, we gather from all reports that these U. M. W. of A. officials, the Investigating Committee of

the Socialist Party and Governor Hatfield are able to work together in a most amazing harmony. It is the rank and file of the U. M. W. who have found it necessary to fight and expose the Governor as well as their own officers.

If the United Mine Workers could rid themselves of their compromising officials and rule their own organization, the splendid men in the rank and file would make it a real fighting industrial union that nothing could check.

One thing more, the Investigating Committee is at present engaged in eulogizing the OFFICIALS of the U. M. W. of A. and excusing Governor Hatfield. It claims that the Governor will permit the U. M. W. organizers to go all over the state (with an armed guard, if necessary) organizing the miners.

Why should he not? It was through the assistance of these U. M. W. officials that the strikers were driven back to work. It may have dawned upon an astute Governor that the United Mine Worker OFFICIALS have proved valuable in an extremity. Even the coal operators may see this in time. The officials turned upon the members of their own organization in West Virginia. They will do it again.

We want to ask the Comrades the following very pertinent questions:

If the OFFICIALS of the U. M. W. succeed in organizing the militant miners in West Virginia.

WILL THE COAL OPERATORS (whom they have been fighting for over a year) COLLECT THEIR UNION DUES?

Will they be compelled to sign contracts, expiring at different dates, that will PREVENT THEM FROM STRIKING TOGETHER?

Will these contracts make every union man subject to a FINE of TEN DOLLARS a DAY for refusing to work and throwing a mine idle?

Will HALF OF THESE FINES BE PAID TO THE COAL OPERATORS to repay them for any profits they may thus lose?

We ask these questions because these are the methods adopted by the OFFICIALS of the U. M. W. of A. in other states.

MARY E. MARCY.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The War Against War.—Last winter the Socialists of the world met in Switzerland to discuss the means of preserving peace. Since then international complications have grown more threatening. In both France and Germany the governments are forcing through the legislative assemblies measures which will largely increase the expenditures for armies and navies. And it has recently been proved that the manufacturers of war materials make a business of bribing the press to bring about international conflicts. In view of all these facts the conference of German and French parliamentarians at Bern has an epoch-making importance.

The notion of calling such a conference arose in a peculiarly interesting way. Its birthplace was Alsace-Lorraine, more than once the prize of war and for more than forty years the sign and symbol of international hatred and misunderstanding. The members of the provincial assembly of Alsace-Lorraine issued to the people of France and Germany a manifesto in favor of peace; as representatives of the people of this war belt, they served notice that their constituents do not wish to be fought over. This action gave the members of the assembly of Switzerland the idea of taking still more definite action in the interest of peace. Acting in accordance with the finest traditions of their ancient mountain republic, they invited the members of the French and German parliaments to meet at Bern on May 11 to consider the common interests of the two great peoples and take whatever steps seemed best to preserve the peace between them.

On the date set there appeared in the Swiss city 218 French and German legislators. Of this number, 41 were members of the German Reichstag, 164 were members of the French Chamber of Deputies, 21 were members of the French Senate, and 4 represented the assembly at Alsace. Of course, the great majority were Socialists. The German parliamentary group was represented by an elected delegation. There was, however, a considerable group of German and French

Liberals on hand to add their voices to those of the Socialists. Altogether the 218 men in session there in Bern on terms of mutual good will and understanding furnished a remarkable demonstration of international solidarity. The Socialists were there because the working class is unalterably opposed to war; the Liberals were there because war is opposed to civilization.

Unanimously the conference adopted a resolution denouncing the attempts made on both sides to stir up hatred and establishing a permanent committee authorized to call another similar conference whenever it may seem advisable. The mere passing of a resolution always seems like an anti-climax to the gathering of such an impressive body as that brought together at Bern. But the important thing is that the very existence of such a body called out in both nations all the forces making for peace and sanity.

Of course, the very idea of such a coming together would have been an absurdity were it not for working-class solidarity and working-class representation in the parliaments of the nations. Here, perhaps more definitely than ever, the representatives of labor stood forth as the leaders of the civilization of the future.

England, Signs and Portents.—Seldom is there such a stirring up of the dry bones of national life as can now be seen in England. Suffragette militancy, the Marconi scandal, syndicalist agitation, renewed discussion of the "German menace"—these and other topics have wrought up the public mind in manner good to behold. Good people are being shocked and stupid people are forced to think. Old moorings are lost sight of and a good many individuals, at least, are perceiving new possibilities in an old world.

To be sure the working class hasn't got much out of it yet. But we may be sure it will in the end. Take the matter of militancy, for example. The violent suffragettes, burning buildings and starving themselves, may be an utterly mistaken lot. It looks as though they had

gained nothing for their cause, and they certainly have not won the support of English socialists or of the working class in general. But they have succeeded in exhibiting the Liberal ministry before all the world as a set of tyrannical dunderheads. They dare not let the women go free and they dare not imprison them; they dare not allow them to publish their paper and they dare not suppress it. It is probable that no ruling class anywhere ever gave a more undisguised exhibition of inability to rule.

Or look at the Marconi scandal. Sir Rufus Isaacs, a member of the cabinet, has won his libel suit against Cecil Chesterton. Formally he stands absolved from the crime of using his public office for the increase of his private bank account. But it has been definitely established that he and Lloyd George came into possession of Marconi shares at the time when the English government was concluding a contract with the Marconi company. The latest news is to the effect that the whip of the Liberal party used party funds to gamble in Marconi shares at this very time, when, of course, those "in the know" could not be expected to foresee a rapid rise in the price of stocks. Thus if the Liberal saviors of society show themselves not over efficient in dealing with one matter, they prove themselves not over honest in dealing with another.

And then there is syndicalism. Nothing in recent years, not even Liberal-laborism, has so cut up the Socialist movement in England as has syndicalism. Brilliant writers in one of the finest Socialist papers in the world have demonstrated all sorts of things about it. In one issue they show conclusively that the very same thing, Tom Mann and all, appeared in the Middle Ages and was put out of existence for all time so far as England and Englishmen are concerned. In the next issue the pesky thing will appear again in Robert Owen's time and again be valiantly and permanently suppressed. By the next week it will bob up again in the International and be finally cast into outer darkness by Marx himself. The next hero to gain his spurs by slaying this phoenix-like dragon will be William Morris, and surely nothing which had the honor of being killed by

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William Morris would have the ill grace to trouble the world again. But to make assurance doubly sure the very next number of the paper which comes to hand will prove beyond all doubt that such a thing as syndicalism does not exist in England, never did exist, and never can exist. The whole subject was probably devised, we are led to believe, by some enemy of Socialism or some humorist bent on relieving the monotony of a dull season in Socialist journalism.

In the midst of all this violent discussion of ideas and things the English labor movement seems to be making some progress. There is constant talk of amalgamating various craft and sectional unions into something like industrial organizations. No matter what may be the fate of syndicalism, there can be no doubt of the fact that the idea of industrial unionism is taking hold. It gets little help or understanding in Socialist circles; the leading Marxians still keep their Socialist politics and their labor unionism in separate water-tight compartments. But there is progress nevertheless.

As to the Socialist movement itself, the recent annual conference of the British Socialist Party gave good promise of future improvement. It met at Blackpool on May 10. Perhaps the best thing that occurred there was the ending of a quarrel which has divided the executive committee for some time past. Comrade Hyndman, whose views with regard to armaments have so often been the subject of international discussion, was once more the center of things. Some time ago the executive committee, of which Comrade Hyndman is chairman, passed a resolution on the armament question placing it in line with the antimilitarist policy of the international movement. Comrade Hyndman is reported to have threatened to resign from his position on the committee. At a subsequent meeting, however, the resolution was reconsidered and defeated. As a result Comrade Zelda Kahan was the one who resigned from the committee.

The whole matter was thrashed out in the conference. At first a resolution was introduced setting forth that "any member expressing his or her views on a subject such as armaments does so as a pri-

vate individual and in no way pledges the party to such views." Numerous speakers expressed the opinion that it would be better for the party if Hyndman were to discontinue his practice of speaking in favor of a larger navy for England. Finally Hyndman himself said that "to avoid risking the unity of the party he was content to hold his own view and not to enter upon the discussion of the question or to raise it in any way that might upset the party." Thereupon the conference passed by a large majority a resolution pledging the British Socialist Party, "bound by the resolutions of Stuttgart and Basle, 1912," to pursue in England the same policy as is followed by their French and German comrades" with the object of checking the growth of all forms of militarism." Then Hyndman and Zelda Kahan shook hands and, we may suppose, peace and the possibility of harmonious and fruitful labor were once more restored to the party organization.

The chairman of the meeting frankly admitted that the hopes entertained by the founders of the party a year ago have not been realized. So far as the present writer is aware no figures have been published to show how much the B. S. P. has improved upon the old Social Democratic Party in point of numbers; but at any rate the new party is still small, probably not much larger than its predecessor in the field. But its program is clear and it is working out plans for a vigorous campaign of education. Whatever its faults, it is still the bearer of the torch of revolutionary Socialism and still, more than any other organization in England, deserves the confidence and support of Socialists in other lands.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



Monessen Finnish Socialist Hall.—The Finnish Socialist Branch of Local Monessen, Pa., dedicated their new building and hall on Sunday, June 1st. Their band composed of 25 Socialist men and boys and mixed chorus interspersed the program with excellent music. All speeches were in the Finnish language except one by Comrade Frank Midney, who came from Ohio for the occasion. The audience of over 500 comrades consisted mostly of Finnish comrades, men, women and children, a few English-speaking friends and two negroes completing the groups. The revolutionary character of the crowd was shown by their applause of Midney's address and the speeches of the Finnish speakers calling for the organization of the workers on the industrial field as well as in the Socialist party. There is no danger of these Finnish comrades being inoculated with the virus of pure-and-simpleism. This is true of the entire Monessen movement. The Finnish comrades have brought a teacher from Michigan who will conduct a Finnish Sunday School with a view to keeping the children free from the influences of the capitalistically controlled religious institutions of the town.

These comrades have built a structure four stories high, containing an assembly hall to seat 500, class rooms, a dining room, smoking room, library, women's room, children's play-room and a kitchen. It cost \$18,000. Of this sum, \$1,000 was raised by the production of revolutionary plays and tableaux. The building will be devoted exclusively to the movements which have for their *only* aim the overthrow of capitalism. The paid membership of the Finnish Branch is 160. Comrade H. Heikinen is corresponding secretary. We want to congratulate the Monessen Finnish comrades and to suggest that the English-speaking friends—go and do likewise.

Montana Farmers at Medicine Lake Local of the Socialist Party write, through Comrade McLaughlin, that they are all red out there and are building a socialist hall to cost \$4,000 and intend to put the red flag over their county next election. The local has just voted unanimously to start a national referendum to abolish Article 2, Section VI from the constitution. We always said the farmers preferred Socialism to Populism. Perhaps the reformers in the Socialist Party will find that out some day.

From Tucson, Arizona.—Please forward six months' subscription to my old daddy. You have the only Socialist paper or magazine that is left that a *Real Red* can read and get anything from. What we want is rebels, not boobs. Yours for the freedom, M. D. O. Fuller.

Here's a Hot One.—Enclosed you will find my renewal for the REVIEW. I could about as easily practice law without a library as be a Socialist without the REVIEW. Sec. 6, Art. 2, to the contrary notwithstanding.—David McLaughlin.

From an Old Timer.—Enclosed find \$1.00 to renew my subscription. I began taking the REVIEW with the first issue, and have renewed the subscription each year. Am 75 years, and have been badly overworked, as a student, teacher, and surveyor, but want the REVIEW just the same. Yours for the Revolution, Comrade Hall, Maine.

The Investigating Comedy.—I am not a writer but I attended the meeting of the National Committee. I thought it would be reported in the REVIEW, but after reading the REVIEW, I see that, with all your redness you don't dare comment on things dearly valued by the "Machine." But I still hope you will publish this from one of the rank and file. The Investigation Committee had to take up the figures from the National Office to see whether there were cases of inefficiency or mismanagement. Let us take up this instance. Comrade Seidel went out on an agitation tour. Let us say his expense account was \$1,000. The committee sees his receipts and give them their O. K. Comrade Bessemer charged that Mrs. Seidel accompanied her husband on this tour and that her carfare was paid by the party. The committee admitted this, but no charge of extravagance was made. The National office paid \$750 for 10,000 copies of "Socialism Summed Up," by Hillquit. Bessemer claimed they could have published this book at 2½ cents a copy, instead of paying party money into a capitalist concern. The committee reported that the book could not be secured cheaper. Comrade Hillquit said he had made a sacrifice, only signing the con-



SOCIALIST MEETING FINNISH HALL MONESSEN, FRANK MIDNEY SPEAKER

tract with the Metropolitan when they promised 10,000 books for the party at \$750 (a profit of \$500 to the Metropolitan). I say the delegates were fooled. The new N. E. C. met June 2nd and at the 1st session a communication was read from the Metropolitan offering 10,000 more copies of "Socialism Summed Up" at the same kind rate, \$750, or 25,000 copies at 6 cents each. Secretary Lanfersiek reported that Comrade Work told him the party could publish the book at \$25 a thousand copies. June 3rd, Comrade Berger reported that Hillquit himself thought the book had little propaganda value. Then what I, as one of the rank and file want to know is, Why was a whole front page of the Party Bulletin taken up to advertise it and to cause the party to spend money in making profits for a capitalist house? This is a sample of the investigation committee work which did not perform the work it was called to do, but branded Comrade Bessemer a "thief" for refusing to tell who had given him evidence against Comrades Barnes and Hillquit, instead of considering the evidence. I think it is of vital importance to our movement that more light be shed on these frame-ups of the party machine. And if the REVIEW won't show these things up, the rank and file will.—N. Lerner, 564 West 12th St., Chicago, Ill., care The Daily Jewish Call.

New York Socialists Protest Against Disfranchisement of Wage-Workers.—At the Socialist City Convention of Greater New York, held June 8, a plank offered by Comrade Moses Oppenheimer was by unanimous vote included in the platform, protesting against the laws which disfranchise all wage-workers who are obliged to move in order to find work. Half a million foreign-born workmen in New York City, the resolution states, are shut out from political power, as are all the women. Present laws require residence of one year in the state, four months in the county and thirty days in the election district. The plank adopted demands that the franchise be conferred upon adults of both sexes who have resided in the United States for not less than one year and have declared their intention to become citizens, also granting the vote to any such adults having a bona fide residence in the voting community at the time of registration.



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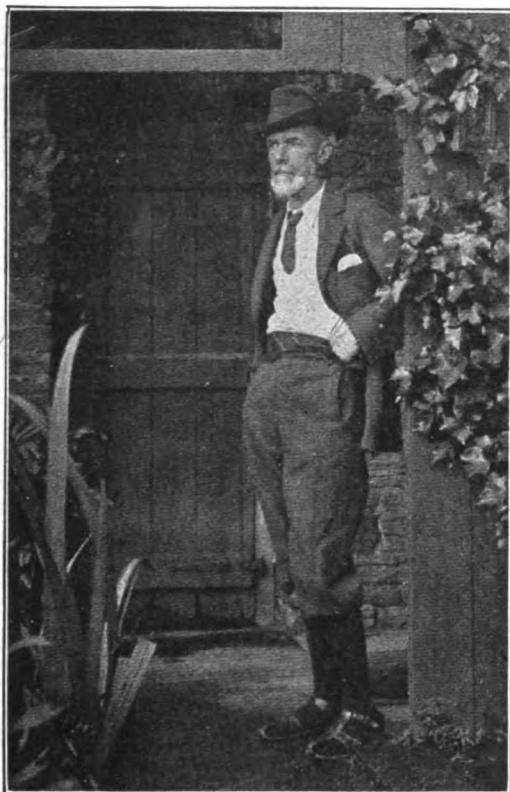
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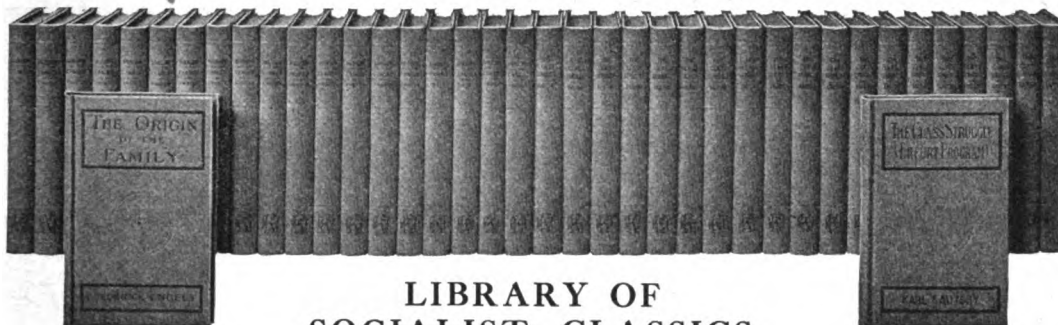
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8. Evolution, Social and Organic, by Arthur M. Lewis.

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10. Class Struggles in America, by A. M. Simons.

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11. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by Frederick Engels.

An American scientist, Lewis H. Morgan, through twenty years and more of original research into the customs of the Iroquois Indians, discovered a mass of vitally important facts throwing a flood of light on the early history of our own race. These facts were so revolutionary, so subversive of "respectable" ideas, that they were slow to be recognized at home (although Morgan's theories are by this time universally accepted by scientists). But one of the first to grasp the truth and significance of Morgan's work was Engels, the German Socialist, and he summed up Morgan's facts in popular, readable style in the present volume. In it among other things he shows that the position of woman at any time and place depends on the mode of production, that woman's social position has been repeatedly changed and will be changed again by economic changes, and that the overthrow of the capitalists, and nothing less than this, will give woman the freedom she demands. Catholics denounce this book of Engels as "free love." Study it for yourself and draw your own conclusions.

12. Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.

"Surplus Value" is one of the foundation principles of Socialism; until you have at least a fairly clear understanding of this, the less talking you do the better for the movement. For a thorough and complete understanding of this rather difficult subject it is necessary to go to Marx's "Capital," a work of over 2,500 pages, which sells for \$6.00. But for the ordinary reader this short work by the great writer will suffice unless the reader desires to become a public speaker or writer. The book briefly explains the process in modern machine production by which the employer buys the "labor power" of the wage-worker, pays for it just enough to keep the laborer alive and enable him to bring up children when he is worn out, while the laborer's product is sold and re-sold, yielding a profit to all the various members of the capitalist class and their hangers-on.

13. The World's Revolution, by Ernest Untermann.

This book is a vivid, eloquent story of the revolutions which have succeeded each other in the world's history. All history is full of revolutions, but only the Socialist historian can understand or explain their real meaning. In this book are chapters on the pre-historic revolutions by which the women were subjected to men, on the Roman Empire and the warring classes within it, on the early Christian proletariat and its mission, on the American Revolution of 1776 and its reflex in France, on the bourgeois revolutions in Europe which made the capitalist supreme in the place of the landed aristocrat, and on the Proletarian World Movement which is today not far from its final victory.

14. The Evolution of Man, by Wilhelm Boelsche.

The theories of Socialism are in one sense merely the general theory of Evolution applied

to the growth of society, and no one can have a clear idea of Socialism without some knowledge of Evolution. In this little volume we believe that we are offering the very best short work on this subject. Darwin wrote for specialists, and he had all of a scientist's caution in making no statement which he could not prove. When he first outlined his theory of the descent of man, many links in the chain of evidence were lacking. Later scientists, working in the light of Darwin's theory, have supplied these links, and Boelsche, one of the most successful and popular lecturers in Germany, has in this book traced, with ample proofs, the ancestry of man back through the ape-like fossils, the lower mammals, the reptiles, the fishes, the lower aquatic animals, down to the simplest structures consisting each of a single cell. Illustrated.

15. The Positive School of Criminology, by Ernest Ferri.

This volume, consisting of three lectures delivered at the University of Naples, Italy, is an admirable summary of the Socialist theory of crime and criminals. Ferri shows that criminals are not, as earlier writers have supposed, a race of men different from others, which only needs to be rooted out in order to suppress crime. He shows that what we call crime is the direct and inevitable outgrowth of certain economic conditions, in other words, that most crime is caused by poverty, and that conditions which increase poverty must and do increase crime. Thus the way to abolish crime is to abolish poverty, and this means abolishing the capitalist, which is the aim of the Socialist movement.

16. Puritanism, by Clarence Meily.

If you are a wage-worker, you probably have not much sympathy with puritanical ideas, but you might like to know why the puritans happen to be on earth, what they want, why they want it, what they are doing to you and how you are going to get rid of them. All this you will find fully and clearly explained in this book by Clarence Meily, a Los Angeles lawyer who is an active member of the Socialist Party.

17. Ethics and the Materialistic Conception of History, by Karl Kautsky.

One vital question which must be faced by every Socialist is our attitude toward capitalistic ideas of what is right and moral. If the capitalists had to depend on force to keep the workers in subjection, their rule would end at once, for what force they can command would be as nothing before a united working class. They maintain their rule by imposing such moral ideas as they like upon the children of the workers through the schools, the churches and the newspapers. To refute these ideas, the workers need a clear understanding of the basis of ethics, and to this understanding Kautsky's book here described will prove a most important help. It is in five parts: Ancient and Christian Ethics, The Ethical Systems of the Period of the Enlightenment, The Ethics of Kant, The Ethics of Darwinism, The Ethics of Marxism.

18. The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, by Karl Marx.

The history of France offers many striking

parallels with that of the United States and many important lessons for American wage-workers. This book contains the history of three eventful years during which Louis Bonaparte, a nephew of the first Napoleon, succeeded in destroying a so-called republic and establishing himself as emperor, which position he held until the German war of 1871. Marx shows how the fall of the republic was brought about by the cowardice and inefficiency of the little capitalists who cared more for their property than for the freedom of any one, even their own.

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22. The Triumph of Life, by Wilhelm Boelsche.

An illustrated volume of lectures by the author is "The Evolution of Man," considered by many critics to be even more interesting than the former work. The central thought of the book is the wonderful power of the life-force

throughout the universe, and its constant triumphs over the most hostile and unfavorable environments. One of the most interesting passages describes the fishes of the deep seas, miles below the surface.

23. Memoirs of Karl Marx, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

To most readers Marx is a far-off name of a big-brained economist who solved weighty problems in the analysis of capitalism, only this and nothing more. But Liebknecht, who was Marx's companion for years during his exile in London, shows in these memoirs a delightfully human side of Marx, so that by the time you have finished reading this book you will love him as much as you admire him. Even those who know nothing of Marx's writings will find this one of the most charming biographies ever written.

24. Revolution and Counter-Revolution, by Karl Marx.

In Marx's darkest days of exile and poverty in London one preventive of starvation was a weekly check for five dollars which the New York Tribune sent him for a weekly letter on current events in Europe. He wrote these in English, for Marx was an accomplished linguist. One series of these letters dealt with the German Revolution of 1848 and the counter-revolution which followed it. After Marx's death his daughter Eleanor edited these letters for publication in the form in which they appear in our library. Here is a chapter of history written by the most competent observer in Europe at a time when the events described were the news of the hour.

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26. Science and Revolution, by Ernest Untermann.

This work is a history of the growth of the evolution theory from the time of the ancient Greek philosophers to the present day, and of the age-long struggle between science and religious superstition. With a wealth of detail the author shows how the wage-workers have constantly been on the side of science, while the

privileged classes have tried to suppress science and enthrone superstition. The final chapter is entitled "Materialist Monism, the Science and 'Religion' of the Proletariat."

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VOL. XIV

AUGUST, 1913

No. 2

The Invisible Government

By Charles Edward Russell

THE whole world knows now the truth about the National Association of Manufacturers, just as the radicals have always asserted it. The whole world knows now what the Parrys really are and the Kirbys and Van Cleaves, just as the labor press and the radicals have always declared them to be. The world knows exactly by what methods these smug gentlemen were able to carry on their warfare against labor. It knows how much of lying and hypocrisy and slimy fraud there was in their pretenses about "freedom of contract" and "law and order."

Their "freedom of contract" was the freedom to make secret and disreputable arrangements for the votes of Congressmen; the law they believed in was the law of their own profits; the only order they upheld was their own to the end that they might get cheap labor and make more money.

The revelations are complete, documentary and unanswerable. There is no chance here to yell "Liar!" and "Muck Raker!" and make clamor serve for refutation. The National Association of Manufacturers has been unmasked, not by a vile Socialist or a "pernicious agitator," but by its own agent and from its own files. No one now need assert that it is a dangerous and lawless organization, working vast evil to society and the government; its own documents and records have proved it to be worse than that. Its members and leaders have shown in times past a marvelous command over abusive

speech. The worst things they have ever said about labor and labor leaders are but feeble indictments compared with the things they have now actually proved about themselves.

If every false charge they have brought against labor had been true, the men they denounced would have been infinitely less the enemies of the republic than they themselves are known now to be. There can be no public enemy so menacing as he that goes covertly to work to control the government for the exclusive benefit of a single powerful class and nullify the laws for his own advantage.

Also, unthinking, complacent, easy-going Americans have learned something else from these disclosures.

For many years those that are so situated that they can see the inner phases of affairs have been steadily asserting that the actual government of this country was not the president, congress and the courts, not any body or power created or recognized by the Constitution, but always a combination of important business interests.

These Interests were in fact the real, if invisible, government. They issued their orders and the puppets that filled the ostensible places of power, obeyed. We have said that these Interests never failed to get what they wanted; that their hands were discernible in every piece of important legislation; that they selected the cabinets and made or unmade laws as they pleased; that in this country the

people really had little to say about their affairs; that the real authority resided not in the people, but in a few rich men that were able to control the people's representatives and bedevil the government.

To this charge a great number of innocent old souls and some that were not so innocent were in the habit of responding with indignant denials and much denunciation. "It is utterly untrue," they were wont to say, "that the government of this country is controlled by the corporations and rich men." And now Colonel Mulhall and his irrefutable documents and 20,000 letters has settled for all time that the muckrakers and Socialists were telling the absolute truth.

Not only that, but the world knows now the exact method by which the control was and is effected.

"There is very little corruption among public men in America," said recently an eminent authority. "Not many members of Congress can be bought on any terms whatever." Why, of course not. Why buy what you already own? When the National Association of Manufacturers goes into a Congress district, nominates a man of its own choice and supplies his

campaign fund, there would be no occasion to bribe him afterward. He is already bought and paid for. Bribery! Why, a man can be bribed with his own money as easily as with another man's. He can be bribed by his ambitions, political chances, or hopes of a career. He can be bribed by his wife's social aspirations. He can be bribed with a rich man's smile or an invitation to dinner. He can be bribed with the prospect of professional success, or the chance of good investments.

I have known many a member of Congress that was constantly under the influence of bribes of this sort and still never took a dollar for a vote and would not take one. And yet bribed just as truly as the most corrupt man that ever lived. Nearly all the members of both houses are lawyers, and lawyers are the easiest men in the world to bribe. They must have cases and a practice. Big Business has an immense patronage to dispense in the way of profitable cases. Scores of Congressmen have had cases that came direct from these controlling interests, and yet not one of them could ever be convicted of the least impropriety. A man cannot very well vote against his own client.

Where this kind of moral bribery is not enough, a great power like the National Association of Manufacturers, with unlimited money and a vast army of unscrupulous agents can wield an almost irresistible political dominion. As shown so clearly and repeatedly in the confessions of Mulhall, it can go into the district of a member that is not obedient to its order and beat him for renomination or at the polls. You can carry practically any election if you have money enough. It is not only the power to purchase votes and pile them up in the ballot box. There is another and far greater power in the hands of organized wealth. It can and does control the press and every day poison the minds of thousands of voters that never suspect the nature of the stuff they are imbibing. It is not direct attacks upon the doomed man that does the business. It is the continual raising of false issues and the distortion



"COLONEL" MULHALL.

of others, the things twisted in the news columns, the things subtly colored and turned that are effective now. The editorial opinion is worth very little. Big Business cares not much about the editorial utterances. But with the control of the news department it can do about as it pleases in any election.

Every Congressman wants to "get back." As soon as he takes his seat he becomes obsessed about the next election. The chances of distinction in one term or two terms are mighty small. Distinction goes with length of service; so likewise depends power. There is a strange fascination to most men about sitting in Congress and a strange and overmastering horror of being defeated for re-election. Along comes an institution like the National Association of Manufacturers, with unlimited means, with a close organization, with thousands of newspapers under its control, with the full backing of powerful commercial bodies, boards of trade, merchants' leagues, clergymen, reformers, platitudinists, flub-dub orators, social leaders, sap-head women, sputtering dodos like Lyman Abbott, goo-goos and all the rest that sway an incalculable influence in the district. It can enable this man to "get back," or it can defeat him and send somebody else, and men of flabby character (which is about the only kind that usually gets to Congress, anyway) will yield every time.

The next thing we know this National Association of Manufacturers is choosing the Speaker, making up the committees, selecting the judges, passing the laws that it wishes to have passed and killing those it wishes to have killed, and the whole government is as truly in its hands as if all the forms of popular institutions had been abolished and we had reverted to an absolute despotism. It is, in fact, no less. There never was an absolute monarch in history that was possessed of anything like the power enjoyed in this country by organized wealth. Again and again a few of us have made this assertion and been denounced as monstrous liars and traitors to the nation. Turn today to the documents presented by this man Mulhall and see who is the liar. The Socialists that have steadfastly warned the people that their rights were being undermined have in fact been the truest

patriots. They have merely told in advance what has been finally revealed and clinched. What nonsense to talk about a republic when every source of power lies in the hands of an irresponsible oligarchy, self-appointed and self-perpetuating, to which neither the Constitution nor all the laws that can be passed mean anything!

A grand company of foolish, prating, mouthing incompetents called optimists goes to and fro in this country uttering stale old stuff about the sacredness of the Constitution and the glory of our institutions, and there is no Constitution and no institutions. Read the Mulhall matter again, and carefully, and see if this is not true. A band of respectable pirates like the National Association of Manufacturers can rip your Constitution from end to end any moment. Can do, and has done it, again and again. In the name of law and order.

For the part of the population that has been slow to perceive basic facts this is the most valuable and significant revelation that has yet been made. After this no man can have the effrontery to stand forth and deny the truth about the real government of the United States that we have been patiently insisting upon all these years. Until these things have been set right and this abnormal power has been destroyed, no man ought to be bold enough to talk again about the supremacy of the people. The only thing that is supreme here is a few groups of rich men united to keep labor down that they may make additional millions and own ten automobiles instead of only six.

For that is all there was of inspiration to this despicable organization. It set out to defeat the labor movement and make war upon the unions that there should be no danger of a revolt on the part of labor, that labor should continue to serve for a small fraction of the wealth it created and allow its masters to take the rest, that wages should continue to be low and dividends be high, that every thought of better conditions and a more adequate return for labor should be stifled at the beginning and the graft of the masterly class continue to be goodly. "Keep labor in its place," was the motto of this institution. And the way it aimed to keep labor in subjection was to control

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the government by the means Mulhall has so plainly shown.

I do not know how much more the working class of America needs to have shown it about its masters and despoilers. The money that the National Association of Manufacturers has spent to rivet its hold upon this government would have been a substantial addition to the wage fund. Every cent of it was money stolen from the class it was used to degrade and oppress; every cent of it was wealth that labor had created and of which it had been defrauded. For the corruption and perversion of their government the workers therefore paid, and their reward was to have still smaller consideration from their government and a more narrowly limited field of opportunity for their children.

There are other phases of this matter on which they might reflect with profit.

Mulhall distinctly states that among the public men controlled by the association was a class that was not purchased with money or any other valuable consideration. Certain men, he says, "the lobbyists of this association had no difficulty in reaching and influencing for business, political or sympathetic reasons." Every workingman should read and ponder upon the list of these men. It includes many of the most prominent enemies of labor and professional reactionaries in the country. Here are some of the men he names:

William H. Taft, the original injunction judge, the president that vetoed the Sundry Civil Bill because it exempted labor unions from the perverted and wrongful application of the Sherman act, the man that now lectures weekly at Yale University against the initiative, referendum and recall and opposes every measure that would put power into the hands of the people, the ingrained snob and aristocrat.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the man that fought the investigation of the Lawrence strike, the sneering patrician whose contempt for the working class has been shown on many occasions.

Senator Jacob Gallinger, who fought the eight-hour bill, who slipped into the *Congressional Record* a false statement of the wages paid at Lawrence, who opposes

every measure that can be of the slightest advantage to labor, whose objections have been raised almost daily on the side of privilege, who sits in the Senate watching like a hawk lest anything should be done to improve labor's condition.

Ex-Senator Foraker, the friend of the Standard Oil, who was driven out of public life by the publication of the Archbold letters.

Ex-Speaker Cannon, the Cave Dweller, the old-time and ranting opponent of progress, the ex-dictator of the House whose methods there aroused a tardy revolt that finally drove him out of power, the conspicuous hater of labor, who has covered it with his ridicule and expressions of hatred, who for forty years in public life has fought every suggestion of improvement.

The late Vice-President Sherman, the champion of the Beef Trust and the packers, the man that with his last breath decried the least change in our methods, the man that as Vice-President of the United States left his place to go to Chicago and try to save Bill Lorimer.

Ex-Senator Aldrich, the ex-boss of the Senate, the man whose name became a synonym for the worst influences in our political affairs, who sat in the Senate as the particular representative of the Standard Oil, who served the Interests for twenty years in public life.

Senator Isaac Stephenson of Wisconsin, who was investigated on a charge of getting his seat through the rankest bribery, who narrowly escaped expulsion on that ground, who was scored and denounced by a minority report of the committee that whitewashed him, who was revealed in an unenviable light by the testimony taken before that committee.

Senator Knute Nelson, the adroit friend of the Interests and covert enemy of labor.

Ex-Senator Scott, of West Virginia, defender of the Trusts.

Ex-Congressman Charles E. Littlefield of Maine, whose bitter antagonism to labor at last awoke a revolt and compelled his retirement, who was selected by President Roosevelt to draft anti-Trust legislation and was all the time in the service of the Interests.

Congressman Bartholdt of Missouri,

lately exposed as begging steamship companies for reduced fares on the ground that legislation in which they were interested was coming up.

Jim Tawney of Minnesota.

J. Adam Bede, the smooth tongued Republican orator, accustomed to make particular pleas to the workingmen.

Former Governor Herrick of Ohio, an adroit and plausible politician noted for his friendly talks to the working class.

And thirty-one other members of the House and Senate, every one of whom had been elected by the votes of the workers.

These in addition to the men named by Mulhall as the recipients of money, directly or indirectly paid.

A large part of these lists represents deliberate betrayal of the workers; a small part represents the men that, like Lodge, are natural aristocrats and despise labor on principle.

Such is the situation in your country today.

The first lesson for the working class to learn from it is that so long as it puts the least trust or confidence in any political party but its own it will have exactly these conditions.

So long as it votes parasites into office it will have grafters and traitors in power.

So long as it deludes itself into the belief that it can trust anybody outside of its own class it will be thus tricked, fooled and defeated.

So long as we have a government conducted by the minority of the country the exploiters will control that minority and the government.

So long as we have any kind of a government except working class government we shall have these consequences.

Year after year the workingmen of this country go to the polls like a flock of sheep and vote into office lawyers, bankers, merchants and tricksters. Year after year these steadily protect and serve their own class. Year after year the working class gets nothing from the government but lies and broken promises and sidetracked bills for labor's relief, and always the privilege of paying more and more for the necessities of life.

So long as they keep this up we shall have the inevitable results.

Some persons are crying out against the National Association of Manufacturers, as if we could change something if we could abolish that.

If the National Association of Manufacturers should cease to exist tomorrow another organization or power of the same kind would take its place, continue its tactics and not one condition revealed by Mulhall would undergo the slightest change.

Yet all the time the fact remains that this working class thus defrauded and derided, is the vast majority of the United States, that it has in its hands the power to put an end to the whole monstrous imposition, that it need not submit another day, that it and it alone can make this country fit to live in, both for itself and for all the rest of the inhabitants.

For the one remedy for all this and the one way out lies in working class government and working class solidarity.

Never was the essential unity of the employing class more clearly shown than in the Mulhall revelations. Never was the cold purposes of that class to keep the workers in subjection by any means, however lawless, more plainly indicated. It was that the workers might have always upon their necks the feet of the masters that all this riot of corruption and deviltry was planned. It was to strike at the working class that all this enormous organization of evil was perfected. The working class was the thing to be subdued, the working class was the target of all the dirty schemes. War was declared on the working class. Never let any member of the working class imagine that for a hatred so deadly there can be any compromise or modification. The war will go on. One tool having proved worthless in the hands of the master class others will be substituted. But always there will be this malign and tremendous warfare made upon you to keep you in your place as the servitors and wealth creators for parasites and idlers.

What is your answer?

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MAY 26, 1913.

CONFIDENTIAL

I. W. OF W. AT WORK IN ILLINOIS

TO MEMBERS.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING FACTS UPON WHICH TO BASE A COURSE OF ACTION FOR THE ASSOCIATION THE DIRECTORS REQUEST THAT EACH MEMBER FURNISH THE SECRETARY ANY INFORMATION IT MAY HAVE CONCERNING THE EFFORTS OF EITHER THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD OR OF ORGANIZED LABOR TO WIDEN THEIR MEMBERSHIP AND INFLUENCE AMONG EMPLOYEES.

WORD HAS COME FROM WIDELY SPREAD SOURCES OF HIGHLY INCREASED ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND IT IS FELT THE ASSOCIATION SHOULD GIVE SOME THOUGHT TO THE SUBJECT IN ORDER THAT IT MAY BE PREPARED FOR UNITED ACTION IF IT IS NECESSARY.

HAVE YOUR WORKMEN BEEN CIRCULARIZED BY THE ORGANIZERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONS?

HAVE YOU UNCONSCIOUSLY EMPLOYED ANY OF THE AGENTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD?

PLEASE GIVE US ALL THE INFORMATION YOU CAN ON THE SUBJECT. IT WILL BE TREATED AS ABSOLUTELY CONFIDENTIAL. ALSO GIVE US THE NAME OF THE PERSON IN YOUR PLANT WITH WHOM WE SHOULD COMMUNICATE ON THIS SUBJECT.

JOHN M. GLENN,
SECRETARY,

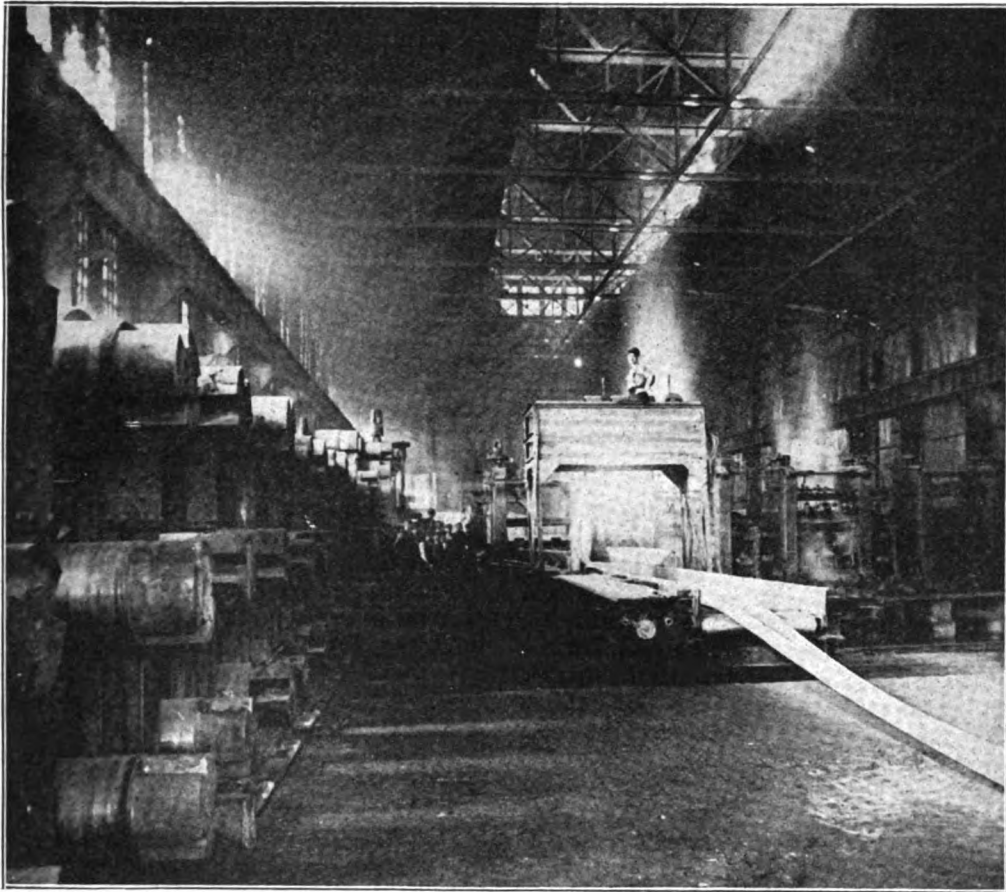


Photo by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

DRAWING OUT A STEEL BEAM 90 FEET LONG.

The Call of the Steel Worker

By Louis C. Fraina

“I NEVER had a strike as long as I was in the steel business.” Andrew Carnegie, Angel of Peace with the heart of steel, made that astounding statement to the Stanley Steel Investigating Committee. Expansively, benignantly, Andrew of the gentle soul and cultural urge gave his lying testimony—under oath. Homestead? Brad-docks?

The lie was too much for the committee. It was such a crass, palpable, stupid lie. Carnegie was compelled to retract and admit strikes. But having saved its neck, the committee wished to go no further, and decided that the bloody annals of Homestead were “really extraneous to the investigation.”

“Let’s not open up the old sores,” pleaded Congressman Gardner, Repub-

lican, who has since been revealed as a tool of the National Association of Manufacturers by Lobbyist Col. Mulhall.

"I agree with Mr. Gardner that it would be unkind to Mr. Carnegie," acquiesced Stanley, Democrat.

"Unkind"? Men slain in cold blood to insure profits; unionism crushed. Where at Homestead there was one plate mill in 1892 employing three crews of men working eight hours a day, now there are four mills, each with *two* crews, *working twelve hours a day*; work increased 50 per cent and wages only 20 per cent. "Unkind"? It is "unkind" to remind the perpetrator of this of his villainy; but it is not "unkind" for such degrading conditions to exist. Blessed be Capital in its Holiness!

This typical piece of Capitalist hypocrisy has since been put into the shade. As with machinery, Capitalist hypocrisy of yester-year is always being improved upon—progress in all things! Testifying for the defense in the suit to dissolve the United States Steel Corporation, former Ambassador Bacon said that "love of his fellow-men," of the workers (!!), was the basic motive that led J. Pierpont Morgan to organize the steel trust. "His first great object," testified Mr. Bacon, "was by reason of the decrease in the cost of production to make it possible to improve the conditions of labor by increasing wages and bettering conditions." Amplifying this, the *New York Commercial*, June 18, 1913, said with vicious editorial effrontery:

"The new regime of iron and steel production has been singularly free from this bellicose attitude on the part of labor. It may be attributed in a large measure to the Morgan idea that to get the best results of heavily capitalized industry, it must be organized on a basis which permits a large and generous study of the interests of labor."

Amen!

And, of course, if we accept the statements in the "Amen!" spirit, and that is the purpose, the Press now playing the role of Church, they are gospel truth. But, being Infidels, we investigate:

Since the formation of the Steel Trust in 1902 profits have proven huge and inexhaustible.

Simultaneously, *total wages have been reduced*, and individual wages only *slightly increased*. *Comparing this slight increase with higher prices, actual wages have been heavily reduced.*

From 1902 to the quarter ended March 31, 1913, Steel Trust profits total \$1,397,383,092. With the exception of 1904 and 1908, yearly profits have always exceeded the hundred-million mark—166-odd millions in 1902, 160-odd millions in 1907, etc. The lowest profit was in 1904, being 73-odd millions. And these profits are even huger than the figures show, for by overcapitalization, financial jugglery and a misleading system of accounts, profits are systematically underestimated.

Obviously, the Steel Trust has been a bonanza to its owners. Heavily-capitalized industry pays. But this "prosperity" is a sort of mirage in the desert to the proletariat.

Examining the figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor report for the pig iron branch of the Steel Trust, we ascertain:

1. In Pennsylvania mills in 1902 the Trust employed 17,191 men, who produced 8,111,000 tons of pig iron.

2. In 1909, the workers had *decreased* numerically to 14,921; yet their output *increased* 2,610,024 tons—they produced 10,721,024 tons of pig iron. And the men were employed fewer days!

3. Total wages in 1902, \$10,191,579; in 1909, \$7,702,304—a *decrease in wages* of \$2,489,275.

4. The average daily wage in seven years increased *twenty cents*.

5. Output per man increased from 1.51 to 2.39 tons in the seven years. Labor-cost per ton decreased from \$1.25 to \$0.82 per ton.

The facts of pig iron apply to the steel industry as a whole, and to concentrated Capitalism.

Concentrated Capital, the form to which all Capital trends, means greater power of exploitation. Concentrated Capital means:

1. Availing itself of the most efficient existing machinery, and improving that machinery, Concentrated Capital extracts an increasingly larger volume of surplus value from the proletariat.

2. Simultaneously with greater output flowing from machinery, productivity of



GROUP OF SLAVIC STEEL WORKERS.

labor is increased by the *form* of work—large co-operative activity, “the collective power of masses.”

3. This increased productivity proceeds simultaneously with relatively *lesser* number of employes; hence increasing unemployment and competition, thereby preventing a general rise in wages.

4. While marshaling the workers into an industrial army, Concentrated Capital succeeds in destroying the potential proletarian power of this army by dividing the workers with a variety of schemes.

5. The workers only gradually awaken to a sense of the power which is theirs by being organized in the “labor army” of Concentrated Capital; but the awakening comes, sooner or later.

6. In the meantime, Concentrated Capital sweats out of the proletariat fabulous profits, while actually paying less wages, and, socially measured, making worse the condition of the proletariat.

The Bureau of Labor recently made public a special report of its investigation into the iron and steel industry as a whole. The investigation covers the period of May,

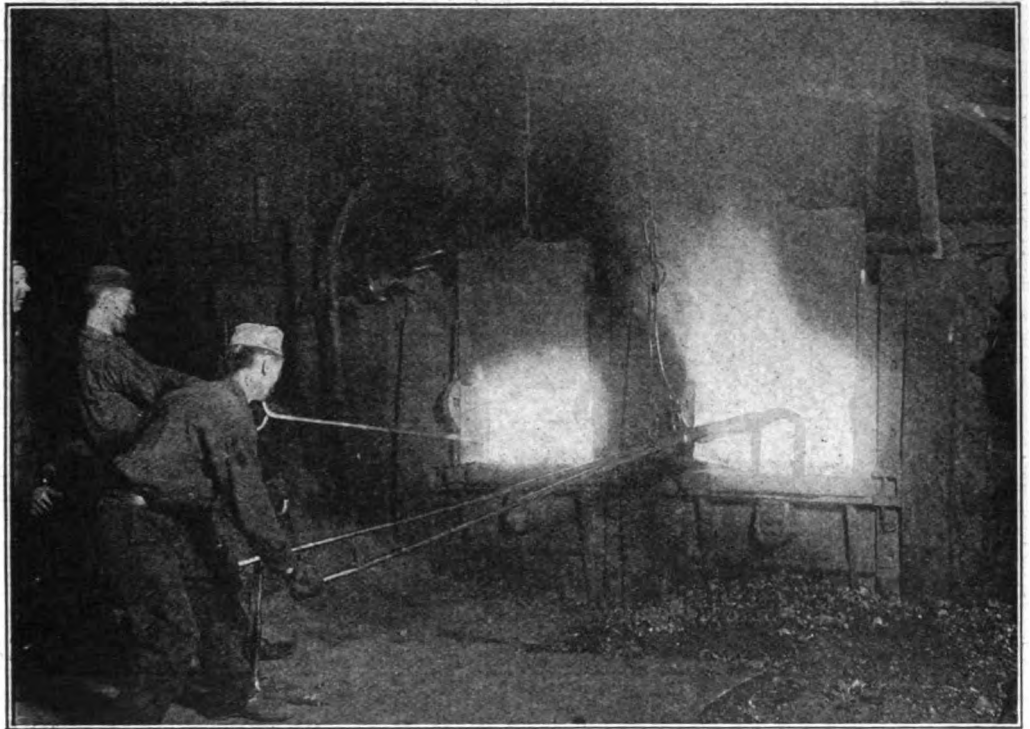
1910, embracing 212 blast furnaces and steel plants, employing 172,706 men.

Of the total 172,706 employes, 13,868, or 8.03 per cent, received less than 14 cents per hour; 20,527, or 11.89 per cent, received 14 and under 16 cents; and 51,417, or 29.77 per cent, received 16 and under 18 cents. Thus 85,812, or 49.69 per cent of all employes, received less than 18 cents per hour.

Those receiving 18 and under 25 cents per hour numbered 46,132, or 26.71 per cent; while 40,762, or 23.61 per cent, earned 25 cents and over. A few very highly skilled employes received \$1.25 per hour; and those receiving 50 cents and over per hour numbered 4,403, or 2.55 per cent of all employes.

Figuring on a 12-hour day, 131,944 employes, or 76.4 per cent of the total, received from \$1.68 to \$3.00 in daily wages, while half of the men received from \$1.68 to \$2.16.

On February 1, 1913, the Steel Trust made “a general increase in wages and salaries, averaging for employes receiving less than \$2 per day about 12½ per cent.” We do not know whether the in-



IN FRONT OF THE FURNACES.

crease has actually been made; we must take Chairman Gary's word for it. But if it has, the "increase" is a mere bagatelle compared with the gigantic rise in the cost of living and the yield of profits.

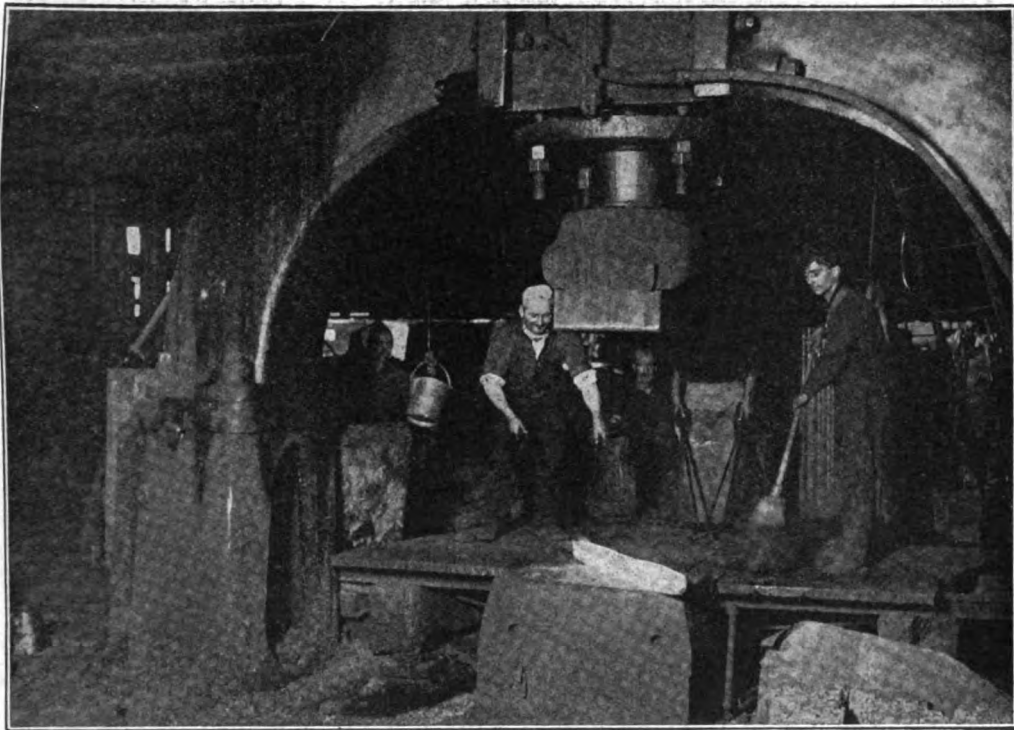
It must be observed that despite this "increase" in wages, which Gary claims is \$12,000,000, profits of the Steel Corporation for the first quarter of 1913 were higher from eight to twenty million dollars for eight years, and lower from five to two millions for three years. So huge is labor's yield of surplus value in trustified industry that profits are always large despite "increased operating expenses."

The picture drawn by steel mill wages is one of grinding, agonizing toil, of a machine existence—just enough oil in the form of wages to keep the human machine going. The \$1.68 to \$2.16 daily wage is even lower, considering that few steel workers are steadily employed. Social workers estimate that \$700 to \$800 is the minimum yearly income to sustain a proletarian family on *common necessities*. Most of these steel workers never

earn that. They must, therefore, live a materially sub-human existence.

Not only are wages low, but hours of work are extraordinarily high. Of the 172,706 steel workers investigated by the Bureau of Labor, 50,000, or 29 per cent, customarily toiled seven days per week, and 20 per cent sweated 84 hours or more per week, which means a 12-hour working day every blessed day in the week, including Sunday. Nearly 43 per cent of the men were found working 72 hours per week, or 12 hours per day for a 6-day week. Men often toil 20 to 30 hours at a stretch. A plan is being mooted to give the 7-day men one day off a week, but this would not affect the 72-hour a week men. Toil would continue frightful.

The hypocritical plea of the steel barons is that a "metallurgical necessity" exists for the 7-day week, for continuous operation. But this continuous operation could be secured without sweating the men seven days a week. The plea is a dastardly subterfuge. The investigators



HOLDING A WHITE HOT BILLET UNDER THE HAMMER.

developed the fact that the 7-day week was not confined to the blast furnace department, where there is a "metallurgical necessity" for continuous operation, and where 88 per cent of the men toil seven days a week; but it was found that, to a considerable extent, in other departments where no "metallurgical necessity" exists, work was carried on Sundays, for purely commercial, profit-mad reasons.

In an effort to silence public opposition the Steel Corporation made a bluff to remedy these horrible conditions. A committee of stockholders was appointed to investigate the 12-hour day, which said among other things:

"We are of the opinion that a 12-hour day of labor, followed continuously by any group of men for any considerable number of years, *means a decreasing of the efficiency and lessening of the vigor and virility of such men.*" (My italics.)

The Finance Committee then appointed a sub-committee which reported against the change at the stockholders' meeting of April 21, 1913, on the ground that "un-

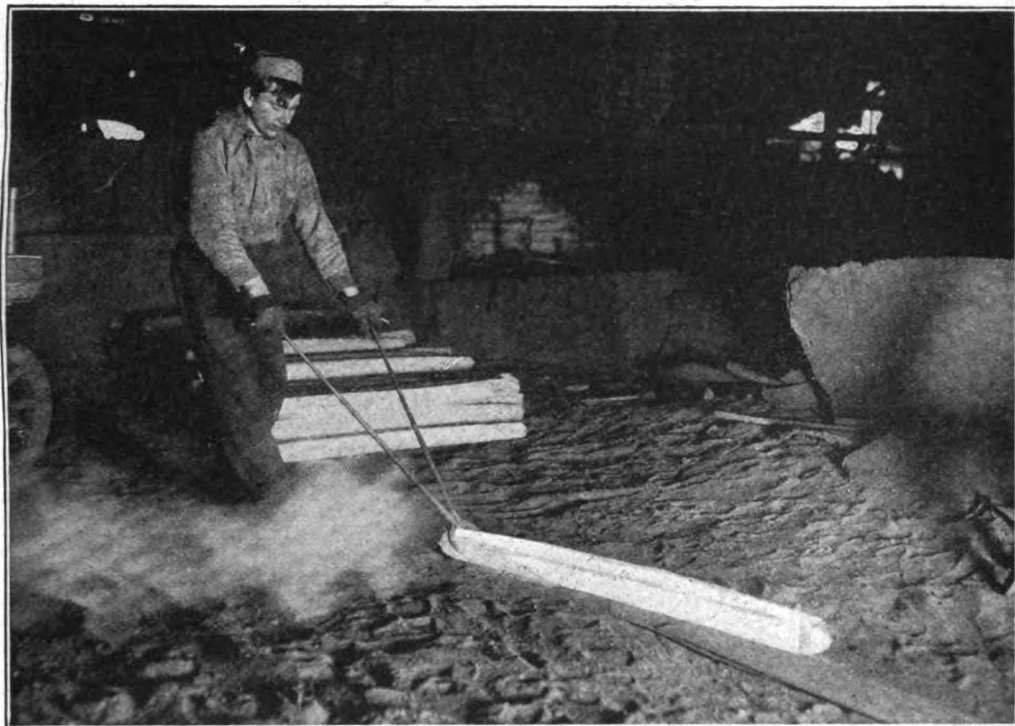
less competing iron and steel manufacturers will also enforce a less than 12-hour day, the effort to reduce the twelve hours per day at all our works will result in losing a large number of our employes, many of them preferring to take positions requiring more hours of work per day."

A mesh of hypocritical pretense. The matter of competition cuts no figure, for the "trust" has "gentlemen's agreements" with the "independents" not only concerning prices, but conditions of labor also. They are agreed to crush labor, but *do not wish to agree to "improve" labor.* Another subterfuge John A. Fitch exposes in the *Survey*:

"Of course, nothing is said in this report, nor was anything said at the stockholders' meeting, as to the real reason why workers leave their positions.

"The facts are that the cost of this reform was borne by the men. The Steel Corporation did not pay its men their old earnings for their new six-day stint."

Economic necessity, and not that "the



DRAGGING HOT BILLET.

men like to work twelve hours a day," as Judge Gary impudently claims, compels these men to toil inhumanly.

Nevertheless, an 8-hour day in the steel mills is only a matter of time. Capitalists are recognizing that non-sweated labor is the most efficient. This reform, says the *Boston Transcript*, "experts declare will increase, rather than diminish, dividends." And the Bureau of Labor argues that—

From the experience of English blast-furnace owners who have adopted the eight-hour shift system, and from the experience in other industries, it will tend to produce a much more efficient force of workmen. There is no increase in "cost of production," and the quality of the product improves greatly.

The proletariat must guard itself against Capitalists bearing gifts. With the proletariat industrially organized, the power of its organization would restrict production and decrease efficiency, preparatory to taking possession of all industry. An 8-hour day without a powerful

industrial union would mean more intense exploitation and more unemployment.

The steel barons have a purely Capitalist interest in their slaves, not at all human. Recently, steel superintendents in certain Pennsylvania steel towns appeared in court and argued against granting saloons licenses, *as saloons menaced their profits, drink sapping the workers' efficiency.* O Capital, thou shalt stand forever and aye as the brilliant flower on the stem of hypocrisy and bestial materialism!

Intoxication is a logical result of steady, grinding toil. And saloons flourish in steel towns. Toil in steel plants, especially in the blast furnaces, saps vitality and develops an overpowering desire for stimulants. And the men drink, drink, for in drink their sorrow vanishes and they have a momentary thrill of pleasure. And many, if not most, drink because of a blind, dumb, rooted resentment. They hate the boss, they hate work, they hate themselves, they hate

life. This resentment and hatred shall be harnessed to the mighty ends of the Revolution.

It was during the Passaic, N. J., textile strike. I was interviewing one of the strikers, a wisp of a Polish girl of sixteen. Toil in the industrial Bastille had not yet dried the red of her cheeks.

"My mother lives in Pittsburgh," she said. "I send her what I can. My father worked in the steel mill, worked hard and long. Then he began to drink, and became unkind. Oh, yes, he was good before that. One day his arm was cut off and he became worse. Then mother and I had to leave him."

"Do you ever see your father now?"

"Never. And we don't want to, either. But I saw him almost as little in the old days as I see him now, he worked so long."

The Steel Trust plumes itself on having had no strikes. "There have been no strikes or disturbances in the operation of the great steel company, and comparatively few in its more powerful rivals, which have patterned after its ideals and labor plans," says the *Commercial*. The reason thereof is plain. The Steel Trust terrorizes its employes and holds them in mental, physical and spiritual bondage—for the Church in the steel centers is owned body and soul by the exploiters. The men are forbidden to organize. They must present grievances individually; even a committee must not be formed. A comprehensive spy system is maintained; men are afraid to talk for fear of discharge. An investigator says: "I called one day at the home of a skilled steel worker, an employe of the United States Steel Corporation, and he sent his wife to the door to tell me that he couldn't talk with me because the company had 'given orders that the men shouldn't talk about mill work.' There was a wage cut at Homestead in 1908 that set the whole town talking around their firesides. But on the street the men would deny all knowledge of it."

The associative spirit is crushed. The workers dare not act collectively; the trust takes care that they don't; and individually they are helpless. Any move

to collectively improve conditions means discharge. In 1906 the workers of Jones & Laughlin, powerful "independents," planned a meeting of protest against Sunday work. The superintendent threatened with discharge whoever attended the meeting. *The meeting was not held.* This practice is universal in the iron and steel industry.

Then there is the "pension system." Pensions rivet employes to the employer. They are a chain-ball on the ankle of proletarian action.

The steel industry has applied the "efficiency system" with marked success. One phase of the "efficiency system" is the more intensive exploitation of the human unit in production; the other phase, more important to the Capitalist at the present stage of things, is holding the worker in subjection and discouraging union organization.

"Work, Wages and Profits" by H. L. Gantt, a book written for employers and published by *The Engineering Magazine*, New York, gives the snap away. Gantt advocates the "efficient utilization of labor"; this implies getting the worker to increase his output, and as one of the means of doing this the "task and bonus" system is offered. The work is divided into "tasks" and apportioned among the workers. The man who completes his task within the time set by the superintendent (time being decided by the most skilled worker) receives a "bonus." Instituted in the plants of the Bethlehem Steel Company, the assistant superintendent after two months' trial wrote that the method had "*eliminated the constant necessity for driving the men.*" Gantt says that "the average monthly output of the shop from March 1, 1900, to March 1, 1901, was 1,173,000 pounds, and from March 1, 1901, to August 1, 1901 (after the 'bonus' system was inaugurated), it was 2,069,000 pounds." *The shop employed 700 men and paid on the "bonus" plan only 80 workers out of the entire 700.*

The "task and bonus" scheme decreases "cost of production" and increases the workers' yield of surplus value at small additional expense to the employer, as only a few receive the "bonus." It eliminates the "necessity for driving" as the worker, lured on by the

"bonus" will-o-wisp, becomes his own slave-driver.

"So far this system has never failed to create a strong spirit of harmony and co-operation" between employers and employes; it shatters union efforts, as the employer uses the scheme to separate the "bonus" receivers from the unsuccessful ones, creating a sort of "bonus aristocracy." Gantt opposes labor unions and employers' associations as they can never "effect a permanent solution of the problem of the proper relations between employers and employes"; his "task and bonus" system does bring about "proper relations," as it *discourages labor unions by inciting workers to strive individually, instead of collectively, to increase their wages*. What Marx, in "Capital," said of wages, applies to the "efficiency" movement—"The rise of wages, therefore, is confined within limits that not only leave intact the foundations of the capitalistic system, but also secure its reproduction on a progressive scale."

But Capitalist chicane cannot stifle the revolutionary spirit. The very effort to stifle creates the revolutionary spirit. There is a revolutionary group, a small group, but that matters not, among the steel workers. And they are biding their time. Revolt is near. It is bound to come. It is here. John A. Fitch recites a typical episode:

• "It was a family of intelligence and breeding, and evidently of strong religious principles. The father had been telling me about the experience in a long life as a workman. The son had sat silently acquiescent in his father's analysis of existing conditions, but following the conversation with attention. Finally, ad-

ressing both, I asked what, in their judgment, would be the outcome of the unrest and discontent? There was silence for a moment and then the father shook his head sadly and said: 'There is no way out. There will be no change.' But the son cried out through set teeth: 'Yes, there is a way out, and it is through an armed revolution.'

Steel conditions are universal, the steel industry being typical of trustified Capitalism. Trust-Capitalism creates a new proletariat, the proletariat of machine-tenders, of common, unskilled labor. Says the Bureau of Labor report: "Large as is the proportion that unskilled labor forms of the total labor force in the iron and steel industry, steel experts have noted the fact that the tendency of recent years has been steadily toward the reduction of the number of highly skilled men employed and the *establishment of the general wage on the basis of common or unskilled labor*." (My italics.) Wages paid common labor in the steel industry are the wages of common labor everywhere. There is an identity in exploitation. This develops fraternal spirit, and, coupled with its strategic industrial position, makes common labor THE revolutionary force.

Our agitation, our organization efforts must recognize this fact: *Common labor dominates industry*. And when common labor in steel revolts, when this basic industry feels the clutch of the Revolution, Capitalism will be shaken to its depths. Not McKees Rocks, not Lawrence, not the British miners' and dock workers' strike will be comparable. The revolt of the steel workers will sound the call for the Social Revolution.



THE WEST VIRGINIA SENATORIAL INVESTIGATION

By Sigurd Russell

ONE of the greatest dramas of the labor movement unfolded itself in Charleston, West Virginia, when a committee of the United States Senate sat investigating labor conditions and the strike of Paint and Cabin Creeks. Their sessions were held daily from 9 a. m. to 11 p. m., for a whole week and had all the appearances of a court trial. Labor and Capital were on the stand.

One million four hundred and fifty thousand words of testimony were recorded. The tears of women, the shrieks of babies, the thunderings of corporation lawyers, the laughter and applause of the crowd, broke in upon the majestic silence of the court. It was a big farce and a great tragedy. Millions of dollars were at stake on the one hand, and the lives of human beings on the other.

The Socialists of West Virginia were found not guilty of having libeled the coal barons and military despots. Their charges had not been exaggerated. It was granted by the Senators that the hideous story of greed, madness and crime had been well pictured, as a blot on civilization, and American pride. But it was also admitted that all the powers of the land were powerless to undo or to change the past or the present, and even to dictate the future. The only value of that expensive investigation was publicity.

The great story was told by men, women and children, mostly American—miners and railroad men,

Lawyers for the miners and for the coal operators; millionaires and paupers; scabs, yellow legs, policemen and Baldwin Guards, Senators and Governors; the mighty and the weak, all had to testify.

As soon as a member of the working class had testified in favor of the strikers, the corporation lawyers would with third degree and cross questionings, make a mighty effort to destroy the effect of his testimony. And when a witness took the stand for the coal barons, the attorneys for the miners would do the same. It was on both sides a struggle to undo the other fellow. All the senators with the exception of Shields of Tennessee asked questions from every witness in order to get more facts and understanding and to test the veracity of his words.

The investigation had every appearance of a court trial. And this illusion was helped when those concerned called the chair "Your Honor"; the witness "the prisoner," the hall the "Court Room."

The atmosphere was surcharged with intense feelings. Those present kept their hearts on the pulse of the story as it unfolded itself and all the efforts of the Marshal-at-Arms of the Senate were futile in checking their explosions. It was evident that the crowd was on the side of the miners. Scattered in the room were railroad detectives, and the secret service men of Felts and Burns.

Felts, the head of the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency, which has suc-



SIGURD RUSSELL.

ceeded by bloody methods in terrifying Colorado, West Virginia, Kentucky, and the South, was present during the whole trial, sitting ten feet from the Senators. He was covered with jewelry and flashing diamonds, and every time he leaned over to talk to a corporation lawyer, or to a Senator, regarding some witness, two guns could be seen in his hip pockets. When on the stand himself he said that his services had cost over a thousand dollars a day for months. And that his work was to break the backbone of labor unions, by having his men on the inside, and also attacking them on the outside. He was gentlemanly, defiant, cynical, haughty, and insulting. Once I heard him whisper to another man, "Damn it, I don't know anything about that witness."

The most interesting point of the investigation was the fact that the parties concerned admitted most of the charges against them. Governor Glasscock said that the intensity of the situation had made him act rashly. The members of the Military Commission plainly said that at their arbitrary tribunal they had ignored the constitutions and the civil laws of the land. The coal operators even told how much they had spent for thuggery, claiming that it was necessary to defend their property and their business. President Cornell stated that his company had spent \$18,000 for guns and ammunition, and \$8,000 to bring in 1,100 scabs.

Quin Morton, one of the millionaire coal barons, who leases his mines from Pratt of the Standard Oil, stated that he had ordered the "Bull Moose Armored Death Special," and that that night he himself had fired into the camps of the strikers with a 30x30 Winchester, at the same time as the two Gatling guns were exploding. They were firing 250 shots a minute each. The strikers on their side, also told of having armed themselves and using their weapons to protect their rights, their lives and families against the blood-thirsty guards of the mine owners.

John Seechrist was the hero of the whole show. A lad of twenty, born and raised on Paint Creek, at the mouth of a mine; regarded until the strike as a coward, he was six feet tall, with long curly hair. Slow and timid, he created a stir when he admitted under the cross-fire of questions of the corporationists, to having killed a number of

guards and having been in fights in defense of his hills, his brother workers, his life, and his rights, and that he was ready to do it again whenever necessary.

All this he said with the voice of a child, and the timidity of a young girl. And the question was raised as to whether or not the Senatorial Committee would grant him immunity. It was decided by the Senator whose sympathy and understanding he had won, that this would be granted. So he went on implicating himself to the delight of the corporation lawyers.

Then they asked him how and where he had purchased his guns and ammunition, but he did not give a satisfactory answer, and everybody wondered at the change. It was soon understood, however, when he was asked whether Parsons, a prominent leader of the strikers, was with him at a certain place or not. Then what John had foreseen happened, and his lawyers inquired from the chairman as to whether the boy was forced to answer and implicate others. To which it was answered that he was not. The question was repeated and other questions were added, but he remained silent. Finally, when Lawyer Knight for the coal barons, asked him if he desired to answer, he turned around and faced the capitalist class with a well rounded "No." And the lawyer dismissed him saying, "You can take away the prisoner." No one was implicated through the testimony of Seechrist. He did more than any other one witness to show the investigators that a state of actual warfare existed in West Virginia.

A large number of miners had been in bull pens and jails for months and then had been released without knowing what sentences the military fancy had chosen for them. They didn't know whether they had been found guilty or not guilty. All that they knew was that they were locked up for a time, and then all of a sudden let loose. Now it is quite evident that as soon as the capitalist bull dogs of West Virginia believe that they have crushed the miners' revolt, they will strike another blow of vengeance and turn many of the miners over to the civil courts. It was plainly shown that they tried to get as much evidence as possible during the investigation.

Senator Martini, of New Jersey, was the most earnest of the Senators. It seemed at first that this old farmer and friend of President Wilson could not imagine that in

this free and civilized America it was possible that worse methods of slavery and suppression were used than in Russia.

He had been given that part of Resolution 37, which dealt with interfering with the post office, but he jumped out of these boundaries of his assignment, and plunged with more vigor and rage than the other Senators into all the phases of the investigation. As the evidence of the miners was not organized, many a point would not have been made clear, had it not been for the dare-devil questions of the gentleman from New Jersey.

He told the coal barons that they had murdered for greed; that they had forgotten the golden rule; that human lives were above money on the market of decency. He scolded, cursed and preached.

Senator Swanson, chairman of the committee, an ex-governor of the state of Virginia, where mining conditions and the guard system are as bad as in West Virginia, has always been a true politician, and his humanitarian feelings are afloat only as long as they don't have to digest the dollar bill. The way he put it to me was, "You see I understand those miners. I come from a county of moonshiners. I lived with them. I knew their spirit. I held their secrets. I tried to save the Allen brothers from the electric chair. I will explain to the Senate why the boys of Paint and Cabin Creek as true mountaineers, used 30-30 Winchesters and Mausers." But he

did not speak of the coal operators. Senator Shields, the surly gentleman from Tennessee, was called "the Minority Report," as from the start he showed that he was lined up with the coal trust.

Senator Kenyon, formerly a lawyer from Iowa, worked the hardest of them all. He tried to find out the truth. He constantly fired questions and was well informed on mining conditions. He made a good investigator.

Senator Borah, of Idaho, the man with the "silver tongue" and the sweet smile, was the Sphinx of the whole show. On which side he stood, no one knew. But he left for Washington the third day of the investigation, saying that he had all the proofs he needed on his subject, which was: Martial Law, and the arrest and detention of Socialists and union men.

Whatever may be the report of these capitalist employes, it must be said that they worked hard, and left no stone unturned to find out the truth from all parties concerned. And that is more than our own Socialist Investigating Committee did for its class. Such is the universal opinion of the Socialists and miners of West Virginia.

The Senatorial Report is only to be regarded from a point of view of publicity. And when we can show to all the people of this country and the world the conditions of slavery under which the miners live, then and then only, will they wake up and put this cursed system out of business!

Strike "Settlements" in West Virginia

By W. H. Thompson

IN an article in the July REVIEW I detailed at some length the manner in which the odious Hatfield-Haggerty "settlement" of the Kanawha strike was "put over" on the workers by the coercion of Hatfield and the trickery of the United Mine Workers' officials. I have received numerous letters from persons prominent in the Socialist party and in the mine workers organization severely criticizing my statements and intimating in very forceful language that I knew not of what I wrote. In justice to these writers I will say that in every instance they were citizens of other states, and, with few exceptions, have never been in West Virginia.

As proof of the accuracy of my statements made in that article I wish to chronicle the happenings in the affected zone since it was written.

The coal miners of Paint Creek and Cabin Creek have unanimously repudiated the agreement entered into for them by Hatfield-Haggerty & Co., and are again on strike. Furthermore, they have compelled Haggerty and the other compromising officials of the U. M. W. of A. to retreat from their former position as absolute dictators, and to grant to their strike a tardy official recognition.

These leaders were placed in a rather peculiar position in thus being compelled

to endorse a strike against the agreement they themselves had forced upon the miners, and to "save their face" they loudly proclaimed that the coal barons had violated the provisions of the holy Hatfield Proposition and thus justified the strike.

This brought forth a hot reply from the coal operators' association, which proved another assertion of mine, to the effect that there was nothing in the Hatfield proposition demanding any changes in their attitude toward the miners. They said in part:

"There was never any promise or agreement on our part to take back strikers or to surrender our rights of hiring or discharging men as we saw fit. We entered into no agreement with the United Mine Workers. We promised the Governor that we would do certain things toward ending the violence on Paint and Cabin Creeks. We have kept this promise in the strictest good faith and there is no foundation for any statement to the contrary."

In regard to this Dean Haggerty made a public statement in which he said:

"Owing to my absence from the city on important business I have as yet been unable to prepare a detailed reply to the statement of the operators' association. But I shall do so shortly and show that the Governor's proposition has been grossly violated."

The Dean made this promise of a "detailed statement" on June 22, but as yet he has failed to make the statement or show wherein the operators had grossly violated the Hatfield proposition. No one knows better than Haggerty that there was nothing in the proposition that the operators would have any call to violate.

In the meantime the strike in the Paint and Cabin Creek district grows in intensity, and conditions are rapidly approaching the guerilla warfare stage. The criminal mine guards are again in evidence and are using the same old tactics to stir up violence. Already one battle has taken place. This called forth from Governor Hatfield a long open letter to Sheriff Bonner Hill, he, of "armored train" fame, in which he declared that if the civil authorities could not preserve peace in the strike zone they should resign. He also intimated that he might summarily remove such officials as were lax in their duties. When it is remembered that Hatfield tried

to "preserve peace" up there with the entire state army and failed, and that he has not as yet resigned his office, his advice appears a little premature, to say the least.

The New River "Settlement."

It would seem to the casual observer that Haggerty & Co. would have learned a few things from their failure to "put over" the now infamous Kanawha Settlement, but, alas, they belong to that specie of old line craft union leaders who never learn and never change. At the very time the Kanawha miners were repudiating the agreement entered into for them by these gentlemen, Haggerty, Hatfield and the New River operators were concocting another settlement prescription to be used upon the restless and dissatisfied New River miners.

This proposition, which was agreed upon by the gentlemen who drew it up, was meant for no other purpose than to chloroform the growing spirit of unrest among the miners in this field and to keep them producing coal to fill the contracts of the Kanawha operators whose mines are closed by the strike there.

The New River agreement is a replica of the infamous Hatfield proposition to settle the Kanawha strike. The workers realize absolutely nothing from its acceptance. And to effectually prevent the miners from ever gaining any concessions under it the following clause is appended:

"Sixth—All matters of dispute, with reference to the above proposition, as between the individual operator and miners in each mine in the New River and Virginia districts, to be referred to a commission of four, two of whom are to be selected by the operators and two by the miners neither of whom are to be interested in mines or mining, either directly or indirectly, and that where a controversy arises, both operator and miner may appear before the said board, and the board, after hearing the evidence from both sides, shall render a decision, and any decision signed by any three of said board shall be final and binding on both operators and miners. Should said board be unable to reach a majority decision, then they shall take the matter to the *governor of the state*, who shall act as umpire and whose decision shall be final and binding on both operators and miners, and there shall be no appeal therefrom."

See any chance for the real interested parties, the coal miners, having any say in matters of dispute?

Bear in mind, please, that this agreement, contract, settlement or whatever it is, was never submitted to the miners for their acceptance or rejection. It was accepted for them by the wise Christian leaders whom God and the United Mine Workers of America sent here to act for them. And their interests are further protected by *Umpire Hatfield* from whose decision no appeal can be taken.

Regardless of the U. M. W. of A. officials the Kanawha miners appealed from a Hatfield decision, and we may confidently expect that the New River miners will follow suit. The militant spirit of revolution is abroad among these delvers in the earth, and the day of the "leaders" who spend all their time in "conferences" with the enemies of the men they are supposed to represent is fast drawing to a close.

Why Hatfield Was Shielded

When the committee appointed by the United States Senate to investigate the new and weird form of government which has been established in West Virginia began its hearings in Charleston it departed from the usual procedure employed by investigating committees inasmuch as it ruled that only such witnesses as were placed upon the stand by the attorneys for the operators and the attorneys for the United Mine Workers should be heard.

The result of this action was that a loophole was left through which the U. M. W. of A. lost no time in pushing their "friend" Hatfield, and no evidence pertaining to the long line of military outrages committed upon the Socialists since March 4, was gotten into the record.

The investigation into the acts of the Glasscock administration was thorough and a state of affairs was revealed that shocked the sensibilities of even the capitalist politicians from the United States who conducted the inquiry. Glasscock is a down and out and disgraced tool of the coal barons, incapable of further serving his masters or of seeking revenge upon his enemies, therefore none attempted to shield him; instead he was made the scapegoat in an effort to shield more powerful men.

Governor Hatfield was inaugurated on March 4. On March 7, Mother Jones, C.

H. Boswell, John Brown and 46 Socialist miners were placed on trial before Hatfield's military drumhead court. A writ of prohibition forbidding these trials was issued by the civil courts of Kanawha county, but the drumhead continued its work in defiance of the civil power and its bull-pen victims were tried and in many instances sentenced to long terms in the penitentiary.

In April Hatfield issued his infamous 36-hour ultimatum in which the striking Socialist miners were compelled to return to work or be imprisoned or deported. A few days after this he suppressed the Charleston Labor Argus and jailed its staff of three men.

On May 9 Hatfield and his soldiers suppressed the Huntington Socialist and Labor Star, 80 miles outside the martial law zone, confiscated and destroyed its plant and sent the five publishers to join those of The Argus in the Charleston jail.

The charge has been openly and repeatedly made that Hatfield's activities against the Socialists had been instigated by the Jesuits who are in control of the U. M. W. of A. These, it is charged, had complained to the military governor that they could never "settle the strike" while the Socialists were at large.

This charge is partly borne out in the report of the Socialist investigating committee when it says: "The governor said that he was as much opposed to martial law as anyone could be. He had permitted it to remain effective at the request of the union miners." This statement of the governor was subsequently verified by all the officials and organizers of the U. M. W. of A."

Is it any wonder that these *officials* and *organizers* of the U. M. W. of A. used the influence of their attorneys to prevent an investigation of the outrages committed under a military dictatorship which they acknowledge being responsible for "remaining effective?"

However, this matter has been taken up with the Senatorial investigators by the Socialists themselves and they have a tentative promise from the committee that they will yet get a hearing. It is intimated that the committee will call the recipients of the Hatfield outrages to testify after the "shysters" have concluded their presentation of testimony against Glasscock.



STRIKE MEETING IN THE GREEK CHURCH YARD.

The Ipswich Strike

By J. S. Biscay

IPSWICH, Mass., a town of 6,000 people, is one of the first settlements in New England and is noted for its notorious Ipswich Mill, where men, women and children worked for from \$2.00 to \$6.00 a week, often being cheated of even these scant earnings. One of the stockholders of this mill is Supreme Judge Caleb Loring and another is Bishop Lawrence. Both are highly respectable and patriotic gentlemen.

Until last fall this mill had a profitable habit of confiscating the wages of any worker that quit without giving two weeks' notice. The 54-hour law was also meaningless to the millowners, who worked their slaves as long as they pleased.

But along came an I. W. W. organizer in the shape of C. L. Pingree, who at once made such an awful noise about

robbing the workers and defying the hour law that the millowners were forced to post notices asking all who had work in past years to call for their confiscated wages. In a few months Ipswich Mill paid back more than \$60,000 of loot to the workers. The 54-hour law was suddenly discovered and enforced. This happened in 1912, and of course fossilized citizens began to hate the I. W. W. for thus disturbing the torrid reverie of the mortuary town. The slaves were so pleased that many joined the I. W. W.

On April 22 the workers of the Ipswich Mill walked out, demanding an increase in wages. The great majority of them were called "ignorant foreigners" but their numbers were so large in the town that they closed down the hosiery plant. For about a month the mill lay idle.

the meantime the sleepy citizens worked themselves into the proper spirit of indignant patriotism and persuaded the English-speaking workers to return amid much rejoicing. Out of 1,500 strikers a couple hundred began to scab. The Greeks and Poles stood solid.

Scabbing proved so distasteful on a few dollars a week that even the hide-bound natives began to quit in bunches. Extra sluggers were brought in from Lawrence, Salem, Beverly and other places to terrorize the strikers. Soon the town funds shrunk into a deficit and some excuse was needed to appropriate more police money. The taxpayers were grumbling at the unnecessary expense. A special meeting of town officials was called for the evening of June 10 to devise means of raising money.

On this evening the strikers paraded before the mill as usual. The scabs began to make some disturbance, elbowing and pushing strikers about the street. Instead of keeping order the police began to arrest some of the strikers. A group of workers gathered about a 16-year-old girl that was being dragged about the street by three specials. None of the strikers lifted a hand. Suddenly, as if on an agreed signal, the police and specials charged the strikers with drawn clubs and revolvers. They began to club and shoot the workers, who had no chance to get away. Other police were stationed down the street and hemmed in the victims, leaving no opportunity of escape. Some climbed the fence, while others escaped through the yards. *One woman was instantly killed with a bullet in the head while standing in her own yard.* Ten more went to the hospital to recover from club and bullet wounds. Most of these were women and girls. None of the police was hurt, as the strikers had no chance of self-defense.

That evening the town appropriated \$12,000 for the police.

Following this brutal attack nineteen strikers were thrown into jail charged with "riot," while Organizers Nathan Herman, C. L. Pingree and wife were charged with murder and riot. Parades were forcibly stopped, meetings in the hall broken up and an ordinance against free speech and public assemblage was passed.

In desperation the strikers took refuge in the Greek churchyard, where for a time their meetings were not molested by the authorities. Recently even these meetings have been suppressed under the by-law that was made as an excuse for this very occasion.

During the hearing of the "riot" charges only witnesses were allowed in the court room. Citizens were not barred even from inside the railing. Radical reporters were denied admission. I was barred from the court until I produced credentials as a newspaper reporter. My press dispatches were held up until I made a deposit and got authority. Editor Edwards of the *Leader*, a Boston Socialist weekly, was thrown out of the town hall where the court holds session. I was threatened with violence by one of the specials at the court room door for writing and sending out news from Ipswich. In the meantime the foundry of "justice" was operating against the strikers.

During the hearing, Judge Sayward referred to the I. W. W. in the most violent language. He called the strikers "dupes," "fools," and other choice names becoming a man of the mill-owned bench. He stated that Herman and Pingree were responsible for the murder, even if an officer fired the fatal bullet. This was before there was even a hearing of the murder charge and before the inquest.



N. HERMAN. MRS. PINGREE C. G. PINGREE.

Two days later and after the inquest, which was never made public, Prosecuting Attorney Attwill of Salem fame advised the mummified judge that in his opinion there was nothing to warrant holding the organizers on the murder charge, as an officer fired the bullet. The judge then turned a complete "flip-flop" and stated that for some days he had been of the same opinion. Then murder charges were thereupon squashed. Thirteen, including Herman and Pingree, were bound over to the grand jury charged with riot.

Following this came the arrests of outside speakers for daring to address the strikers at the Greek church. L. J. Grikstas of Brighton, A. K. McMillain of Beverly, Gustav Andeberg of Lynn and John Murphy of Lawrence—all Socialist speakers—were arrested as violent persons and quickly sentenced to three months for addressing the strikers. Their cases have been appealed and will come up again in September. During the trials of these speakers the "court" ruled that the presence of any speaker at the Greek church was enough for him.

The "citizens" began to hold meetings

to lay plans for a "vigilante" squad to run the organizers and speakers out of town. A half-witted detective found a "bomb" which proved to be some cast-off overalls rolled in a bundle. This only caused a laugh about town. A "flag day" for July 4th was at once decided upon as the usual mode of procedure against the awful I. W. W. Then an effort was made to break the solid ranks of the strikers by persuading them to take part in this demonstration. The strikers refused to "demonstrate" with thugs and scabs, and the demonstration proved a costly fizzle.

Despite all these odds the strikers are standing firm, with the intention of winning or leaving the town. For the first ten weeks of the strike there was no outside aid. Some collectors have been sent out and appeals for funds are being circulated. A defense league has been organized locally from among the strikers and branch leagues are being formed in other places. Funds are badly needed. As there have been threats of stopping strike relief, the strike committee urges that all funds be sent to the Ipswich Defense League, Box 282, Ipswich, Mass.

JAPANESE WRESTLING AND THE JIU-JITSU

By S. Katayama

ORIGINALLY the famous Japanese jiu-jitsu was an art practiced solely by the nobility, who, possessing the right, denied to commoners, of carrying swords, were thus enabled to show their superiority over common people even when without weapons.

It was a secret art, jealously guarded from those not privileged to use it, until the feudal system was abandoned in Japan, but now jiu-jitsu is taught in the schools, as well as in public and private gymnasiums. In the army, navy and police, it receives particular attention.

Jiu-jitsu may be briefly defined as "an application of anatomical knowledge to the purpose of offense and defense." It differs from wrestling in that it does not depend upon muscular strength. It needs no weapon. Its object is not to kill but to

incapacitate one from action for the time being.

Its feat consists in clutching or striking such part of an enemy's body as will make him numb and incapable of resistance.

Several of these sensitive places, for instance the partially exposed nerve in the elbow, popularly known as the "funny-bone" and the complex of nerves over the stomach called the "solar plexus," are familiar to the American, but the jiu-jitsu expert is acquainted with many others which, when compressed, stuck, or pinched cause temporary paralysis of a more or less complete nature. Such places are the arm-pit, the ankle and wrist bones, the tendon running downward from the ear, the "Adam's apple" and the nerves of the upper arm. In serious fighting almost any hold or attack is resorted to and a broken

or a badly sprained limb is the least that can befall a victim.

Many writers translate jiu-jitsu "to conquer by yielding" and this phrase is a salient characteristic of the art, since the weight and strength of the opponent are employed to his own undoing.

When, for example, a big man rushes at a smaller opponent, the smaller man, instead of seeking to oppose strength to strength, falls backwards or sidewise, pulling his heavy adversary after him and taking advantage of his loss of balance to gain some lock or hold known to the science.

In the feudal days the theater was a communistic affair in Japan. Every large town and village had its own theater and the people made for it roofs of straw and bamboo mats. The young men worked hard to prepare for the great events about to take place and made them a success. The people themselves were often actors, audience and producers. The object in these productions was pleasure for the community in which profits had no share. But now all this has been grabbed up by the profit-takers and the only share the people have in the theater is to pay for getting in.

Wrestling has been the boast of Japan for twenty centuries. It had almost become an established art at the time it began to decay through the substitution of the dollar, for sporting honor, as its goal. Formerly the hair's breadth of a point was contested and a decision rendered with fine honor and acumen.

Wrestling was indulged in for the amusement of the people and by the people. Now it has become a profit-making machine in which the wrestlers are mere vendors of the art of wrestling at so much per week or month.

There is now an association that controls the entire group of wrestlers. Its members are made up of from a limited number of the older wrestlers with money to invest.

Sometime ago the younger group of unknown wrestlers, who were dissatisfied with the meagre wages paid by the money grabbing association, went on strike and refused to work for such terms. In fact they rented a hall for their own use and decided they would try to get along without the association and the inner ring of better known wrestlers with ring records.

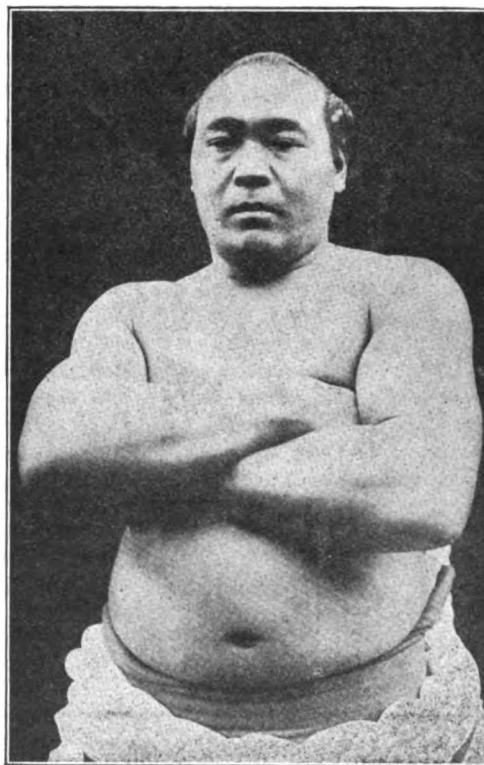
The association and the champions got

together and talked things over. It was astounding! It was unheard of! It was unbelievable that these unknown young upstarts should rebel and want some of the earnings! But it was true! The Big Bugs discovered they could not open the amphitheatre without the despised youngsters and so they gave in.

JAPANESE WRESTLING.

There is no "starter" for the Jap wrestlers. The umpire merely raises his fan and the fun begins. The first man to touch his hand or any portion of his body to the ground is defeated. In order to win he must push his opponent outside the circle or throw him down.

Wrestling is the National Game in Japan. Daily reports down to the minutest details are published in every newspaper and the results of the day's game are as eagerly looked for as the sporting extra in the U. S. bearing the score of the afternoon baseball game. Wrestling gave birth to the "extra" in Japan. In spite of all the subsidizing of the ring, wrestling is still to the Japanese people what the bull fight is to Mexico and to Spain.



A JAPANESE WRESTLER.



Photo by International Harvester Co.

THE MOST MODERN METHOD OF HARVESTING.

The Agricultural Industry

By Robert Johnstone Wheeler

MR. CLYDE J. WRIGHT, writing in the *New York Call*, tells of the new renting system now developing in Oklahoma and Texas. In the Texas instance, Mr. Wright tells of the farm of Mr. Preston Smith, where 35,000 acres are plotted out in farms of from 50 to 100 acres. Tenants are obliged to sign an agreement to follow out the directions of the agricultural experts who are employed by the owner. The tenant is furnished with the best of seed, tools and supplies. Experts advise him constantly. Power machinery does the plowing, reaping and threshing. An expert salesman markets the crops. All this service is charged up to the tenant, who finally gets the net proceeds as agreed upon in the contract. The advantage to the capitalist in this system is obvious. The tenants' advantage is not so clear. Unless he can make a favorable contract, his position cannot be much better than that of the city industrial worker.

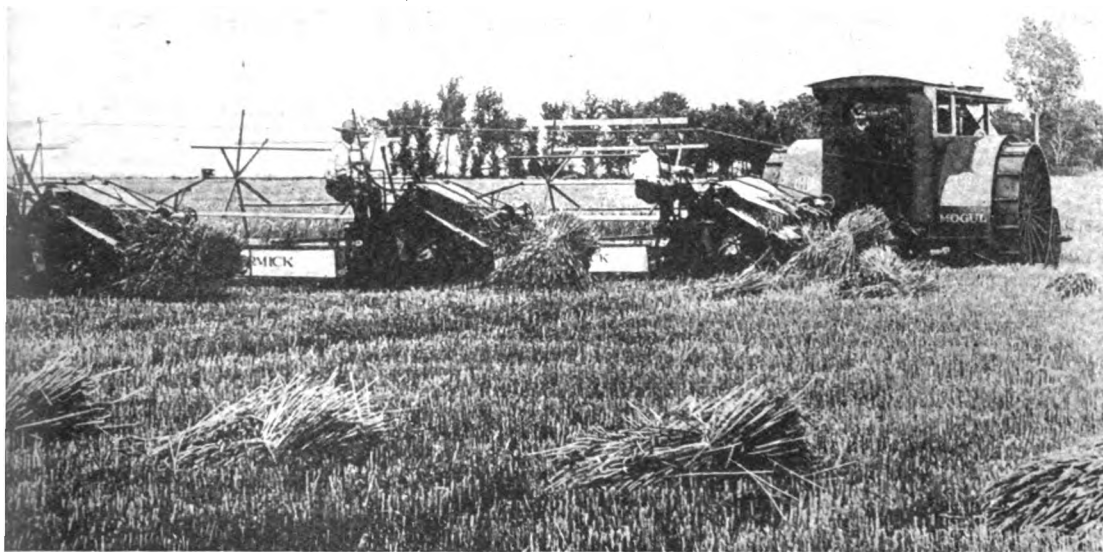
The fact that a Renters' Union, numbering over 40,000 members exists in Texas indicates that the renter is pretty thoroughly

exploited and now begins to rebel like his brother, the industrial proletarian.

The "Farm Corporation" has passed beyond the mere experimental stage. Such corporations are organized exactly like an industrial corporation, with similar officers. "Seven years ago," says the *Saturday Evening Post*, "a young lawyer in a western state conceived the idea of organizing a farm corporation. Today he is at the head of a string of such corporations." The *Post* writer in conversation with the organizer, asked:

"What about the net results of your system of corporation farming?" was then asked. "Have you made it pay, and if so, are you willing to say how well it has paid?"

"Yes," was the answer, "it has paid well. This does not mean that every ranch pays a dividend every year; but it does mean that after we have once got a ranch going we have never operated without earning a profit. For instance, one of our ranches this year paid a cash dividend of ten per cent. That is the first one on the list. Next comes a company that passed its dividend for the reason that a railroad locomotive set fire to our grass and we were obliged to go out and buy hay for the stock. Of course we shall ultimately recover the loss from the



OIL TRACTOR OPERATING FIVE BINDERS.

railroad company, but the accident compelled us to pass a dividend for the time being.

"I can see no reason," concluded this captain of husbandry, "why corporation ownership and management should not be successful in other lines of farming."

Co-operative farm operation is probably developing more among the owners of farms of from 175 to 499 acres. Such farms, averaging 291 acres, representing about \$15,000 capital, affords the owners means to buy the best machinery. Mr. Rex. Beresford, writing in the *Country Gentleman*, tells of this system at work.

One of the most successful coöperative companies of this sort is the one situated south of Spencer, Iowa. This is composed of fifteen farmers and was organized three years ago. The original shares were \$50 each. They bought a new outfit complete. The first year the machine made twenty per cent on the investment; the second year almost fifty per cent. Last year on account of an almost total small-grain failure in the neighborhood the company had little business. The first two years, however, paid back all but \$18 of the original \$50 invested. This year bids fair to clear the outfit. It is still good for many years' work. Every year at the close of the threshing run the members and their families have a banquet. It is one of the biggest social events of the neighborhood. What was originally only a threshing ring bids fair to become a social and literary organization as well.

In the case of a coöperative company the fall plowing begins as soon as the grain is threshed. The tractor easily does all this for the whole

company, leaving the men and teams to haul manure and attend to other work. Moreover the tractor plows deep and does a good job. It plows all the land that is ready to plow as soon as the crops are off, burying weeds and stubble and conserving moisture. When silage cutting is over a number of companies use their tractors to plow the corn-stubble land. By using the tractor in the fall to get all the plowing possible done at that time, not only are all the advantages of better pulverization of the soil and a greater storage of moisture gained, but the saving of time in the spring is great.

During the corn-plowing and haying season the tractors of at least two companies are kept busy on the roads, grading them, hauling road materials or sand or other building materials for their owners. When fall plowing is over, or between jobs, if necessary, the tractor is used to run the clover-huller or the corn-sheller. In winter it saws the wood, bales the hay, or does any other belt work necessary for its coöperating owners. With such a system there is almost constant work for the tractor. A competent engineer is hired for the season or the year. This man through his experience is able to get the best results from the tractor, doing away with any trouble and delay that might be caused by an incompetent workman.

The money invested by each member of a coöperative power-farming company is comparatively small. In fact it is not so much as he formerly invested in extra horses which he used only in the rush season and extra plows and other machinery. The income is nearly constant, for the engine is busy almost the year round. The only thing that really hinders the complete working out of such a scheme is the human element. Each man may find something in the man-

agement of the outfit that does not exactly suit him. These troubles have, however, been settled successfully by many threshing rings and farming companies.

Mr. Horace C. Baker, writing in the *Country Gentleman* of January 4, tells of one other farm, which combines the owning and renting system with certain manufacturing features. This is the remarkable farm of Mr. C. I. Cook, of Menominee, Mich. This farm comprises 3,500 acres, which with its equipment, is worth at least \$200,000. It is conducted exactly like an up-to-date industrial plant. It has a central administration building, drainage system, road system, light system. A large dairy is conducted. Canning, preserving and pickling is carried on. A large pump, throwing out 45,000 barrels of water daily, irrigates a division devoted to truck farming. The truck farms are laid out in plots of from ten to twenty acres. Tenants are located on each plot in a separate house, for the summer only. In the winter they go back to the city to live. Everything produced on the farm is worked up on the ground and the waste put back on the land.

Machinery has been introduced to an extent never before seen in the vicinity. A well-known Russian beet-seed grower, while visiting in this country, had occasion to look over the Cook farms. After a thorough investigation he declared that with the machinery used, beets could be cultivated and grown cheaper upon these farms than in his own country, although there hand labor receives only from seventeen to fifty cents a day. He also stated that the help upon the Cook farms was capable of not less than one hundred per cent more work than his help at home. Mr. Cook is growing a large acreage of sugar beets for seed purposes, principally as an experimental crop, as most of the beet seed now used in this country is grown in Europe.

These instances will serve to illuminate the census figures and show the great tendency of capital to go into large scale farming as a source of profit. It is not the contention of this article that the figures given from the census prove conclusively that the economic theory of Marx as to the final trustification of the agricultural industry, is sustained. The object is to set forth the facts relating to the present tendency of capital to engage in large scale farming. Some economists will say that there is an opposite tendency of larger proportions numerically, carrying the movement in agriculture toward small scale farming. That is not the question here. But it must be remembered that small scale farming

means also tenantry, which condition included 37% of all the farmers in the United States, and which is increasing as shown above. Sufficient is given above to prove that large scale farming is on the increase. The various methods by which it is going forward are full of interest. The success of the large producers like Mr. Charles P. Taft, with his 200,000 acre Texas farm is attracting the attention of other big capitalists. Example is contagious, especially when large profits are promised.

The effect of this development on the farm workers is plain. Just as in manufacturing industry they have been displaced by machinery, or reduced to mere machine tenders, so in the agricultural industry. For years we have heard the wail of the farm employer for willing laborers. But the laborer would not stay on the farm and would drift to the city. Anyone who has ever been a farm laborer can readily understand why the farm laborer wanted to quit. The small farm employer is about the most merciless exploiter to be found. The writer, in all his experience as a farm laborer, never found but one employer who had any consideration for his "help." Usually it was work from sun up to darkness. The last and worst experience was on a dairy farm in southwestern New York, where three of us, the employer and two men, rose at 4 a. m., milked 49 cows, worked all day in the fields, milked 49 cows again and went to bed at 8 p. m. This for \$1.00 per day. Even the steel industry is no worse. Still, the farm work had to be done. In justice to the farmer it must be said that he worked as hard as the men.

Because men became scarce, machines were developed to do the work. Now farm laborers are becoming less a necessity. The farm laborer is but a casual worker, needed a short time in the harvest season, and since small power engines and electric motors have become general in use, even a great part of the chores are done by machinery. Some of the great farming states, which have been settled long enough to develop fixed tendencies, show a loss of rural population, which cannot be accounted for in any other way than this.

The *Saturday Evening Post* of December 7, commenting on the loss of rural population in Illinois, says: "The farm population of Illinois decreased 7% in the last decade,

according to the census, and the value of farm machinery increased from \$45,000,000 to \$74,000,000. Also the number of horses increased 9% to the cultivated acre. With more and better machinery and more draft animals, fewer hands are needed to cultivate a given number of acres under our present system of extensive farming. This is what the decrease of farm population—or its failure to increase—in the Mississippi Valley means. Machinery takes the place of men.”

The citation of Illinois is a mistake, the *Post* probably means Iowa, which lost 7.2% of its rural population, or 119,869 people. Indiana lost 5.1% or 89,127. Missouri lost 3.5% or 69,716. In these three states respectively, the value of machinery increased from \$57,960,660 to \$95,477,948; from \$27,330,370 to \$40,999,451; from \$28,602,680 to \$50,873,994.

The total value of machinery increased from \$749,775,970 to \$1,265,147,783. Urban population increased 11,013,738 or 34.8%; while rural population increased only 4,983,953 or 11.2%. Meanwhile, the value of the leading crops increased as follows: Cereals 79.8%; hay and forage 70.2%; potatoes 69.2%; tobacco 83.0%; cotton 117.3%. The comparatively static condition of rural population is due to the increased amount and efficiency of farm machinery. This is for the whole United States.

Scientific investigation proves the point. Prof. G. L. Warren, of Cornell University, Department of Farm Management, has conducted a survey of a typical New York county (Tompkins). On page 421 he says: “The more efficient and numerous machines become, the larger our farms should be. It is interesting to notice how many of the tools are of very recent development. Almost half of the value of the outlay on a well equipped farm is invested in machinery that has been perfected in the last few years.”

On the subject of rural population, Prof. Warren, in a letter to the writer says: “I think the primary reason for the slight increase of rural population (0.6%) is that one farmer can do as much work as two or three could do before.

On the numerical decrease of farms Prof. Warren says: “A good many farms have been lost (11,123) because two farms have

combined.” This refers to New York state.

Here we have a most competent authority testifying that the fundamental cause of decrease of rural population and increase of the size of farms is the increased amount and efficiency of machinery.

Capitalists have been quick to recognize the sound economic basis of this tendency. The big farm machinery companies are planning to reap a harvest as the tide advances. The Rumley Company of LaPorte, Indiana, has increased its investments until they now have \$17,000,000 laid out in a plant which is capable of producing all kinds of power machines for farming. Their gas and oil engines are to be found all over the West and Canada. These people spend large sums of money yearly in experiments, competitions, improvements and in other ways calculated to give them secure position in the race for the trade in labor eliminating machinery. Other companies are also preparing. These machinery companies are taking no chances. They are building for a sure thing. Large scale farming is on the increase, and the demand is for machinery which will make the agricultural capitalist more independent of labor than the industrial capitalist is today.

Here enters the Scientific Manager. He will select the laborers for greatest efficiency. He will arrange the work for economy. He will manage the machines so as to decrease the number of men needed, just as he does in other industries. Therefore, the farm laborer tends to become a mere machine tender, a casual worker and a smaller factor in agriculture as time passes.

Power machinery and scientific management will work to best advantage in the sparsely settled countries like our West, Canada, Argentine Republic, Brazil, South Africa, Russia, Siberia and Mexico. In populous countries like Europe (excepting Russia) extensive farming cannot be carried on. The people are crowded together and there is no place for them to go if the fences were “thrown down.” But in the new countries, with their great unfenced areas, the power plow turning from 20 to 50 acres daily; the great header and thresher combined with its capacity of 80 to 100 acres a day, these will decide the form and future of agriculture in the new lands.

Supporting the new methods the agri-

cultural school looms up. There need be no long costly period of experimenting. The modern agricultural capitalist need only ask and the school will provide him with tested methods and highly trained men. Agricultural scientists have won great victories in the last generation. They have at last conquered public opinion. From today onward, less money will be spent for war and more for the use of the men who can cultivate an intimate acquaintance with Nature, luring her secrets from her and fitting themselves to train young men and women to make "two blades of grass grow where before but one could live."

But already the agricultural schools are turning out thousands of trained agriculturalists. As the number of schools increase, their trained product will multiply. What is to be done with them? They cannot all find work as managers and experts. They will not consent to become tenants. To become owners of even moderately sized farms becomes increasingly difficult with the average value of 138 acres at \$6,444. With large farms backed by plenty of capital on the increase, where is the young man, even though he have scientific training, to get his capital? State aid, some people say. Canada is trying the experiment. Michigan is talking of it. Railroads, especially in Canada are doing something along that line. But what problem will such an expedient solve? Of what avail is it to seek to divide up the land and increase the number of farm owners when competitive conditions tend toward increased acreage and a decrease in the number of farmers needed?

Considering that the schools will increase and turn out more young men every year, will state aid provide opportunity constantly and in increased degree and permanently for the output of the agricultural school? Will not the supply of would-be

farmers soon exceed the economic demand?

And what of the great numbers of people from the cities who seek to obey the call "back to the land?" Will the state aid them to get land and machinery and fertilizer and training? And if so, how shall the small farmer live against the competition of the great farms with their power machinery?

And after all, when we have had another generation of this wonderful development, and the amount of farm products shall have grown so great that the price drops because of over supply, and because of low profits, great agricultural trusts develop and raise prices as do our other trusts, what then?

Why then, we shall have gone around the circle. Other nations have worked in a circle. Rome reached the period when all her industries, including agriculture, were in the hands of a few. Rome had her vast army of skilled workers reduced to beggary because of slave competition. We are rapidly approaching that condition because of the perfection of semi-automatic and automatic machinery. What are we to do about it? The Barbarians solved Rome's problem by blotting Rome out. Today, there are no barbarous people strong enough to threaten civilization. Even China has at last been conquered by modern ideas. We must find sufficient intelligence within ourselves to raise our civilization out of the circle onto a higher plane. And we shall.

When the revolution in agriculture is complete, the physical basis for Social Democracy shall have been laid. The forces at work are driving us irresistibly toward a scientific reorganization of society. Slowly but certainly the thought is crystallizing in the minds of men, that all this development is for good and that society must finally assume responsibility for the comfort, welfare and happiness of its people.

Good-Bye, Morse

By W. S. Morrow



COMRADE MORROW.

OH, YOU telegraph operator! If it were possible it is quite probable that Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, would turn in his grave, for the modern telephone has come into practical use and is gradually taking the place of the telegraph in the movement of trains. On several of the important railway lines the telephone is being used altogether. The telegraph, however, is retained for emergency use when the telephone circuit fails and also for the transmission of messages other than train orders.

This is simply another illustration of the machine supplanting skilled labor, working with this difference; it is not decreasing the number of men formerly employed but enables a person with no knowledge of the telegraph to be used in the place of the telegraph operator, who does not like the change of machinery. Mechanically the telephone is quicker in operation than the telegraph, although the telegraph is safer in transmission of messages where experienced operators are used. Any plug or dub, man or woman who can pass the required physical examination and the examination on rules of transportation and can write at all legibly can hold down an "Os" job at some way station.

The railway companies in the west generally, at their "way" or "block" stations, give the operators the free use of an old worn out, dismantled box car for a "home" (and it would be a shame to destroy some of them). The pay for such a job out here is \$75 per month and eight hours a

day's work; overtime thirty and fifty cents.

Much agitation is going on for a 20 per cent increase in pay. Our committee, elected by referendum vote, visits the management in a short time. One, at a glance or first thought, would say we would get nothing. Perhaps—but our division of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers is known as "Fighting 54." About two years ago when the 'phones were first installed 'phoners' wages were cut to \$60 and \$65. Our committee was told to get busy and made a trip to St. Paul and asked to have wages put back to same as before. The management said: "Nix for you, we can get operators by the carload now." Our entire organization voted strike. The result was that our demands were granted and more



PART OF THE JOB.

money was given to the heavier jobs. A demonstration of solidarity of the workers.

A few years ago most every youth had aspirations of being a "lightning artist." There are some 75,000 working today. It takes about a year to learn telegraphy and about a day to learn the operation of the telephone. The men and women who have taken jobs as "phoners" are being quickly taken into our organization and we estimate

that the country over, we have unionized about 90 per cent of the jobs. We have made overtures to the various railway labor organizations, with an aim toward *Industrial Unionism* but up to the present have been unsuccessful. The "princes of labor" prefer to go it alone, and remain divided as slaves instead of being united as a fighting class against our common enemy the Capitalist Owning Class.

Living on Determination in Paterson

By Phillips Russell

THE strike of the Paterson silk workers must now take its place as one of the memorable labor struggles of American history. It began in January, in the dead of winter. It is now mid-summer and still the army of toilers presents an unbroken front to the enemy.

The Lawrence strike, which marked an epoch in American industrial life, lasted ten weeks. The Paterson strike bids fair to last ten months. The Lawrence strikers were fed from the stream of contributions that poured in from an aroused working class. The Paterson workers have had to live mostly on hope, which now has become simply grim determination.

Since the last reports from the seat of war were made in these columns, several new atrocities have been added to the list which the workers of Paterson will carry in their memories and hearts for a long, long time. Among these is the sentencing of Patrick L. Quinlan, organizer, to the penitentiary in Trenton, N. J.; the trial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn which resulted in a disagreement; the throwing into jail of Frederick Sumner Boyd; and the murder of the striker, Madonna.

Madonna, one of the most faithful and active of pickets, was shot and killed by an armed thug doing scab work in one of the mills. Several thousand silent strikers escorted his body to its grave and dropped into it their red blossoms, symbol of the blood of the workers.

By her husband's open grave Madonna's wife turned and faced the throng. In broken, halting English she began to speak.

"I do not cry," she said. "Madonna is

dead, but still I cannot cry. They have killed my man, but I shed not one tear. After you win the strike, then maybe I cry. I do not ask help from you, though my man is dead. I ask only that you win this strike."

While this spirit lasts, all the deviltries, cruelties and oppression of the entire capitalist class will avail nothing. Madonna's wife probably had never made a public utterance before in her life but her simple, dry-eyed appeal was more eloquent than the tongues of a thousand gifted orators. She knew how to talk to her people. They heard her message and understood.

At last Paterson officialdom summoned up enough nerve to sentence Quinlan. He was pronounced guilty some time ago of "inciting hostility to the government" on the unsupported testimony of detectives and policemen who got up one after another and swore to the same monotonous lie, saying Pat told the strikers to go out and club the heads off the scabs, though as a matter of fact there were any number of witnesses to prove that Pat did not make a speech that day at all, not even being present in the hall where the gum-shoe men swore he fired off his incendiary and bloody utterances.

But they didn't sentence Quinlan at the time. They were afraid to. There was a certain tenseness in the atmosphere in Paterson at that time and the masters felt a vague, unnamable fear that caused them to decide to await a safer time.

One day afterward they found Pat in the courtroom listening to the trial of Gurley Flynn whereupon they suddenly seized him

and led him before the judge, who sentenced him to two to seven years in the penitentiary. In 48 hours Pat was on his way to the Bastille, chained to a negro burglar. They probably thought they were heaping insult on injury by doing this, but I am sure when Pat saw who his team-mate on the way to prison was to be, he rejoiced that it was a negro burglar and not a Paterson silk manufacturer or a pot-bellied judge with respectability on his countenance and corruption and murder in his heart.

Pat has been an active worker in the Socialist party these many years. But the party saw him railroaded to the penitentiary with scarcely more than a murmur of protest. Can it be that while we are agitating ourselves as to whether commission government will advance or retard the revolution and striving to elect persons to office who are committed to municipal ice-houses the capitalists are quietly stealing our fundamental rights away?

Practically the same set of liars who brought about the conviction of Quinlan tried to send Miss Flynn over the same road, but failed because two jurymen refused to be parties to the crime. The stomachs of Jersey jurymen are strong but perhaps those of these two turned at the last moment. So Gurley will have to stand trial again in the fall when judges and prosecutors have strengthened themselves by a sojourn at the seashore and can put a woman behind the bars for an indefinite number of years without having indigestion afterward.

The trial of Boyd, who is now out on bail after using the same towel in common

with thirty others for two weeks, is going to set a precedent that no revolutionist can ignore. He is charged with "inciting the destruction of private property." In other words he is accused of advocating that dreadful thing—sabotage. He himself is confident of being burned at the stake, but his friends are hopeful that his punishment will be no worse than being boiled in oil—olive oil, which is a soothing emollient and ought to provide an agreeable death.

The Socialist party will find itself in a peculiarly awkward position in Boyd's case. The New Jersey statute he is accused of violating is practically the same as Section 6, Article II, of the Socialist party constitution, and though Boyd has been a valuable worker in the party in New York for several years, the party will hardly dare say much in his defense lest the ghost of the Indianapolis convention rise up to bedevil it. The party will not dare denounce the capitalists in case Boyd is convicted, because the capitalists and the party have agreed and written on their statute books that sabotage ranks with violence and crime, and therefore is to be severely punished!

Boyd's will be the first case in this country dealing with the question of sabotage. It behooves every revolutionist to bestir himself and help raise money for Boyd's defense.

Haywood and Carlo Tresca also will be tried in the fall for high crimes committed against the capitalist class in Paterson. Meantime the strikers are holding on grimly and desperately. They dare not lose.

What is the working class going to do about it?

Scott Indicted Again

THE conviction of Alexander Scott is a direct result of his great and steadfast aiding of the Paterson silk strikers; this is class "justice" and the mill owners are determined to "get him."

Since the publication of the July REVIEW Comrade Scott has again been indicted by the grand jury. This time the charge is criminal libel and the charge is made by Robert McCabe, who claims to having been slandered by an editorial appearing in the *Weekly Issue* March 29. The editorial upon which the indictment is based is here reproduced. McCabe

denies having any connection with the theft of an issue of the paper and very evidently considers the confiscation of the paper a disgraceful and criminal act. It is significant that those who are cited as being the real thieves have nothing to say. The editorial follows:

WHO IS THE THIEF?

Although we had Detectives Lord and Keppeler and Patrolmen Clune and Maguire arrested for the theft of the *Weekly Issue*, four weeks ago, we do not for an instant take these men to be the real thieves. We are not, however,

vouching for the character of the local police, but in the theft of the *Issue* we exonerate them. They had orders to take the papers. Just who issued the original orders we are as yet unable to say. This will no doubt develop later.

The circumstances leading up to the confiscation, or rather theft, (we prefer the word theft), are interesting, and (to those who know who is who in Paterson) significant.

On Friday, February 28th, at about 11 a. m., a well-known character in religious-political circles in Paterson—big noise in the T. A. B. Society, entered Socialist Party headquarters on Main Street, took a squint at a copy of the *Weekly Issue*, which was being read by one of the members of the Party, who was then seated at a table near the window of the room, then having reassured himself that the bundles of papers on the floor were identical with that being read by the member at the table, he immediately left the room and next minute he was seen giving orders to Detectives Lord and Keppler, who stood at the corner of Main and Ellison streets. Lord and Keppler immediately proceeded to the Socialist headquarters, where they announced to the two members then present that they had orders

from the Prosecutor to take the papers. The members protested, and after some argument, Lord instructed Keppler to "go over to the Chief and see what we had better do." Had orders been given by the Prosecutor, no such uncertainty would have been felt by the detectives. However, Keppler soon returned accompanied by the two policemen and announced: "Yes, take them." The police then seized the papers without producing any search warrant or showing any order from the Prosecutor. **Who gave the order?** Will the Prosecutor admit having given the order without first having a search warrant issued? Will Chief Bimson admit having given the order without first securing a search warrant? Will the policemen admit having stolen the papers? What part did Robert McCabe play? It would be interesting to know the facts. The trial will bring them out."

It is time the Socialist Party did something beside talking about this case. We think it would be a good thing for the N. E. C. or the N. C. to suggest that the National Office donate some of the money that might have gone for sending folks to Europe to the Scott Defense Fund. What do you think about it?

The Finnish Working People's College

By George Sirola



THE influences of international capitalism, through American commodities and machines, on the European social and industrial conditions, have driven into America a great many Finnish people, the number of which is 211,026, according to the census of 1910. These immigrants were led and "educated" by ignorant preachers, who were paid well for their petty services and supported by the middle class, the petit bourgeoisie, who are seeking the favor of the trust magnates by teaching the workers religious obedience and national competition among the workers. These people soon found it necessary to establish a school where it could prepare preachers and "educators" to promote

the spirit of nationality among the Finns. For this purpose a school called "People's College" was established in Minneapolis, Minn., 1913, and very soon moved to Smithville, which is a suburb of the city of Duluth.

This attempt, however, was a failure. The students, recruited as they were particularly from the working class, could not be satisfied with the conservative doctrines. They demanded knowledge of real things and modern sciences and compelled the board of directors to provide them with such teachers and lecturers as could instruct them in these particular subjects.

At the same time the Finnish comrades outside the college were beginning to be



STUDENTS DURING 1912.

interested in the college. The socialist locals and individual comrades were purchasing shares of the stock, \$1.00 per share, and they soon, 1907-8, acquired possession of majority of the shares. As soon as the socialists came into control of the college the program was entirely changed and the college since has been known as the "Working Peoples' College."

This meant a new and brighter life for the institution. The students were coming in such numbers that the old building became insufficient and the neighboring houses were also occupied. Courageously a new building was erected in 1910 with a large lecture hall, two class rooms, a gymnasium, office rooms and study rooms for about sixty students. But in a short time this, too, was insufficient, especially when the old building was destroyed by fire in the spring of 1911. The following summer a dining room and kitchen was built and now plans are being made to build a dormitory with library and reception room that will ac-

commodate about ninety students. This having been completed this summer, the value of the institution will be more than fifty thousand dollars.

At the convention of 1908 the Finnish Socialist Organization accepted the college as its own and for the following two years the Finnish comrades were paying dues, \$1.00 a year for the maintenance of the college. The convention of 1912, held at the college, decided that these dues should be only 50 cents a year and it also emphasized the fact that as an institution owned by the working class its service to the workers should be principally the teaching of subject important in the class struggle.

The study of socialism was divided into three courses—the preparatory scientific course, and the scientific courses I and II. The preparatory course, including economics, history, politics and socialist program and tactics, is compulsory even for those students who wish to attend the college for the purpose of studying bookkeeping, arithmetic and the

English or Finnish languages. Each student is also required to take an active part in exercises for practical party work. The scientific courses I and II are for the students whose principal aim is to specialize in the study of the class struggle and in organization work. The works of Marx, Engels, Kautsky and others of the best authors on socialism are being studied and the text books used are both in English and Finnish.

Through frequent and strict recitations and examinations the advancement of the students are tested. The more advanced students prepare original lectures, essays and articles on socialist topics. The college has already sent out several editors for the party press, speakers, lecturers and organizers in the rank and file. The faculty, with the aid of the students, has each year issued a publication called "Revolution," this year's issue being the sixth.

The teaching of the English language and preparing the students for participating in the work of the English locals and unions are, of course, the principal aims of this institution at the present time. Besides the regular study periods, the students are requested to attend the English Debating Club, where, occasionally, comrades from Duluth or other

places in the vicinity give talks in English. Last winter the students subscribed for the Lyceum Lecture Course and for next year the plans have been made to have one English lecturer and socialist teacher as a member of the faculty.

Previous to this time the school has been in session only six months of the year, which was one continuous term, but now two months have been added to the time and this is divided into two terms of four months each.

Last winter there were in attendance 136 students, of which 33 were women. The students were from all parts of the United States and Canada where Finnish people live. The next winter a still larger attendance is expected, although the board and tuition, which has been \$20 per month is raised to \$22.

For the benefit of those comrades who are unable to attend college, a correspondence department was organized in connection with the college. The students of this department receive instructions in the English and Finnish languages, arithmetic and political economy.

The readers of the REVIEW might take pleasure in knowing that there prevails a radical spirit among the faculty and the students in the college.

Debs Denounces Critics

From the N. Y. Call

Terre Haute, Ind., June 27.—The National Committee of the Socialist party in its regular session in May appointed a committee of three to investigate conditions in West Virginia. That committee, of which the writer was a member, was instructed to work in harmony with the United Mine Workers.

Having completed its investigation the committee has submitted its report, and it is in reference to this report, which has been widely published, that I now have something to say in answer to those who have assailed it.

First of all I want to say that I shall make no defense of the report. It does not need defense. It will answer for itself. But I do want to show the true

animus of its critics and assailants, which they have been careful not to reveal in what they have written against it.

Two or three Socialist papers have bitterly condemned the report. Not one of them published it. Each of them suppressed it. They evidently did not want their readers to see it. It was sufficient for them to condemn it.

These Socialist papers have in this instance adopted the method of the capitalist papers with which I have had so much experience. A thousand times a speech of mine has been denounced by a capitalist paper while not a line of the speech was permitted to appear. That is precisely what these Socialist papers have done with our report, and if this is fair

to themselves and their readers, I am willing to let it pass.

When our committee was appointed, more than sixty of our comrades were in the bullpen, martial law was in full force, two Socialist papers had been suppressed and there was a terrible state of affairs generally. Within four days after our committee arrived upon the ground every prisoner was released, martial law was practically declared off, the suppressed papers were given to understand that they could resume at their pleasure, and the governor of the state gave his unqualified assurance that free speech, free assemblage and the right to organize should prevail and that every other constitutional right should be respected so far as lay in his power.

It may be that our committee had nothing to do with bringing about these changes. As to this I have nothing to say. I simply state the facts.

Soon after our arrival it became evident that a certain element was hostile to the United Mine Workers and determined to thwart the efforts of that organization to organize the miners. This is the real source of opposition to our action and to our report.

Let me say frankly here that I do not hide behind the instruction of the National Committee that we work in harmony with the United Mine Workers. I would have done this under existing circumstances without instruction.

In our report to the party we made a true transcript of the facts as we found them. We told the truth as we saw it.

And yet we have been charged by the element in question with having whitewashed Governor Hatfield and betrayed the party.

The truth is that we opposed Governor Hatfield where he was wrong and upheld him where he was right.

But Hatfield is not the reason, but only the excuse in this instance. The intense prejudice prevailing against him has been taken advantage of to discredit our report as a means of striking a blow at the United Mine Workers.

Had we, instead of doing plain justice to Governor Hatfield, as to everyone else, painted him black as a fiend, our report would have provoked the same bitter at-

tack from the same source unless we had denounced the officials of the United Mine Workers, without exception, as crooks and grafters and in conspiracy to keep the miners in slavish subjection.

That would have satisfied those who are now so violently assailing us. Nothing less would.

For this reason and no other we are being vilified by saboteurs and anti-political actionists, and by those who are for just enough political action to mask their anarchism.

I am an industrial unionist, but not an industrial bummereyite, and those who are among the miners of West Virginia magnifying every petty complaint against the United Mine Workers and arousing suspicion against every one connected with it, are the real enemies of industrial unionism and of the working class.

I am quite well aware that there are weak and crooked officials in the United Mine Workers, but to charge that they are all traitors without exception is outrageously false and slanderous.

The whole trouble is that some Chicago I. W. W.-ites, in spirit at least, are seeking to disrupt and drive out the United Mine Workers to make room for the I. W. W. and its program of sabotage and "strike at the ballot box with an ax."

To this I was, and am, and shall be, opposed with all my might, and if this be treason, I am guilty without a doubt.

The I. W. W.-ists have never done one particle of organizing, or attempted to, in the dangerous districts of West Virginia. The United Mine Workers have been on the job for years and all that the saboteurs have done is to denounce their officials and organizers as crooks and attempt in every way possible to defeat their efforts.

The United Mine Workers is steadily evolving into a thoroughly industrial union and in time it will certainly become so, but never in a thousand years will the efforts of these disrupters unionize the miners of West Virginia or any other state.

I now want to ask those who are denouncing our report under the false pretense that we have whitewashed Governor Hatfield, if Mother Jones and John W. Brown are also crooks and traitors?

Both have been and are today in the employ of the officials of the United Mine Workers.

Will these I. W. W.-ites charge that Mother Jones and John Brown are in the service of crooks and traitors? That is exactly what their charge, stripped of its false pretense, amounts to, but they will not dare to put it in that form.

If President White, Vice President Hayes, Germer, Haggerty, Paul Paulsen, and all the rest of the national, district and local officials of the United Mine Workers, including the numerous organizers who have been slugged and beaten up, are crooks and traitors, as these "strike at the ballot box with an ax" dis-organizers would have you believe, then Mother Jones and John Brown, who have been and are in their service, and working hand in hand with them, must certainly know it, and knowing it, must be quite as guilty as those who employ them and pay them their salaries.

There is nothing to be gained but everything to be lost by the mad attempt being made by the anti-political actionists and physical forcists to disrupt and destroy the United Mine Workers. I am

not at all in harmony with its entire program and there is much in it that I would change, but I believe that properly encouraged and rightly directed it can within the near future be made a thoroughly revolutionary industrial union, one of the greatest in the world, the "Hallelujah—I'm a Bum" element to the contrary notwithstanding.

The charge has been directly made that our committee betrayed its trust. If there is even the shadow of a foundation for this charge, then not only should the report of the committee be repudiated, but the committee itself be expelled from the party.

Let those who have made this charge against us produce their proof and make their appeal to the party for a referendum vote.

So far as I am concerned the report stands. I have no apology for a word in it. During the two weeks our committee was in Charleston we worked day and night with painstaking care to conscientiously perform our duty, and I am more than willing that the party shall decide whether we did it or whether we betrayed our trust.

A Reply to Debs

Editor of the *Call*:

In your issue of June 28 appears an article by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, headed "Debs Denounces Vilifiers of West Virginia Committee Report." As one of the parties referred to as "vilifiers," I would like to answer a few of the points made in the article.

The *Socialist* and *Labor Star* bitterly condemned the committee's report; it did not publish it, but it did give an explanation for suppressing it, in the following words: "We have never, and will never, devote any of our space to whitewashing a cheap political tool of the capitalist class, not even when the whitewash is mixed by a committee representing our own party."

From Comrade Debs' own words I will endeavor to prove that our condemnation of the report was justified. Our charges against the report were that it

was a "weak mass of misstatements and a sickening eulogy of Dictator Hatfield." The truth of the last clause of the charge is plainly apparent to everyone who has read the report. The truth of the first clause is well known to all who have taken the trouble to inform themselves regarding the trouble in this state.

Comrade Debs says that when the committee arrived in West Virginia more than sixty of our comrades were in jail and two of our papers were suppressed. All true. Now pay particular attention to dates. The committee arrived in West Virginia on May 17. Hatfield was inaugurated governor on March 4, something over two months previous. These comrades had been held in—or put in—jail at Hatfield's orders, and the papers had been suppressed at his command. Mother Jones, Editor Boswell, National Committeeman Brown, and forty-six other So-

cialists were placed on trial before a military drumhead court-martial on March 7. On March 9, the Circuit Court of Kanawha County issued a writ forbidding the trial of these prisoners by the militia. The sheriff went into the military zone to serve this writ, only to be met by the Provost Marshal, who, acting under orders from Hatfield, forcibly prevented the serving of the papers, and the drumhead trial proceeded in defiance of the civil courts.

The report of our committee says: "It was under the administration of Glasscock, and not Hatfield, that Mother Jones, C. H. Boswell and John Brown were court-martialed and convicted."

On April 25, the *Charleston Labor Argus* was confiscated, suppressed, and those suspected of being connected with it were thrown into jail. On May 9 the *Socialist and Labor Star* was confiscated, its plant destroyed and five of its owners jailed—by order of Governor Hatfield.

Our committee's report referring to these outrages says: "In this connection it is but fair to say that the governor and his friends disavow knowledge of these outrages!"

According to Comrade Debs' article, it did not take him long to discover "that a certain element was hostile to the United Mine Workers." Apparently, however, he failed to discover that there were numerous elements hostile to Socialism. There was an element hostile to the United Mine Workers' officials who had just leagued themselves with Hatfield and agreed upon a "settlement" of the strike, which was odious to the strikers and which they have since totally repudiated. Comrade Debs uses this "element" that was hostile to the United Mine Workers as a shield to hide behind when we attack him for whitewashing Hatfield. Then he pours out this vial of wrath upon us:

"The whole trouble is that some Chicago I. W. W.-ites, in spirit, at least, are seeking to disrupt and drive out the United Mine Workers to make room for the I. W. W. and its program of sabotage."

Speaking for myself, I will say that I have never seen a real live I. W. W.-ite. If there is or has ever been such an animal in West Virginia I am blissfully un-

aware of the fact. However, I have heard considerable of this new species from the capitalistic press and I note that the capitalists are very hostile toward it. I consider that a good recommendation for a labor organization and will certainly not speak slightly of it or condemn it as long as the parasites fear it, but as for the I. W. W. being responsible for the attack on the Mine Workers' officials, who deliberately attempted to betray the Kanawha strikers, I think Comrade Debs' fear was father to the thought.

Then Debs dramatically points to Mother Jones and John Brown as evidence that the Mine Workers' officials are straightforward and honest, or these two class-conscious comrades would not work for them. And I come right back with the assertion that both Mother Jones and Brown have worked, not for these officials whom he so vigorously defends, but for the rank and file of the workers.

Comrade Debs drags in this trouble between the miners and their officials in an attempt to cloud the real issue. The charges are that the West Virginia committee's report was unworthy of our party. And I ask him if either Mother Jones or Brown have indorsed that report? I will go further and state that they have denounced it—and will ask Comrade Debs if he classes them as "Chicago I. W. W.-ites"?

Comrade Debs concludes his article with, "So far as I am concerned the report stands. I have no apology for a word of it"; yet I have before me a communication from Comrade Debs, dated June 30, in which he says:

"When I said in my last letter to the *Socialist and Labor Star* that I would not change a word in our committee's report, I should have made the exception to the reference to the administration under which Mother Jones, Boswell, Brown and other comrades were tried by military court-martial." Evidently he is beginning to study that famous document and compare it with the facts in the case. I wish to ask the committee, and especially Comrade Debs, by just what line of reasoning they arrived at the conclusion to donate three-fifths of their report to ex-

operating Hatfield of charges which had never been made against him, and in passing so lightly over the fact that when they arrived here they found that he was illegally holding in prison sixty of their

comrades, and had arbitrarily suppressed two of our papers?

W. H. THOMPSON,
Editor *Socialist and Labor Star*.
Huntington, W. Va., July 2, 1913.

Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effect of Pure-and-Simplism Upon the German Labor Movement Since 1900

PART IV—Continued

3. *Lack of international solidarity and response is the third weak point of German proletarians.* True, the German Socialist movement as a whole, including the most advanced trade unions, contributed handsomely during the general strike in Sweden and the revolution of 1905 in Russia. But the trade unions proper, in their economic sphere, that is at the point of production, and outside of financial relief sent abroad, show a remarkable lack of response in times of great stress as in the international class struggle. January 14, 1911, the International Transport Workers' Federation, with which the German seamen, longshoremen, and other transport workers are affiliated, declared a general strike in accordance with the decision adopted at its conference held at Antwerp in March, 1911.

At this conference the German delegates refused their consent to take part in the strike on the ground that their seamen had recently received an advance in wages. Finally, the conference, *including the German delegates*, decided that in case further efforts for improving the condition of the workers in English ports failed, the long-threatened international strike should be called. Now, the strike *was* called, but the German seamen *refused to support it*.

(4) Social Democrats, though they are in overwhelming numbers, with all their Marxian training and their fervent belief in the advent of the Social Revolution, the German workers *show very little of genuine revolutionary grit*, far less than do the Frenchmen or even Italians. One of the sore spots in the friction between the party and the trade unions is their wrangles anent the First of May. The trade unions are

unwilling or afraid to sacrifice a day's wages or to make any serious attempt to compel the recognition on the part of the employers, of May 1 as the International Day of Labor's emancipation.

Is it not a painful reflection upon the German wage-workers that they lack revolutionary grain or anything like class impulse and combative abandon, some self-forgetful strain in their blood? And how astonishing that over two millions of Social-Democrats organized in trade unions equipped with enormous funds are so deplorably weak that they cannot fight off one day in the year for fittingly proclaiming the historic mission of their class!

Again, the same German workers coming to countries with a higher stage of capitalism very soon lose all the Socialist training and the modest dose of class-consciousness they had at home. This is notably the case in this country. A great many of those who have come over from Germany as Social Democrats have entered the best-paying crafts and have become bona fide pure-and-simpler of the Gompers-Mitchell stripe. They are among the strongest champions of craft-unionism. They are permeated with the ideas and feelings of the small bourgeois.

We have with us, of course, a good many German Socialists and some of these were the pioneers in the American Socialist movement. But these belong to an earlier formation; they date from the heroic days in the history of the Social Democracy, from the period of revolutionary storm and stress, of persecution and martyrdom under the Anti-Socialist Law at home. And even

these have, in the course of time, in many cases, evolved into staunch Gompersites.

The later installments from Germany were for the most part, still more bourgeois in their moral fibre and mental make-up, and are content with their flesh pots. Of course, the *brewers* are organized *industrially* and have materially helped the American Socialist movement in its infancy. But, then, the German beer breweries form a closed industry where practically none but Germans are admitted and where the workers are on terms of beautiful harmony with the beer magnates.

The German brewery workers in this country, besides, also belong in the main, to the earlier batches of immigrants of the pioneer days. In the American labor movement proper they are far from being the progressive element to forge ahead and lead the class struggle in more advanced forms, to blaze the way for genuine proletarian Socialism,—that is far from what we should expect them to be in proportion to the Socialist training they have brought with them from Germany, this classic home of the Social-Democratic movement.

(5) *Lack of general initiative and creative self-action is what plagues them the most.* This is shown in a variety of ways.

It seems that the German workers will be *the last* to take up *industrial unionism*. The workers in France, Italy, England, Australia, and the United States are beginning to wake up. They are on the way of making short work with craft-unionism, trade autonomy, long-drawn strikes that spell defeat, written agreements, arbitration swindles, and all the other shackles with which reactionary craftism chains its organized dupes and hands them over to the mercies of the capitalists. They also begin to see that labor "aristocracies" are the worst traitors to the cause of the proletariat and that all wage workers, skilled and unskilled alike, must be ultimately welded into one big class union in order to win now and always.

The German workers are so far the only ones under the sway of centralized capitalism who do not feel the throb of this great creative movement, these birth-throes that herald the advent of a *new proletariat* with the motto of *industrial socialism on its banner*. True, a number of trades in Germany are organized in industrial federa-

tions, some of them quite strong, as, for instance, in the building, metal, and wood-working industries. There are also a great number of local central bodies, organized on the plan of the various Central Labor Unions or Councils, in this country. But these federations and central bodies differ in no essential from our American A. F. L. creations.

Both are imbued with the same fossilized spirit of a "fair wage for a fair day's labor." Both hold fast to sacred contracts. Both swear to the omnipotence of "funds," of prohibitively high dues, and feel they couldn't venture a step beyond the precincts protected by the magic of a great supply of yellow coin. Both believe they can beat ("lick") the employers in the game of dollars or marks. Both feed a huge beaurocracy. Both fight shy of real democracy in so far as the referendum and recall may interfere with or check that very beaurocracy. The German variety is even more timid than its cousins in this country or in England. In this connection the following facts are highly symptomatic of the general craft-union tone pervading the entire labor movement in Germany.

Samuel Gompers, while attending the International Labor Congress in Vienna, Austria had to swallow some bitter pills and lump down with all his Gompersian blandness of manner the fierce attacks directed against him and his Federation. Now who denounced him? Who gave him a piece of their minds?

The severe drubbing came *not from the German delegates*, but from the Austrians! The uncrowned Czar of the A. F. L., on the contrary, had a right royal good time in Germany in a sort of triumphal march through the Teutonic domain of craft-unionism. The same was true of Carl Legien while on his lecturing tour in this country. In his address delivered at the meeting in Star Casino, New York, he held up Gompers as a model leader of the workers in the economic field.

The German Social-Democratic unions have almost nothing to organize the railroad and postal employees. That the railroads are run by the government, which is, of course, extremely hostile to labor organizations, especially among its wage slaves, is a lame way of accounting for this deplorable fact. The French government is

not a whit better than the German; it is just as brutal, just as servile a tool of capitalism, and just as relentless in crushing out any traces of organization among its employees in the railroad and mail service and its educational department. The same is true of Italy. It is hardly necessary to mention Russia in this connection. Wherever, outside of Germany the railroad workers are organized, their federations are the strongest, as is the case in Italy, France, England and the United States.

In Germany, they are the weakest in point of organization and resistance. And yet, these railroad and other government employees are splendidly represented in the Reichstag on the Social-Democratic left,—a boon which their brothers in other countries are either entirely deprived of or enjoy to a much smaller extent. So that the above plea simply amounts to shifting the blame to where it does not belong. The gist of the matter is plainly this: to organize the workers in the state-run industries or in the civil service would require an amount of initiative, organizing effort, and militant energy clearly beyond the powers of the German trade unions.

Again these unions haven't a single case to their credit as far as winning a more or less general strike is concerned. We have referred above to the miners. A few years ago the general strike in the metal trades fizzled out just as completely in spite of all the help they got from the Social Democracy,—the kind and amount of help, both moral and financial, that the workers of no other country have at their command.

Finally, during the last two years the curse of high prices and indirect taxation of foodstuffs hit the German workers hardest, far more severely than in any other country with large industry and a parasitic landed aristocracy. The suffering and destitution of the German city proletariat became very acute. Now, what did this trade-union movement do? A movement apparently so strong in point of numbers, so

splendidly equipped from the craft-union standpoint, with all the manifold leverage sufficiently outlined above, *could* have done a great deal.

Here was a chance to show the full force it commands; it was not merely a splendid chance, but a sacred duty to obey, the urgent call, the *groan* of the whole German proletariat on the verge of despair pleading for immediate action. The trade unions *ought* to have brought out all their battalions and convulsed the whole country in a general strike, backed by all the help of the huge Social Democracy in and out of the Reichstag.

What the proletariat of Vienna did in one city, the German unions could have done on a far greater scale, with a far more effective organization, and for Germany as a whole. With their numbers, funds, their party, and all their other brilliant assets they should have tied up *all industry, commerce, and shipping*. What the English workers have in part accomplished in their recent general strike was far less than what the Germans could have accomplished. They could have effectively paralyzed all German capitalism and completely disorganized the state machine.

The ruling class with their government wouldn't have dared to answer the cry of the starving masses with a sneer, as was the case in the Reichstag. Such an upheaval of the organized German proletariat would have sent a shiver down the sleek backs of Germany's parasites and brought them down on their knees. The Imperial Chancellor would have been compelled to find a way to deal with the agrarian tariff and all the other forms of loot and tribute the proletariat has to pay the brigands of industry, finance, and agriculture. Instead of relief, the German proletariat got nothing but derision and evasive talk. Why? Because *the trade unions, with or without the Social Democracy, have absolutely failed to rise to the occasion.*



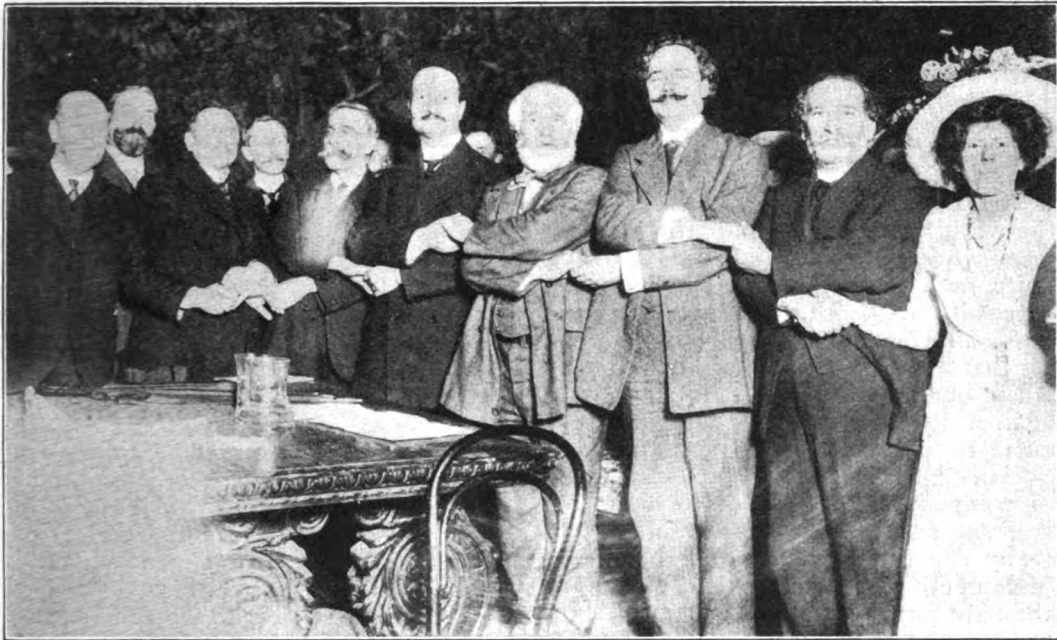


Photo by Barratt, London.

COMRADES WHO TOOK PART IN THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL PROTEST MEETING AGAINST WAR HELD IN LONDON, ENGLAND. NAMES, LEFT TO RIGHT—J. F. GREEN, W. S. LANDERS, EDMUND AUSLEE (BELGIUM), J. MIDDLETON, LUDWIG FRANK (GERMANY), J. KEIR HARDIE, JEAN LONGUET (FRANCE), PLATIN E. DRAKOULIS (GREECE), MISS SCATCHARD.

Appeal from Greek Comrades

THE following is a portion of the international appeal sent out by the Greek Socialist Party to comrades all over the world. It is signed by Miss Felicia Scatcherd, vice-president of the Greek S. P., P. E. Drakoules, one of the oldest Socialists in that country, and General Secretary P. Harokopos. The first two of these comrades are among the international delegates to the International Socialist Anti-War Meeting held two or three months ago, whose photograph is reproduced here.

"The situation in Greece, in consequence of the mobilization, is no less critical and acute than in the rest of the Balkans. The whole country is suffering from the devastating effects of war due to loss of employment, dispersion and deaths.

"In Greece, as in the other belligerent countries, our propaganda has been particularly crippled, and our Socialist Labor Center at 40 Rue Pirée, Athens, as well as its branches in the provinces,

must soon be closed through lack of funds.

"The splendid campaign of the last five years is now threatened.

"Owing to the recent imposition of martial law, freedom of speech is suspended. This increases the difficulty of our propaganda, which must cease unless help be forthcoming.

"Already we have been compelled to discontinue our weekly organ *Erevna*. It has been published at great loss for the last two years (and at a still greater sacrifice since the mobilization). The editor hopes to resume its publication as a monthly periodical after the war is over, when a new public will have to be created, as the greater number of its subscribers have been lost sight of.

"We appeal to our comrades of all nationalities, to send us contributions.

"All donations should be sent to

"Miss Felicia Scatcherd, the vice-president of the Greek Socialist Party, 14 Park Square, Regent's Park, London, Eng.

EDITORIAL

The Battle Front Shifting.—All over the world the tremendous battle between wage-workers and capitalists is growing hotter and fiercer, but everywhere, and especially in the United States there are rapid and bewildering changes of front, so that if we are not careful we may waste our ammunition or turn our guns against our friends to the delight of the enemy. Fifteen years ago most American Socialists were arguing about the waste of competition. Some of us have not stopped yet. But the big capitalists who really run things understand the wastes of competition far better than we do and they are putting a stop to them in short order. Any further argument along these lines on our part is energy wasted. Again, even as lately as last year, we thought it worth while to devote several planks of our platform to the subject of the conservation of natural resources and industrial development through the aid of the United States government. Here again it is becoming obvious that the capitalists who control the government realize the benefits of such action better than we do and that they are going ahead to do the things we have been talking about. The Panama Canal is the first great object lesson in the efficiency of American state capitalism. It will probably be followed in quick succession by the development under government control of the mineral resources of Alaska and by a comprehensive scheme for utilizing the waters of the Mississippi river and its tributaries in a way to develop electric power, promote navigation and prevent floods. Meanwhile it is altogether likely that the government will inaugurate a grand system of improved highways allover the United States, and the government ownership of railways is a possibility not far ahead. And as for the more immediate future, it looks at present writing as if the Democrats under President Wilson's leadership were going to surprise the world with a really

efficient administration of things, as capitalists reckon efficiency. The new tariff and especially the new banking law are likely to bring profits to American exporters and steady jobs at subsistence wages to American wage-workers. The men whose jobs are threatened by these laws are the wage-workers of England and Germany.

Industrial Crises and Panics.—Our Marxian theory of crises is no doubt correct in the long run, and even in the short run when the country under consideration is one like England or Belgium, which has already developed its own natural resources to the fullest extent profitable. Roughly speaking, the wage-worker gets only a fifth of what he produces, provided he is using modern machinery to work with, and if all the wage-workers were producing consumable goods the market would quickly be glutted; as a matter of fact it often has been glutted in Europe. But here in America the capitalist class could use all the surplus labor of the workers for a generation in building railroads, developing water power for the transmission of electric energy, opening up new mines, building irrigation works, making good roads and motor trucks to run on them, and in other similar ways. They have been doing it continuously as fast as inventors have pointed out the way and have grown rich doing it. The one serious obstacle has been an extremely defective banking system, which breaks down every few years and throws a lot of wage-workers out of a job, while the big capitalists are gleefully devouring some of the little ones. Woodrow Wilson has brains enough to see the trouble and has his experts at work on a remedy. Unless we are greatly mistaken the new banking law and the other reforms which Wilson is urging will bring an era of "prosperity" the like of which has never been seen. Not prosperity for the wage-worker; all he will get will be a steady

job. But the little capitalists as well as the big ones probably have a few years of genuine happiness ahead of them. And the little capitalists, who, it must be remembered, have more votes than the big ones, are rapidly losing all their horror for that state capitalism which is sometimes wrongly called state Socialism; on the contrary they are coming to realize that it is their one best chance to save themselves from extinction. To us it seems that an era of state capitalism is inevitable and near.

Back to First Principles.—The Socialist Party of America has done during the past ten years an educational work of immense importance. It is hard for us to realize that the battle against individualism in production has been fought and won; yet we must realize this if we are to be a serious factor in the struggles still to come. Henceforth, we as a party, have nothing to offer the little capitalist. The Democrats or the Progressives will take care of his interests more effectively than we could possibly do. Nor have we anything to offer the craft unionists who are satisfied to let the wage system continue if only they may get relatively high wages for themselves. They can get plenty of concessions from the wise politicians of the capitalist class who realize the wisdom of yielding a little to save the rest. The Socialist Party must be revolutionary or it will be ridiculous. The spirit of revolution is spreading as never before among the great mass of American wage-workers. Their discontent is growing fiercer day by day; millions of them are ready to join in rising to sweep away the whole structure of capitalist society, if only some one would point out the way. In spite of all this our party officials have been fighting the one national labor organization which attempts to organize these rebellious wage-slaves, while they fraternize with the officials of the conservative unions. No wonder we have lost fifty thousand members in a few months, as stated by the "Party Builder." The reformers attracted by our belated propaganda naturally lose their enthusiasm when they see their pet reforms in a fair way to be realized by Woodrow Wilson and his followers. And those who really

want capitalism abolished are discouraged and alienated by the anxiety of our officials to protect capitalist property and make the Socialist Party respectable. If the Socialist Party is to live and grow, it has only one possible course. It must go back to first principles; it must take up once more with renewed energy its educational work along the lines laid down in the Communist Manifesto; it must make the cause of the militant wage-workers its own cause and throw itself unreservedly into the class struggle.

Immigration and Labor.—The effect of immigration on the wage-workers of the United States is a subject that has been buried under floods of impassioned oratory so long that it is refreshing to have the actual facts presented in a really intelligent manner by a writer with a clear grasp of the questions involved and one who reasons from the viewpoint of economic determinism. Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, a Marxian student who has given years of research to the immigration question, has produced a book that leaves nothing but fine dust of the resounding arguments against the admission of foreigners into the United States. It is entitled "Immigration and Labor," and is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. He analyzes, one by one, the arguments of the anti-immigration orators, and punctures each in turn with neatness and dispatch. We have room for only a few examples. It is urged that the new immigration is inferior in quality to that of a generation ago. The author quotes pages of the most respectable authorities of the former generation showing that "every complaint against the immigrants from eastern and southern Europe is but an echo of the complaints which were made at an earlier day from Ireland, Germany and even England." The claim is constantly made that immigration causes unemployment. Dr. Hourwich proves that where there is most immigration there is the least unemployment, also that at periods of depression the immigrants go back to Europe faster than they come. As to the effect of immigration on the standard of living, he shows that in the states where many immigrants have set-

tled, the average wages are higher than in the states where foreign labor is almost unknown. As to hours of labor, it is proved that hours are shortest in the sections of the country where immigration has been the greatest. Child labor, again, is most prevalent where there are fewest immigrants. As to the increase of crime, the author brings a wealth of facts to show that crime decreases when and where immigration increases, and vice versa. All these facts tend to show that

the "imported laborer" is largely a myth. Immigrants as a rule go where wages are comparatively high and jobs plenty. American capitalists can use more unskilled labor, and they are going to get it. Any attempt to restrict immigration will merely retard evolution and prolong capitalism. The intelligent thing is to ORGANIZE the unskilled laborers into One Big Union. This must come, and the sooner it comes, the sooner the capitalist system will go.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Militarism Rampant.—Turkey has been defeated. The treaty which formally ends the original Balkan war has been signed. Yet war goes on and the war spirit seems to be the controlling influence throughout continental Europe. A new conflict has broken out in the near east. Already it threatens to involve other nations besides those immediately involved. And in three countries legislative bodies are in the very act of increasing the size of armies and armaments.

Economic Determinism in the Balkans. A good share of Europe rejoiced at the outcome of the first Balkan war. At last the "unspeakable" Turk had been practically driven out; at last Bulgaria and Servia were to have a fair chance to develop their industrial and agricultural resources.

But during the closing days of June the papers were filled with confused reports of battles. War had not been declared, yet the King of Greece was leading an expedition against the Bulgarians and there were tales of battles between Bulgarians and Servians. It was said, moreover, that the Roumanians were about to take advantage of the opportunity to make an attack on Bulgaria. The moment the heathen Turk was out of the way the good Christians were flying at one another's throats.

The reason is very simple and very human: the victors have fallen out over the division of the spoils. When they combined in their supreme effort to drive out the Turk their common purposes, and

especially their common hatred of the enemy, blinded them for the moment to their national antipathies. Only Bulgaria and Servia had a written agreement as to the division of the advantages which might result from a victory. And even this document has proved of little value. In the first place, it provided that Servia was to have her long-desired path to the Adriatic. But when the victory over Turkey was sufficiently advanced so that this provision could be acted upon, Austria intervened and bluntly declared that Servia should never be allowed to have an Adriatic port. In the second place, the allies conquered a much larger territory than they anticipated. When the war was over all that was left to Turkey was Constantinople, with a little rim of country immediately about it on the Bosphorus. The great stretches of European Turkey had fallen into the hands of the allies. In the agreement between Servia and Bulgaria there was no provision for the division of such extensive territories. So the Christians really had something to quarrel about and no solemn promises to break before beginning operations.

When the prospect of disturbance was unmistakable, the Russian Government invited the representatives of the Balkan nations to a conference. Austria, exhibiting a truly Christian spirit, declared solemnly that she would not interfere in Balkan affairs, but she wanted it distinctly understood that she had an interest in them and would not take her eyes off the situation. At any rate, the Balkan

nations did not accept the generous invitation of the Czar.

As has been said, war was not declared. The first thing the world knew the fighting began. It was informal, but very effective. One report has it that there has already been a loss of 40,000 men. The fortunes of battle seem to have varied. The latest report as the *REVIEW* goes to press (July 10) has it that the Bulgars have been beaten by both Serbians and Greeks. They have, it seems, been driven out of Macedonia and are caught between the two opposing forces.

Of course, the purely military and diplomatic aspects of a situation like this have practically no interest for Socialists or other members of the working class. But the reasons for it are extremely interesting. This recently reported epilogue to the war against Turkey proves more conclusively than anything else could that the whole affair has had its root in economic necessity. Hatred of the Turk and his religion had nothing to do with it; as soon as he was out of the way the Christians fought one another as lustily as they had him. When the Balkan war first broke out reference was made in the *REVIEW* to the statement by a German writer that it was all caused by the Bulgarian pig. At this stage of the proceedings one is tempted to remark that the Bulgarian is not the only pig involved. In the beginning all the allied nations really need commercial routes and a fair chance to develop their resources. Now that they seem to have a chance to get more, there is no limit to their desires.

French and German Army Bills.—The French must increase their army because the Germans are about to do so, and the Germans must increase theirs because the French are certain to. It is an endless chain, a vicious circle.

In France the increase is to be brought about by going back to a three-year military service. The two-year law was passed in 1905 and, its friends say, never fairly tried out. The French army, it appears, is in the hands of royalists and imperialists. They have run it down, it is said, to the lowest point of efficiency in order to prove that a return to the three-year system is necessary. There is much talk about their contemplating a plot

against the republic; but there is always so much of this sort of talk in France that nobody takes it very seriously.

In order to get its bill through the government has been forced to use the most arbitrary methods. There has, of course, been much opposition on the part of the soldiers now in service. The young men about to finish their second year have been especially rebellious since the Minister of War has announced that he intends to hold them for a third year. All over the country they have been holding protest meetings in the barracks and in other ways voicing their discontent. Their demonstrations have been ruthlessly suppressed and many of them have been cruelly punished for no fault except the very human desire to regain their freedom when it was promised them.

The Socialist party and the Confederation General du Travail have been persistently persecuted for opposing the law. It is customary for the workers of Paris to gather in the famous old cemetery of Père-Lachaise on May 25 to commemorate the fall of the martyrs who were shot down there on that day at the end of the Commune. This year this gathering was to be turned into a demonstration against the new military law. A few days before the 25th the government forbade the holding of it. The Socialist deputies made a violent attack on the ministry for the suppression of free speech and finally secured the right to have the meeting held in another place. On the 25th, then, 150,000 Parisian working people gathered and protested with all their power against the project of the government.

The government did one other thing which seems even more tyrannical. On May 27, in Paris and 88 other towns, the headquarters of Socialist and labor organizations were broken open by the police, and papers and other property were destroyed or taken. One judge calmly stole 50,000 post cards which were to be used in gathering signatures to a petition against the passage of the law. The police authorities, who were acting under the instructions of the Prime Minister, claim that they suspected a syndicalist plot. So far as one can learn from the newspapers the papers stolen are still in possession

of the police and no account whatever has been given of them.

The German bill provides for an increase of about 160,000 men in the "effective" force and for numerous forts, fleets of dirigibles, etc. One good result of the military discussion in the Reichstag has been the flood of light turned on military affairs. Just at the time when the Kaiser was celebrating his twenty-fifth anniversary and the nation was thinking of the great national uprising in 1813, the German people discovered that their government is as graft-ridden as any and that the army is the very center of graft. It was in connection with the debate on the new military measure that Comrade Karl Liebknecht made his astounding revelations of the international character of the armament companies and of the systematic bribing of French papers by the sacred Krupp gun concern. As a result of these revelations and other things which have happened, the German Minister of War has just handed in his resignation.

Paying the Piper.—In one respect there is a comical uniformity about the proceedings in Germany and France: the very persons who are most eager to provide for increased armies and navies are most modest when it comes to footing the bills. In France the financial measures proposed to defray the new expenses appear absolutely ridiculous. The French government is already facing a deficit for the current year, and the new military bill, besides necessitating a large immediate expenditure, will raise this deficit to about \$200,000,000. It is proposed to meet the difficulties of the situation by making a large loan and levying indirect and inheritance taxes. An income tax the sponsors for the bill are not willing to accept.

In Germany the situation is not quite so bad, but the Conservatives, the great landholders, have steadily opposed an income tax, insisting that the necessary funds be raised by levying new taxes on the necessities of life, especially on sugar. In its final form the bill exempted the ruling families of the empire, the *Fuersten*, from the operation of the tax measures involved in it.

The Attitude of the Socialists.—In both countries the Socialists have fought the

proposed measures by advocating a citizen army democratically controlled and pledged to no service but that involved in defense. In France, as has already been indicated, a bitter fight was made against the jingoism of the government. The ministry has used every means available to fan the ancient hatred of the Germans. The capitalist newspapers, the vaudeville theaters, the bill-boards—every means at hand has been utilized to stultify the public mind, to rob it of its reason, to rouse the primitive desire for revenge. For a time the anti-German madness seemed so rampant as to make all opposition useless. But our French comrades are excellent fighters in this sort of conflict. They finally got some 800,000 signatures to their petition against the passage of the three-year law. Of course, this had no immediate effect. The law will be passed. But the labor movement will come through the fight stronger than ever. It is true that the Socialist Party is losing many of its middle-class supporters, but it will manage to get on without them. It is interesting, by the way, to note that whereas ten years ago the universities were teeming with Socialists, students and faculties alike deserted when there came a real fight for something worth fighting about, the universities are now said to be violently nationalist.

In Germany the Socialist group in the Reichstag had a difficult problem in tactics to solve. It has, of course, fought hard and consistently against the military law as a whole. Some of the addresses delivered by our German comrades were masterpieces of working-class thought and speech. But when it came to voting on the financial provision for the increase in forces they had to choose between voting against all measures proposed and making an attempt to secure a new tax law as favorable as possible to the working-class. They chose the latter alternative. All authorities agree that it was due to the 110 Socialist deputies that a direct property tax was levied to defray the new expenditures. In a formal statement to the public the members of the group reaffirm their opposition to the bill and everything with it, but express some slight satisfaction at having saddled the new taxes on the wealthier classes.

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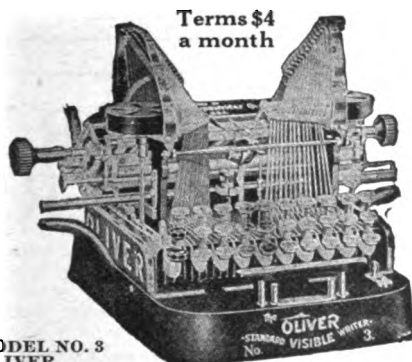
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keyboard, automatic line spacer, the double type bar, insuring perfect alignment; the downward stroke, giving light action; speed escapement, guaranteeing equal spacing between the letters; light elastic key touch, left hand carriage return, finger release key, type facing upward for cleaning, light-running carriage, the greatest manifold power, writing in colors, and above all, it is simple. We recommend it because of its utter simplicity. It is the kind of a typewriter that will stand the wear and tear that makes junk of most machines. You can use it a business lifetime and the chances are that you will never require repairs or even adjusting. If you want a typewriter for your own use, the Oliver No. 3 is the most desirable. It is not so heavy but that it can be moved around easily. There is no use in paying a greater price and it is folly to spend money on second-hand machines or cheap, inferior makes in view of this offer. Over 12,000 of these typewriters have been supplied by this Syndicate during the last few months. Each machine is a perfect machine, complete with every device and every feature that ever went out with this model. We supply the metal carrying case, cleaning and oiling outfit, ribbon and complete illustrated instruction book—nothing extra to buy. Each machine is guaranteed against defect of material or workmanship for life.

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Darkest Africa.—During the first days of July a bitter labor struggle broke out in the Rand district in British South Africa. In the gold mine at New Kleinfontein there had previously been a conflict about a matter of hours. It had been adjusted and the men had returned to work. But the company insisted on keeping the strike-breakers. The men went out again. This proved the beginning of a general struggle. There has long been a feeling of discontent throughout the gold fields. The conditions of labor in the South African mines are so terrible that the strongest man can endure them only a few years. Most of the miners die of diseases contracted at their work. In addition wages are bad and the companies and government refuse to hear complaints. Since the companies control all the papers it is practically impossible

for the men to get any publicity for their grievances.

The cable dispatches are confused, but it seems that practically all the white workers of the region came out and completely tied up the city of Johannesburg. For one night there were no electric lights, and practically no street-cars were running. The English soldiers were called out and by killing about forty persons they were able to restore "order." The strike is now said to be over. The men seem to have gained little but the privilege of laying their grievances before the government. An incidental good resulting from the fight will be the advertising of South African conditions throughout the world. Workingmen should not allow themselves to be decoyed there after such a warning as the cablegrams have given during the past few weeks.

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New Books

American Syndicalism, The I. W. W. By John Graham Brooks. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50 net.

In his new and fascinating volume, *American Syndicalism*, which Mr. Brooks mistakenly calls the I. W. W., he gives so much vital data on the development and tactics of that revolutionary organization as to render it invaluable to the student of economics and sociology. We are free to confess his is the broadest and fairest portrayal we have yet seen from the pen of an outsider. Mr. Brooks' sympathy of vision is truly remarkable although, summed up, his opinion of the I. W. W.'s chief value lies in what he calls its ability to shock society into a much needed economic inventory. Much of what he counts its weakness is really its chief source of strength. For instance, page 114, he says in criticizing the I. W. W. for its insistence upon the pre-eminence of the industrial worker, "The struggle toward the larger life to which the world's good will is committed is a task too heavy and too sacred to be borne and shared alone by any 'class.' It will forever remain a human task, from which no soul will be shut out who wills to help."

Mr. Brooks agrees with many ill-informed socialists who fancy they see anarchistic tendencies in the I. W. W. (which he again confuses with the European Syndicalist movement), but he says, "To state the facts of this anarchist tendency is not wholly to condemn the movement."

When the tenant farm hands in Italy wish to enter into partnership with the landlords and share the profits (page 176, he says), "The anarchist type in the movement wars against this, precisely as our I. W. W. attack all labor contracts or agreements with employers."

He fails to realize that this attitude is the finest kind of socialism, the socialism that, in waging the class war, knows the slightest compromise with the enemy is a source of ultimate division and failure. The I. W. W. is essentially socialist in aim and tactics since it bases all its activity on class solidarity. It knows that large bodies of men can never be *persuaded* through humanitarian or philanthropic principles to

stick and act together and that class interest, itself alone, will weld them into a true fighting organization. Mr. Brooks, himself, points out that "The man with a hundred dollars in the bank is (sometimes) as tenacious of his small savings as the rich are of their greater savings. . . . It stands for a fact with which they will have to reckon . . . in their last attempt to take over the productive and distributive machinery of this country." This is precisely the reason why the I. W. W. refuses to form alliances with the capitalist class that will cause workingmen to imagine that they are on the road out of proletarian ranks and into the ranks of the petit bourgeoisie. The very fact that Italian syndicalists are able to prevent farm laborers from entering into profit sharing contracts with the farmers, shows (contrary to the claims of Mr. Brooks) a very high degree of organization.

My Life. By August Bebel. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. \$2.14 post-paid.

This autobiography of the famous leader of the German Social Democratic Party not only contains the story, from the inside, of the rise of this powerful political influence, but throws many interesting sidelights on the politics of such men as Bismarck and Lassalle. Bebel gives a vivid description of the poverty of his early life, of his wanderings as a craftsman in search of work all through Germany—the Germany before the wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870-71, and before the Unification. Settling afterward at Leipzig, he soon became involved in the "Labor Movement," which was to give birth to the Social Democratic Party.

Bebel, when elected to the German Reichstag, quickly came into conflict with the law. He tells in this volume how he was convicted of high treason, for his attitude toward the Franco-German war, and had spent some years in prison. While in prison he was re-elected to the Reichstag. When this volume closes, the triumph of Bebel and his host of followers is well assured.

The book is a human document of remarkable interest and significance.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Here's a Hot One.—The following motion was passed at a meeting of Local Cowiche, Washington, held on July 6, 1913:

Moved that the National Committee be requested to take immediate steps for the reduction of the salary of the National Secretary to one thousand dollars a year and eliminate all junketing trips on the part of politicians to Europe and elsewhere and use the funds to help the miners of West Virginia win their struggle against a brutal governor who is backed by an inhuman oligarchy of mine owners.

The members of this local are anxious to help the persecuted miners in every way, but feel that a National Committee that deliberately wastes the funds of the working class in sending Victor Berger to Europe, in sending a white-washing committee to West Virginia where in a swell hotel among the rich a report was written clearly in favor of a lying, labor-hating governor, and in allowing the excessive wastes of the last campaign is unfit through any of its agencies to handle funds for the distressed and deceived miners in West Virginia. Morris A. Jaffe, secretary-treasurer.

From John Kenneth Turner.—I have just read your July broadside on the West Virginia affair. Congratulations! John Kenneth Turner.

Comrade Turner has been in the heart of West Virginia affairs and his praise is very welcome. All THE REVIEW wants is the Truth. We are here to serve the working class and that class only.

From San Diego.—Attention of loyal comrades of the Socialist party is called to the fact that E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee are now serving jail sentences as a result of their conviction and sentence for "conspiracy" in connection with the San Diego free speech fight last year.

Incidentally a fine of \$300.00 each was assessed against them. If these fines are not paid they will be compelled to discharge them by jail service at the rate of \$2.00 per day, making an additional 150 days for each prisoner.

Branch San Diego has undertaken to raise the amount necessary to pay these fines. Our members are contributing to the limit of their ability, but owing to the heavy expenses entailed upon our organization during the past 18 months, it is impossible for us to raise the entire sum here.

Will you not help us to give back these comrades to their families and the Socialist movement at the earliest possible moment?

Contributions will be receipted for by J. R. Cothran, Sec.-Treas., Branch San Diego, 1521 N St., San Diego, Cal.

In reply to article in July REVIEW comrade Cothran writes:

"No one who is familiar with the details of the free speech fight in San Diego and who has a desire to be just can truthfully impute any wrong motives or conduct to Comrade Bauer throughout that bitter struggle. From start to finish, he was in the thick of the fight and his courage in the face of a vicious public sentiment, fanned into fury by a prostituted press, elicited the admiration of friend and foe alike."

Revolutionary Barbers, industrial unionists, Socialists, and others, it is important that you communicate with John L. Galen, 521 E. 15th St., Kansas City Mo.

From Colorado Springs Colorado.—We have two study clubs here that have decided that Marcy's "Shop Talks" is clear to any student who will study a little. We have no use for "bunk" here.—P. J. Phelps, secretary.

From Plebs Club, London, England.—Enclosed find two pounds for forty REVIEWS for the next three months.—W. H. Mainwaring, secretary.

Will the Committee Explain?—Local Lima, Ohio, of the S. P. on June 24th, passed the following resolution: Local Lima, of the S. P. commends the N. C. of the S. P. for sending an investigation committee into the mining districts of West Virginia, where war is carried on between the miners and mine owners and their political henchmen. In view of the fact that the S. P. pays all the expenses of the aforesaid committee, we demand to know why this committee went straight way to the miners' very enemies to get their information concerning the conditions existing there.

We, the workers, know that the philosophy of Socialism teaches that the working class must emancipate themselves and also represent themselves to get best results. Especially in that the personnel of this committee was one in which we had implicit confidence to fathom the depths of this struggle in the interest of the workers, but it is sad to relate our confidence was shaken.

However, we expected a real proletarian investigation, but again we were disappointed and find that our committee conducted only a petty bourgeois investigation. The intelligent workers within the S. P. are fast gaining control of their organization and in the near future such deplorable action as we are now compelled to witness can no longer take place and we call upon the proletarians everywhere, within the S. P. to get control of the organization and conduct it in the interests of their class. Local Lima, O., S. P.

The Little Rock Negro Comrades are holding meetings to discuss resolutions in which they demand that the churches, the ministers and the religious papers take up the evils re-

sulting from the present economic system and take their stand with the working class. We wish all the comrades would take this same action as it might influence the church to line up with those who work.

The Truth, a weekly paper, published by the Socialist party in Tacoma, Washington, and edited by Leslie E. Aller, is one of the liveliest periodicals in the western movement. Their recent anti-military issue should have been read by every man in the army and navy. Full of facts about compulsory army service in the United States, this paper takes up all current events from the Socialist and working class viewpoint and is class-conscious and revolutionary from the first to the last line. The subscription price is \$1.00 a year and the office of the *Truth* is located at 1911 South "D" street, Tacoma, Washington. Send in a short-time subscription and see what a paper the working class has in the west.

What's the Matter with This.—Enclosed is one *loadskin*. Please send me one in a hurry, 20 more of the June edition of the best working class magazine in the universe. I did not have enough REVIEWS to go around. The slaves are buying, they are getting interested, the REVIEW is educating them. Yours for Industrial Freedom, Peter Henry.

A Live Paper in California, edited by Comrade Sauer of San Diego is one of the best militant papers in the west. Comrade Sauer will be remembered as one of the men who was driven out of that city by the vigilants because he printed the truth about the free-speech fight. The paper is on the job to stay and we have made arrangements whereby we can fill yearly subscriptions for *The San Diego Herald* and the REVIEW, both one year, for \$1.00. If you are going to renew your REVIEW subscription and want this California paper, here is the chance to get both for \$1.00.

New Zealand Socialist Party.—Auckland Branch. Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find eight pounds. The May number is splendid and the REVIEW is selling without effort. We seldom have a copy left after a fortnight. E. Jensen, literary secretary.

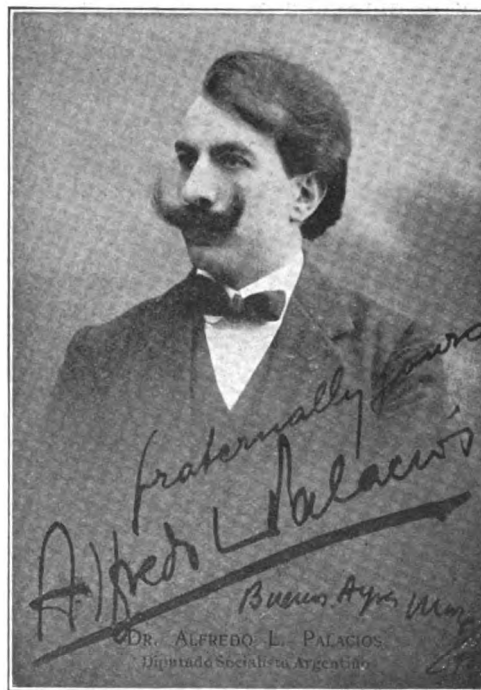
Longbeach, California.—Dear Comrades: I received your notification of the expiration of my subscription to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and herewith enclose one dollar for one year's renewal. Would be glad to send \$10.00 for Socialist library, but cannot—I think every renewal for the REVIEW will be my last, because time is rushing on and at 79 years of age, my sight is getting dim and dollars getting less, but I want to do a little for the cause nearest my heart while I stay. The REVIEW is good, very good and here's hoping it may live to see its ideals attained.—Mrs. S. M. J. Craven.

Argentina. A Good Beginning. But the best news comes from South America. On March 30 Comrade Del Valle Iberlucea was elected a member of the senate of Argentina and Comrades Repetto and Bravo were elected to the Chamber of

Deputies. Last year two Socialists were elected to the latter body, so the total representation of the working class in the parliament of Argentina now numbers five. When we recall that until recently the proletarian movement has been repressed in the most highhanded fashion in the South American republic this beginning comes as a happy surprise.



ENRIQUE EL VALLE IBERLUCEA.



ALFREDO L. PALACIOS.



What's the Matter with this for a Socialist tailor's show window? If you want to run into a real live Pennsylvania "Red" drop into Comrade Lindner's store at Rochester.

How About It!—I have read the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and find it always on the job. If more people would read it there would be more union men in our country and fewer scabs. G. E. W. Barron, La.

From a Railroader.—Please send thirty copies of the July issue P. D. Q. Will not be satisfied until at least 100 REVIEWS are coming to Lancaster every month. J. A. B.

Law and Order in Oregon.—A letter received from fellow worker W. J. Edgeworth makes interesting reading: "As I was deported from Marshfield, Oregon, I wish in future you would send my two subscriptions to Santa Rosa, Cal."

Fellow worker Edgeworth, secretary of the local I. W. W., along with fellow worker Everst after being thrown in jail were escorted out into the country by a mob of 116 God and Country people made up of cockroach business men and told not to return. The Smith-Powers Company have been forced to close one saw mill on account of the strike and the pulp mill also closed down. Hence these lawless agitators must be deported so that prosperity might return. Later reports announce that the local police raided the secretaries' rooms and confiscated the books, also in the name of Law and Order.

The Ancient Lowly

A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine

By C. OSBORNE WARD

Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

Partial Contents of Volume I

The "Taint of Labor," ancient slaves and wage-workers alike despised.
Ancient religion and politics identical; the gods were the ancestors of the rulers.
Right of the Patriarch to enslave, sell, torture and kill his children.
Spartans used slaves as soldiers and murdered them at the end of the war.
A strike of 20,000 miners that destroyed the empire of Athens.
Crucifixion the penalty for strikers at Rome.
Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.
Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.
Rome's organized working men and working women.
History of Labor Unions at Rome preserved in ancient inscriptions.
ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RED FLAG.

Partial Contents of Volume II

How the Roman State deceived and destroyed the labor unions.
Strikes of the Hebrew and other slaves in ancient Egypt.
A vast system of secret trade unions throughout the ancient world.
Brotherhoods of workers in India.
Jewish and non-Jewish labor unions just before Christian era.
Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.
Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Constantine.

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Senator Lo Sun, member of the Peking senate, sends \$35.00 for Socialist books and THE REVIEW for seven years.

Labor Day in Mexico.—In the annals of the history of Mexico there will be recorded a great Labor Day celebration. Last year there was no public demonstration of a first May Labor Day in Mexico City. Only a few Socialists and Progressive Thinkers, some thirty men, held a meeting in a private place. But this year, oh, what a contrast! A procession of some ten thousand artisans, laborers and labor unions marched through the principal streets of the city, past the National Palace. Strange and significant it is to say, not a single spectator could be seen from the balconies, whereas a few days later, on May the fifth, the National Holiday in memory of the notable repulse of the French in 1862, all balconies were crowded with spectators, to view the military parade. All the various groups of the Labor Day Parade had their standards and the Socialists had a beautiful banner, the bearers of which were three young working girls. Rumor has it that a few days previously, the government was very much opposed to any kind of a Labor Day parade; but some strong pressure must have been brought upon it, from somewhere, and the public demonstration was granted. Speeches were held by Socialists and Liberals at the Jaurez Monument and other places. Many factories had to close, though much against their liking. The workers who attended the parade, made the entire day a holiday. The business houses were likewise closed. Mexico City need not stand back in the success of its Labor Day celebration of 1913, the first it ever had. It was a grand success in the truest sense of the word and culminated in a celebration in the evening in the Hicotenatl Theatre. The audience consisted entirely of working people, sprinkled with a few of the bourgeois class, but not one of the aristocratic society nor any officials of the government. Only some half dozen gendarmes were at the entrance of the theatre. The large hall was full to its capacity. All seats were taken up; many had to stand. The stage was nicely and appropriately decorated. All the standards were prominently displayed on the stage. Speeches were given by highly gifted orators. One being a deputy in the National Congress, another a lawyer, and to the writer's great surprise, these were outspoken Socialists. They spoke very clearly and in a masterly way before their attentive silent listeners—the Mexican workmen, on the economic side of Socialism and its international aspect. In fact, the whole speech-making during the three and one-half hours concentrated and terminated on the mighty and magic word—Socialism. A fine string band and a piano on the stage with fine singing was also provided for. At eleven thirty, the audience rose to a man and the National anthem and the Marseillaise were sung and all went home, well pleased and thoughtful.—Carlos C. Ring.

Lost.—Fifty thousand members of the Socialist party during the past year. A reward of many years' advance on the Socialist Revolution will be paid for their prompt return. No questions asked.—From *The Party Builder*.

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Cabin Creek, by Price Williams

THE subservient newspapers of West Virginia have been displaying lurid dispatches of those "lawless strikers on Cabin Creek" again. The strikers are represented as having broken the terms of the "settlement" and using force to get other miners to strike.

I have been with the miners in the midst of Cabin Creek District during and previous to the two reigns of martial rule and I know they do not shoot fellowmen who fail to see everything in the same light. They will, however, shoot to protect their families, lives and homes when the supposed-to-be legal guardians lie down on their job and fail to protect human life.

Among decent men in Cabin Creek there is a continuous "open season" on those two-legged inhuman brutes, the mine guards. It is a last resort. The Kanawha Co. officials claim they know who is now shooting up the scenery in Cabin Creek and promise indictments. I hope they get them, for the strikers are not shooting their laboring comrades from ambush even if they have been bulldozed or misled into working. The West Virginia strike never reached its enormous proportions through force among the workers. The leaders among the men (not the U. M. W. officials) know that their hope lies in reason.

The light of publicity on the Baldwin-Feltz Agency has resulted in a diminution of their power in the Cabin Creek field, though they are stronger than ever in the New River-Winding Gulf field of the young District 29. The Baldwin Agency must now show how reckless the miners in Cabin Creek become when relieved of their depressing personal influence. Hence the renewed firing in the hills and the reports to the press.

The strikers, although as unsettled as they were, are not forced to use guns now. Thanks to the effects of publicity and the Senatorial investigation.

The miners in Cabin Creek have not submitted to an odious and enforced settlement, despite all press reports which have been issued, but they are no longer helpless, and the Baldwin-Feltz Agency no longer reigns supreme in Cabin Creek District.

The official "settlement" of the strike was never sanctioned by the privates in the miners' union. They who are fearless in the face of the death traps of coal mines were not bluffed by H. D. Hatfield's ultimatum.

I was in Cabin Creek District April 28-30 after two weeks in the New River Field. Most of the men had heard of the official settlement and the general comment was: "What have

we gained? The state law, enforced, gives us all that and more." The more optimistic thought the settlement by the U. M. W. officials was to allow the strikers to rest and so they did not at once protest except among themselves. When the *Labor Argus* published its statement about "Haggerty as a Traitor," they had good reason to believe it might be so. The *Argus* had been with them in the thick of the fight and they knew that it told the truth no matter whom it might strike.

If Haggerty is not a traitor, he is playing a game too deep for average intelligence to comprehend. He must prove his honesty at once or become an outcast among laboring men. Of course one who has rendered a service to the interests, as he has done, will be well taken care of. While the gods of greed have use for a traitor they pay him well.

The miners of Cabin Creek had struggled for over a year and for the principle of the cause were willing to continue their great struggle. But they must sign a statement and go back to the mines with nothing gained. Haggerty had arranged it. It was the interests that cried for the much-lauded peace. They could see that a continuance of the miners' determined stand was bound to win.

But the West Virginia miners see a light in the fact that Thos. P. Haggerty is not the United Mine Workers themselves. They know that laboring men are helping laboring men and the "man behind" will have more influence in the great result than the man at the head who plays for peace and a "settlement" where none can be.

Albuquerque.—I have taken the REVIEW thirteen years and consider that it is better now than ever before. "Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may," the "line" in this case being the class struggle.—J. M. K.

From Riggers and Stevedores Union.—Comrades: Enclosed find \$3.00 for three yearly subscriptions to the Fighting Magazine. I want Industrial Unionism to spread.—D. C.

From Sacramento.—Will you kindly increase our bundle order for the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to 150. The pure and simplers say it is an I. W. W. publication, so we can afford to boost it along.—A. B.

Mogollon, New Mexico.—"We have re-organized the miners' union and are going to try for eight hours. THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW is the best tonic a workingman can take."—E. J. M.

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Opposes More Delegates.—We are in receipt of a resolution passed by Branch 3, S. P., 207 East 10th street, New York City, from which we quote the following:

"Whereas, a special report of the last meeting of the National Committee from the pen of Comrade Engdahl in "The New York Call" of May 13th, states, that the National Committee had initiated a National referendum for the purpose of amending Article XII of our constitution, for the purpose of increasing our delegation to the International Congress, and

Whereas, to initiate a referendum at this time constitutes a flagrant violation of Article XV, Sec. 3, of the aforementioned constitution, and

The identical report enumerates a multitude of imperatively necessary work which has to be neglected because the party has to embark upon a policy of retrenchment."

The expense of the Chicago National Committee meeting amounted to something like \$7,000, and the cost for sending the increased number of delegates to the international congress would amount to about \$20,000. This sum would be enough to start a party-owned printing plant, or to carry out much other necessary work. Their resolution read as follows:

"Whereas, same money was collected mostly from the poor, exploited and down-trodden proletariat and such money being the product of onerous and arduous toil in the struggle for existence representing in many cases sacrifices and bread taken out of the mouth of innocent children, same being given for the great cause of liberty and emancipation of the wage slaves and

"Whereas, party conventions have been proven to be utterly unproductive and futile, are harmful, usually leading to friction, disharmony, dissensions and split as instanced lately in Washington and as borne out by the reluctance of the Austrian party to hold conventions for fear of splitting its heterogeneous elements into atoms, and we being opposed to sending delegates for a junketing trip while the workers rot in misery and

"Whereas, one of our delegates to the last international congress declared, the decisions of the international congress have only academic value and another delegate states that there was nothing of importance transacted, but that it was only a reunion of men who had become old warhorses in the movement; a friendly gathering

"Therefore, be it resolved, that branch No. 3, Socialist Party, in regular meeting assembled, expresses its emphatic disapproval of the action of the national committee in arbitrarily overriding the national constitution and pledge itself to engage in an active campaign in this direction to the end that our party may become an effective and efficient organization for the dissemination of radical ideas and inculcation of Socialist principles and not partake in the nature of a lizard that destroys with the hind parts what his foreparts build up, and be it further

"Resolved, that we submit this resolution to

the central committee of the local New York for approval and also send copies to the *New York Call*, *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* and other radical papers." Fraternally submitted, Branch No. 3, Socialist Party, New York city.

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E. R. MEITZEN, Managing Editor, Hallettsville, Texas.

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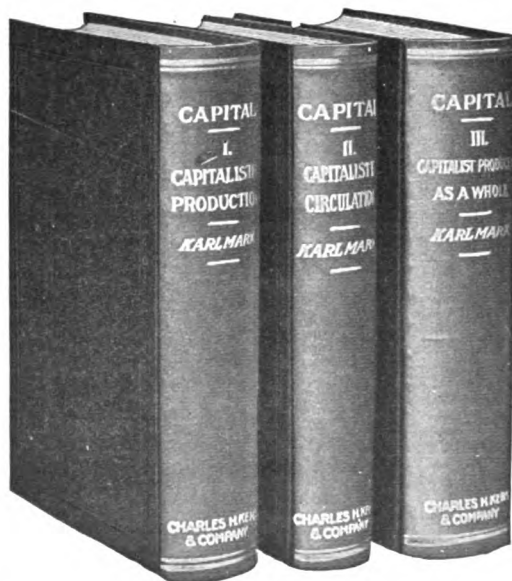
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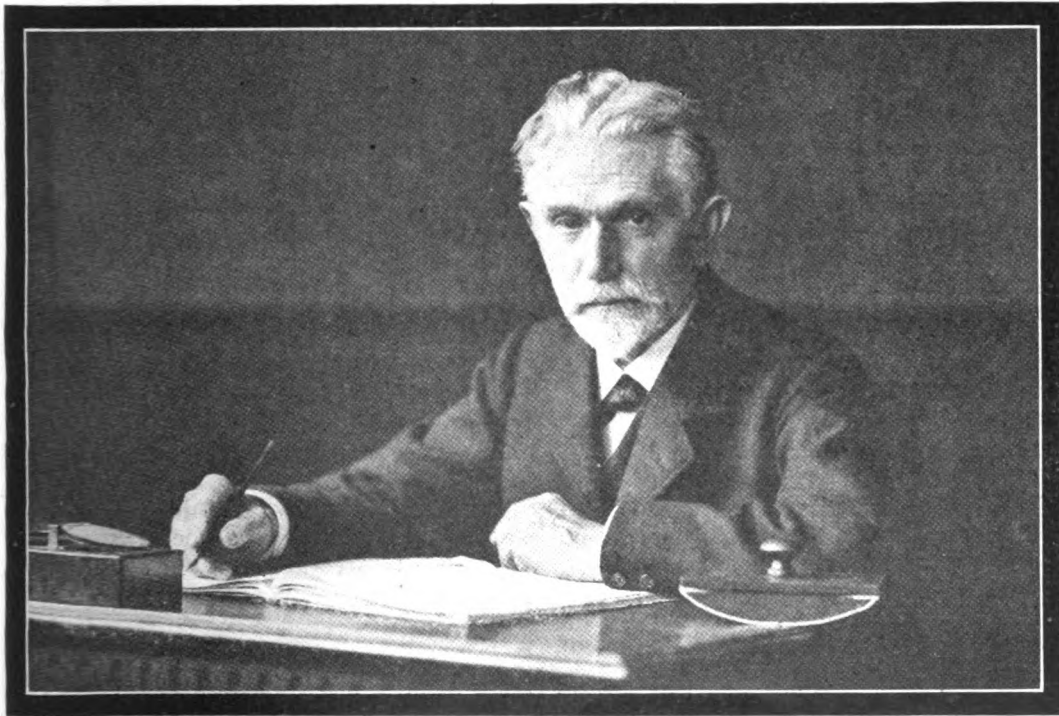
VOL. XIV

SEPTEMBER, 1913

No. 3

August Bebel

By Frank Bohn



A. Bebel.

[N the autobiography of August Bebel we find the following paragraph:

"It is my personal conviction that even the most remarkable and influential of men is more often the thing driven than the driving power; that he can do little more than help

into being that which in a given state of society is pressing onward to the realization and recognition which are essentially its due. This being my belief, I have been saved from regarding my own activities as anything more than those of a willing helper at a birth, of whose origin he is entirely innocent." (p. 5).

This fundamental Bebel not only held as truth in theory, but he lived by it in action during more than fifty years of fighting—fighting marked by bitter poverty and the crown of distinguished leadership, by years of self-sacrifice, suffering and imprisonment, and also by the love and admiration accorded in full measure by tens of millions of the world's working people. The international Socialist movement has produced at least its quota of selfish careerists and conceited prigs. When it produces a MAN, a real one, whose life is great with service to his class and to civilization, Socialists yield to none in giving praise. Bebel has said how little the individual can do. Looking at his labors with a calmness which time and distance permit, it is for us now to testify how much he as an individual did.

The international movement has produced during sixty-five years only three men whose services compare with those of August Bebel—Marx, Engels and Liebknecht. These four worked in pairs, Marx and Engels as secluded scholars in London, doing work without which later progress would have been unthinkable; Liebknecht and Bebel, accepting fully the intellectual heritage of their predecessors, organized and led the movement which the scholarship of Marx and Engels had proven to be necessary to the emancipation of the working class.

Not only has the movement in no other nation given us a quartet comparable to this, it has not produced another man whose services can be compared in value to those of any one of these four. The fault, of course, lies not with the individual men of France, Italy, England and America, but with the inherent nature of the movement in those countries.

Whence?

Why this movement and this leadership in Germany? The answer lies deep in the history of Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Germany which produced the minds of Marx and Engels in 1848 had produced the minds of Kant and Hegel, of Goethe and Schiller in 1800. Germany came upon the field of later nineteenth century history equipped with an intellectual life

which put her in a class by herself. An English or American Marx or Engels in 1848 is absolutely unthinkable. Likewise an English or American Bebel or Liebknecht in 1870.

The second underlying cause of movement and men was 1848. The English Revolution with its life-giving originality and boundless enthusiasms came to a sad ending in the ancient times of the seventeenth century. England went to sleep in 1660 and until the last five years she has given forth only drowsy murmurings. France exhausted herself during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era. So, until nearly the close of the nineteenth century, economically undeveloped and mentally inert, the working class of France was forced to await the example of Germany before laying hold of the situation at home. In America there could be no revolutionary proletarian movement until, near the close of the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution was accomplished and all the available free land was occupied.

But in Germany we see at an early period a harmonious convergence of the necessary social forces: (1) The economic development of the Rhenish provinces and Saxony; (2) the heritage of German intellectual idealism, which was the inspiration of 1848; (3) political liberalism in the Rhenish provinces and southern Germany following the Napoleonic era in those sections; (4) from out this milieu came the aforementioned group of men who were aided by thousands like-minded, but not as large-minded, or forceful.

What?

For forty-five years, day and night, in season and out, August Bebel stood in the public life of Germany and before the whole international movement as the incarnation of a complete system of social philosophy and of a definite, organized, practical movement for the realization of the ideal of that system. This system rests upon four pillars: (1) The slavery and degradation of the working class as a brutal fact; (2) the class struggle as the only method by which the workers are to obtain freedom and provide for the evolution instead of the degeneration of civil-

ized society; (3) political action as a means, and only a means, to the goal; (4) a never ceasing emphasis upon that goal—a free international industrial society, without classes, exploitation or political oppression whatsoever.

Bebel never for a single moment took his eyes from the greater to fill his mind with the husks of a lesser hope.

Bebel's Autobiography.

In "My Life" (published in English by the University of Chicago press), Bebel has given us a life story comparable in fascinating interest to those of Benjamin Franklin and Rousseau. It should serve as a text-book of personal conduct to every one engaged in the service of the working class movement. In every chapter one constantly turns back to re-read this simple story of what has been perhaps the most useful human life of the last half century.

His mother was the daughter of a baker and peasant farmer; his father was a poverty-stricken soldier in the Prussian army.

"For years my highest ambition was just once to get my fill of bread and butter." (p. 33.)

The father finally died of consumption, leaving the family in utter poverty. His mother then married his father's brother in order to have the children provided with food. There followed two years of parental cruelty and then his step-father died. His mother became a seamstress, earning "not enough to live on, yet too much to die on." She, too, finally contracted consumption and at the age of eight August went to work earning pitiable wages as a kitchen scullion. When he was thirteen his mother died.

Here is a typical story from the working class. Childhood and youth aches in every joint from poverty and all the miseries that poverty alone can bring.

Bebel was fortunate in being enabled to master a trade which later permitted him to secure a decent living. His uncle asked him what he would like to be.

"I should like to be a mining engineer."

"What! Have you the money for your studies?"

"This question dispelled my dream."

And so Bebel became a wood-turner

and an engineer of the institutions of men instead of mines.

At that time the apprentices still completed their training by wandering about Germany, working here and there. Most happily did young August wander on foot from the Rhine to the Tyrol and back to the Rhine.

"I repeatedly got wet to the skin and chilled to the bone. I have often wondered that I was never seriously ill. I never possessed any woolen underclothing, an overcoat remained an unknown luxury. Often of a morning I would don my clothes, still wet from the day before and fated to get still wetter during the day."

During this period he confiscated fruit from the garden of a Bishop, basing his action upon that passage of St. Ambrose which states that "Nature has given all goods to all men in common; for God has created all things so that all men may enjoy them in common." While working in the city of Weimar he organized among his companions a strike against poor food. He had never heard of such a thing before. The strike was successful.

When, his years of wandering ended, Bebel finally settled in 1860 in Leipsic, there was no labor movement of any kind in Germany. The bourgeois Liberal or Democratic Party had organized, as a sort of crutch upon which to hobble into power, a group of workingmen's societies. These were presumably for educational and social purposes. One of them Bebel joined and thus gained his first experience in organization and public speaking. Apparently, no one in Leipsic then knew of the theories of Marx and Engels. But the workers finally found their feet and took charge of these societies. Bebel does not fail to give Lassalle credit for first awakening him to a knowledge of Socialism.

The German movement no more so than any other sprang forth full-armed from the head of leadership. In the later sixties, according to Bebel's lucid description, it seems to have been as broken by factions, as susceptible to charlatanism and as much given to vain conceits as our American movement at the present time. It will come as a surprise to many that, during the first period of his struggle

with the Lassalleans, Bebel was not a Socialist. A study of the brilliant writings of his distinguished opponent was making one of him when there came upon the scene—Liebknecht. And Liebknecht soon aided in making a sounder Socialist of Bebel than Lassalle could ever have been. This was in 1865. Liebknecht was fourteen years the elder, better educated, a man of travel and experience. "He was a man of iron, but his heart was the heart of a child," says Bebel.

Lassalle is criticised by Bebel in a most guarded manner, but still with enough acerbity to leave the impression that Bebel agrees with those who think that the most fortunate event that ever happened to the reputation of Lassalle was his early death. We now know from the autobiography of Helene von Rackwitz what a fool Lassalle could make of himself when he discussed his own career with indulgent friends. But even with the death of Lassalle and the conversion to Socialism of the group to which Bebel adhered, the way was not clear for unity, for there lived and wrought in the German Socialist movement of that day a curious character, Jean Baptist von Schweitzer, whose intrigues kept the movement divided for ten years. Bebel considers the work of this man of enough importance to devote to it a complete chapter.

Bebel and Political Action.

During the past six years there has raged throughout the whole movement one of the severest controversies of its history. Shall the working class take part in political action, and if so to what extent and to what end? Some of the ablest and most active members of the movement in France, Italy, England and America are declaring that political action of any kind is futile. The argument which seems to be most effective is that, in England, France and Italy, when Socialists have been elected to Parliament they have gradually lost their spirit and have often become actual traitors to the cause. That there has been practically no anti-parliamentary movement in Germany seems to have been overlooked. In Germany almost no one has argued that

the workers are inherently such weaklings as to make confidence in a parliamentary group impossible under any condition.

In 1867, when Bebel first took his place in the Reichstag, he and his colleagues assumed a position which served as a precedent to German Socialism unto the day of the Revolution. In those early times there existed a difference of opinion between Bebel and Liebknecht regarding this matter. Bebel says:

"To take part in its Assembly otherwise than by protest and absolute negation, was in his (Liebknecht's) eyes a betrayal of the revolutionary ideal. No truckling, therefore, no compromise and arrangement; no attempts to influence legislation in our favor.

"I did not share this conception of the revolutionary ideal. I was for protest and denial whenever they were necessary."

So the question in that heroic time was not, Shall we compromise with other parties or not? but, Shall we remain absolutely silent or rise from our seats and fight them?

Liebknecht then believed that there would soon be a civil war, hence political action could be nothing more than protest. After 1870 and the Empire he came over to Bebel's view.

And what a war they waged upon their enemies! Today all classes the world over are becoming international in spirit. But when Bebel took his Reichstag seat in 1867, it was the heyday of nationalist patriotism. The United States had just re-cemented its union with such terrible sacrifices. In Italy the aristocracy and the capitalists had taken up the work begun by Mazzini and Garibaldi and were within three years of their triumph. In Germany national unity had been the cherished dream of all classes, with the exception of a few regnant particularists, for centuries. Never has there been a greater outburst of patriotic pride and fervor than that which followed Sedan. The political Democrats of 1848 joined the Monarchists in acclaiming the Empire. Against this tidal wave the handful of Socialists raised their arms. The executive committee of the party was dragged in chains to a fortress prison. In the Reichstag the Socialists mustered five votes against three hundred and ninety-two. Bebel, fresh from his turner's bench, declared to Junkers and

Major-Generals and intellectuals that the war on the French Republic must cease and protested against the vote of funds for war purposes. "A large part of the house were seized with a kind of frenzy," he writes. "Dozens of members rushed at us with clenched fists." (p. 215.)

A political conflict of this kind requires men—men like Bebel. Mice and rats will fight on no field. So long as a Samuel Gompers or a Ramsey McDonald are in the leadership of an ignorant following, a movement is worthless, either as a labor union or a political party. A coward and a traitor in Parliament will be a coward and a traitor at a strike conference.

Harmless politicians are not sent to jail by the powers that be. Bebel was working at his bench in December, 1870, when he was arrested and imprisoned on the charge of high treason. Again and again did he make the acquaintance of the jailer—now for three months, again for two years. But the time thus spent was not lost. He utilized this time for studies both wide and profound, laying the foundation for his great work on "Woman" and other writings.

Unity of the German Movement.

Bebel stood first for "No Compromise", second, for unity on that basis. Either of these policies is a broken reed without the other. As the former demanded great firmness and an abiding faith in the deepest forces, so the latter required infinite patience and much consideration for the views of others. In 1875 Marx and Engels failed to perceive the necessity for unity with the Lassalleans. Bebel refers to them rather sarcastically as "the two old gentlemen in London," who looked upon their "clever tactical move" as "mere weakness." The revolutionary theorist, apart from the practical work of the movement, naturally becomes hopelessly "pure." With Bebel the "holier than thou" attitude never overcame his sense of the inestimable strength which unity alone can develop. The Gotha Program established a unity lasting even beyond the dreams of those who witnessed its accomplishment. How many times the universal confidence in Bebel has maintained this solidarity would be

hard to say. His bitterest opponents have never once questioned his motives. A glance at his face either in the quiet dignity of repose, or in action, as he pleads for things ultimate, make clear wherein this power lay. A movement so permeated with the spirit of solidarity could laugh either at the exceptional laws of a Bismarck or the revisionist schemes of a Bernstein.

The German movement now most surely faces, it is said, a stormy and dangerous period. So it does. But the work done cannot be undone. Its gigantic and strongly-wrought machine of organization is not given to fantastical by-plays. The coming ten years are to witness the crisis. Of course, there is much discussion and hesitancy before the storm.

Other aspects of Bebel's remarkably fruitful life we can hardly touch upon here. "Woman," his masterpiece, has been for a generation the arsenal from which the working-class woman's movement has drawn its weapons. That his literary fame rests so largely upon this single work proves how far-visioned was his intellectual grasp of the socializing forces. To misunderstand or underestimate the nature and scope of the movement for sex freedom is to fathom one's Socialism as only skin-deep. Bebel took this piece rejected of the greater builders and made of it the cornerstone.

The time for such as Bebel has now passed. The sword which falls from the grasp of this giant is wielded by a thousand weaker arms. Individuals can play such conspicuous parts only at the birth of great philosophies and during the foundation of world movements. When the movement has transformed its plastic materials of ideas and men into a smoothly functioning institution, the work of a Gregory I or of a Hildebrand become quite superfluous. But it is something to have lived in a period raised to eminence not only by its wide acceptance of a saving philosophy, but urged, also, to life by the living brains of a Marx and an Engels; a period not only moved to a mighty reorganization through the toil and struggle of a hundred millions, but quickened, likewise, to the very heart, by the voice and touch of a Liebknecht and of an August Bebel.



PRODUCTS OF CAPITALISM—

The Cure for Poverty

By Robert Barr

Photo by Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

YOU have never heard of any organization of rich men or women that has declared itself in favor of abolishing poverty. You will hear ministers urging folks to "help the poor" and you will see philanthropists donating money to charitable organizations, you may even see groups of rich folks organized for the purpose of distributing—or giving back—to the workers a tiny little portion of the great wealth that has been taken away from them.

You will see a mine owner, who keeps for himself all the coal the miners dig from his mines, giving thousands of dollars to charity. He would be the last man in the world to propose any organization that would give the value of his product to the workingman instead of to the mine owner.

Nearly everybody is willing, or so they say in public, to REFORM things. Almost all rich men want to see the shops and mills or mines of their acquaintances REFORMED to give better working conditions to the workers.

Of course it is only natural for a mine owner who has seen the bodies of workers killed in his mine, to feel a strong repugnance to working in the mine himself. The more he knows of the miseries of the working class, the tighter he grips the ownership of the mine, the more he fights any organization that aims at the abolition of poverty.

If workingmen and women received the value of their products, if the farm worker did not have to dig up half his crops to a boss, if the miner received the value of the coal he dug, and the baker



PARK SCENE IN ANY LARGE CITY

of the bread he baked, if the weaver and garment worker received the value of the goods they make—there would not be a poverty-stricken workingman or woman on the face of the earth. The only poor man would be the man who refused to perform any useful work. Those who actually suffered from poverty would be those healthy individuals that refused to give their share of service to society. We might find the Rockefellers, Harrimans, Goulds and Astors seeking to enjoy careers of idleness in luxury as they do now. But the luxury would probably not be forthcoming. The man who would have, would be the man who worked.

Naturally it has remained for the poverty-stricken people of the world to try to abolish poverty. And the poverty-stricken class is the working class.

Did you ever notice that the lawyer, who has never grown a grain of wheat in his life, is the man who goes to his office at 10 o'clock in the morning. The advertising agent, who never made a pair of shoes or built a house, works a few hours a day. The capitalist sows not, but he reaps in the shekels from the labor of those who work.

It is the man who drains the swamps, who feeds the world, who builds houses and makes clothes that works long hours. And these workingmen belong to the great army of the poverty-stricken.

But the working class of the world is in a constant state of revolt against a social system that it feeds and clothes and shelters and that robs it of everything but a scanty existence.

The workers have discovered that they are very many and that the millionaires, who appropriate their products, are very few, and so these workers are everywhere uniting to overthrow the system that makes for idle millionaires and half-starved workers.

They have discovered that if they will vote together, and organize into One Big Union, if they will fight together and strike together, they can abolish this horrible system of wage-slavery.

This is why the great Army of Socialism is growing by leaps and bounds. The working class is the *big* class. One workman can do nothing, but a hundred million workers, united against the few millionaire property owners, can do all things.

Socialists propose that the useless "jobs" shall be abolished; that the very finest and most modern machinery shall be used to perform the world's drudgery and that men and women shall unite to do the necessary work of feeding, clothing and housing the world with the least possible expenditure of human labor, in the least possible time.

It proposes that those who work shall reap the harvests of their labor, without any boss to come along and appropriate their crops, their coal, their clothing, or the houses they build.

This will mean four or five hours of work a day for the workers and leisure to enjoy all the good things of this earth.

It will mean an easy job for every man and woman. It will mean luxury for every workingman and woman. It will mean the certainty of a life-long job and

rest and comfort in old age. It will mean the best food, the best clothing, the best education for our children.

It will mean no more anxiety about a job in the future. It will mean no fear of the poor house for the fathers and mothers of the workingmen and women. It will mean steady work, easy work, regular pleasures, new joys and happiness for every able-bodied man and woman who performs a useful service for society.

If you are not a Socialist, WHY NOT?

We have told you what we are working for. Do you want to help? If you do, STUDY SOCIALISM. Learn how to help. Our motto is One Big Union of all the workers and the Socialist Party to serve us in the great struggle all along the way!

Labor's "Leaders and Friends"

By Bert Willard

TWO of the chief influences tending to keep Labor in slavery are "Labor Leaders" and the "Friends of Labor." Time and again has Labor fought long and valiantly for the right to live, in many of which conflicts Labor has suffered all the horrors of hell, then when victory was within their grasp it has been snatched away by treacherous "Leaders" and traitorous "Friends."

It has ever been so. Labor has ever been betrayed by its "Leaders," crucified by its "Friends."

We of the Brotherhood of Labor must no longer put our faith, our trust, in "Leaders," nor in "Friends." Our faith, our hopes, must abide in ourselves. We cannot look to "Leaders," or to "Friends," for emancipation; we must emancipate ourselves, or forever be bound in slavery. We must save ourselves if we are ever to be saved.

We need to fear our "Leaders" and our "Friends" more than we fear our exploiters. Our exploiters are our avowed enemies; but our "Leaders" and our "Friends" sap our very life-blood while pretending to nourish and protect us. We need to know

that they, too, are our enemies, that they are our exploiters; they live off of our labor. They are content to pose as "Labor Leaders" and "Friends of Labor" only so long as we will permit them to get their feet in the trough. Socialist "Leaders" are no better than other varieties of "Labor Leaders": they, too, must get their feet in the trough.

Labor's blind faith in "Leaders" and in "Friends" keep the hosts of Labor bound in slavery. "Labor Leaders" and the "Friends of Labor" are the decoys that lead Labor into the master's shambles. Our "Leaders" and our "Friends" deliver us, bound and gagged, into the hands of our enemies.

The time has come for us to act. Let us arise. Let us have done with the twin curses, "Labor Leaders" and the "Friends of Labor." Let us learn to do for ourselves. Let us do our own leading and be our own friends. For Labor is its only friend and should be its only leader. Our only hope lies in ourselves. That which we cannot or will not do for ourselves, the same will not be done. Then let us do what we will have to do, and let us do it quickly.

¶ The last mail from our South African comrades states that 31 workers have been killed, 417 injured and imprisoned.

The Iron Heel in South Africa

By the "Hobo"

THE greatest industrial struggle in South African history is on at this moment. As usual, a small spark started the fires of revolt. Five underground mechanics on the New Kleinfontein gold mine were informed by the manager that, instead of ceasing work at 12 noon on Saturdays, they would be required to remain down below until 3 p. m. This the men refused to do, and were immediately dismissed.

All the employes struck work in sympathy with the victimized men. Fortunately, the Benoni district, in which the mine is situated, is a hotbed of revolutionary thought. The whole of our comrades, men and women, immediately took up the fight. The adjoining mines—Van Ryn, Modderfontein, Apex—were soon out to a man.

Today, "July 4th," a general strike has been declared. There has been a small amount of the usual muddling of affairs by the old craft unions, but so strong is the tide of industrial democracy that they have been swept off their feet in the attempt to hold back the movement. The strike now stands for the reinstatement of the men victimized at Kleinfontein. Most of the mines have issued notices to the employes to clear out of quarters in which they are living, twenty-four hours being given to the single men and five days to the married ones.

Every mine will be idle on the night of the fourth.

The state railways throughout South Africa are taking the matter up and will probably enter the field to redress their own grievances at this extremely opportune moment.

Regiments of infantry, cavalry and artillery are being rapidly pushed to the affected area. The usual proclamation has been issued forbidding more than six persons to congregate in the streets or public places. The workers have, however, defied the authorities and held their demonstrations in spite of them. The chief of police issued a warning to all women and children to keep out of the streets on this occasion.

This made the women more determined than ever. They flocked from all parts to Benoni and the demonstration was a huge success.

Since penning the above lines three days have elapsed—three days and nights of horror.

The general strike was declared and every industry held up, including government and municipal works. Sanitary work only is allowed in congested areas.

The capitalists' gun men have done their employers' work with unparalleled thoroughness.

Men and women who were shopping in the four main thoroughfares were shot down in cold blood by the Imperial British troops and colonial police forces. Cavalry charges have taken place in the main open spaces and squares. Men have been butchered, bayoneted and shot, indiscriminately. Scenes of horror rarely witnessed in the history of the world are being enacted while I am penning these lines, Tuesday, July 8.

The details of the horrors enacted are too awful to write.

Yesterday the workers refused to soil their hands until their martyrs had been decently buried. The procession was

many miles in length. The South African Socialists sent two wreaths on which were cards inscribed:

**"In Memory of Our Martyrs Who Were
Foully Murdered in Cold Blood
by the Capitalist Class."**



GRAVES OF THE VICTIMS

The worst of the killings took place on Saturday afternoon in Johannesburg. Men and women were making a few of the usual week-end purchases, entirely unaware that anything in the nature of martial law was in existence, the proclamation only being posted on a few buildings. One unfortunate woman leaving a store received a bullet as she stepped on to the sidewalk. Her husband thinking she had fainted, rushed to her assistance and was also shot. A small boy selling the *Strike Herald* was shot through the back. The First Dragoons is a crack British cavalry regiment. Its men were stationed at a point where two roads crossed, and swept the people from the streets in four directions.

Cables have been sent to London asking our comrades "To organize a protest meeting in Trafalgar Square against the cold-blooded murder of innocent persons in the streets of Johannesburg during the present crisis."

The solidarity of the men and women

in the fight has, however, been a record in industrial history. Everything has happened so suddenly. Events sufficient in themselves to wake up the whole country have crowded themselves into such a small space of time that a detailed account of all that has happened is at present an impossibility. Four days from the declaration of a general strike, and we are back at work. The majority of unions have given notice that: If within fourteen days of the sitting of the government commission (which is to be appointed this month) the improved conditions of hours and pay are not conceded, they will come out again to a man.

Comrade Mary Fitzgerald, our bravest woman leader, has been arrested for "inciting to violence." I don't wonder. The Capitalist class and their pimps must dread her as much as all of us men combined.

An hour after the cavalry had charged us out of Market Square with drawn swords, I could see our comrade holding forth in the center of the square. A regiment of cavalry in close order in front, mounted police with pick handles on either side, while two police officers were ordering her to step down, stop speaking and go home. I think the authorities were afraid to arrest her while the excitement lasted. I am sure the strikers would have commenced smashing up property had they done so.

Comrade Archibald Crawford, who paid America a visit two years ago, is in court on a similar charge.

The organized bodies are busy getting their demands licked into shape, to present to the commission. Some of the principal ones are: An eight hour working day, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sunday work. Night shift to receive 25 per cent more than day shift workmen. No apprentices to be sent underground; consolidation of all benefit society funds under state control; mine employes to have the right to occupy their quarters for one month after dismissal; no victimization for expressing political or industrial opinions in public.

I tried to snap some of the Dragoons when they charged us, but they made so much dust that pictures were impossible.

I feel that I have lived through a few pages of Jack London's "Iron Heel."

The inclosed clippings are from Capitalist papers:

"Many of the strikers dispersed to their homes, but there were others who were determined on more destruction, and before morning they had given evidence of their night's work. Saturday had been a day of firing houses and property.

"The first house to receive attention was one occupied by a man known as the 'Scab King.' The furniture, including a piano, was burned in the public street, to which it was dragged.

"The incendiaries next found their way to

the goods sheds at the railway station. An unsuccessful attempt had been made on these buildings the night before, but yesterday morning's attempt was quickly successful. Among the goods was a large consignment of candles and paraffin oil, and this was soon ablaze. Several trucks of coal were pushed into the raging furnace, and it was seen that the buildings were doomed. The fire brigade appeared, but could only look on helpless, and the crowd was in no mood for interference.

"More determined than ever, the crowd next found its way to the extensive bakery premises in Market Square, occupied by Gow and Taylor, and known as the Benoni Bakery. By twelve o'clock the place was ablaze, both at the back and in the front, and the looting began. Men, women, and children and Kaf-firs were kept busy for an hour running off with bags of flour, cakes, tinned goods, bags of sugar and everything they could lay hands upon. There was no attempt to stop them. The police were busy elsewhere, it is supposed, and the fire brigade could only parade the street. Mob law was supreme. Gow and Taylor's offense was the supplying of bread to the mine.

"During the day the firing of property was varied by the chasing of 'scabs.'"

It is difficult to get accurate information about the damage that was done during Friday and Saturday, when the streets were in a state of such disorder.

The principal items of damage, however, may be tabulated as follows:

Park railway station	£5,000
"Star" newspaper	20,000
Walshe's gun store	800
Bright's outfitting store	800
Perrin's Gun Store	500
Chudleigh's store	2,500
Skimwell's gun store	800
Plate glass in city stores, looting, etc..	10,000

Total £40,400

Tom Mann's memorable pamphlet was reprinted during the strike:

DON'T SHOOT! ADDRESS TO SOLDIERS.

By Tom Mann.

Men! Comrades! Brothers!

You are in the Army.

So are We. You in the Army of Destruction. We in the Industrial, or Army of Construction.

We work at mine, mill, forge, factory, or dock, producing and transporting all the goods, clothing stuffs, etc., which make it possible for people to live.

You are Working Men's Sons.

When We go on Strike to better Our lot, which is the lot also of Your Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, and Sisters, YOU are called upon by your officers to MURDER US.

DON'T DO IT.

You know how it happens—always has happened.

We stand out as long as we can. Then one of our (and your) irresponsible Brothers,



COMRADE MARY FITZGERALD

goaded by the sight and thought of his and his loved ones' misery and hunger, commits a crime on property. Immediately You are ordered to Murder Us, as You did at Mitchelstown, at Featherstone, at Belfast.

Don't You know that when You are out of the colours, and become a "Civy" again, that You, like Us, may be on strike, and You, like Us, be liable to be Murdered by other soldiers.

Boys, Don't Do It!

"Thou Shalt Not Kill," says the Book.

Don't Forget That!

It does not say, "unless you have a uniform on."

No! MURDER IS MURDER, whether committed in the heat of anger on one who has wronged a loved one or by pipe-clayed Tommies with a rifle.

Boys, Don't Do It!

Act the Man! Act the Brother. Act the Human Being!

Property can be replaced! Human life, never.

The Idle Rich Class, who own and order you about, own and order us about also. They and their friends own the land and means of life of Britain.

You Don't. We Don't.

When We kick, they order You to Murder Us.

When You kick, You get court-martialled and cells.

Your fight is Our fight. Instead of fighting against each other, We should be fighting with each other.

Out of Our loins, Our lives, Our homes, You came.

Don't disgrace Your Parents, Your Class, by being the willing tools any longer of the Master Class.

You, like Us, are of the Slave Class. When We rise, You rise; when We fall, even by your bullets, Ye fall also.

England with its fertile valleys and dells, its mineral resources, its sea harvests, is the heritage of ages to us.

You no doubt joined the Army out of poverty.

We work long hours for small wages at hard work, because of Our poverty. And both Your poverty and Ours arises from the fact that Britain with its resources belongs to only a few people. These few, owning Britain, own Our jobs. Owning Our jobs, they own Our very Lives.

Comrades, have We called in vain? Think things out and refuse any longer to Murder Your Kindred. Help Us to win back Britain for the British, and the World for the Workers.

"THE MINER."

Oh, the fore shift dark and dreary,
Oh, this lonely two o'clock;
Limbs may ache, and hearts be weary
Still there comes the caller's knock
And each blow upon the panels
Bids us up and don our flannels:
By the light of lamp or can'les
Batter at the grimy rock.

Just to get a bare subsistence,
Little earn'd and nothing saved;
With the workhouse in the distance
After we for years have slaved.
Some look on with holy horror
At each pitman's little error,
But 'twould much abate their terror
Could they see the dangers braved.

To the coal's grim face we travel,
And again our flannels doff.
Can they wonder if we cavil
At the ones much better off?
Like a snake our bodies coiling,
Weary hours' incessant toiling,
Through each pore the sweat comes boiling,
Think of this, ye ones that scoff!

Up while stars are dimly peeping
Through the midnight's sable gloom,
Up while pampered ones are sleeping
In their snug and cosy room,
Fore shift visions need not haunt them
Nor the pit's grim danger daunt them;
Oh, 'twas kind of fate to plant them
Where they could so safely bloom!

MATTHEW TATE,

The Pitmen's Poet Laureate, working at twelve, still working at seventy-five.—South Africa.



Photo by Andre Tridon.

TOM MANN

BILL HAYWOOD

Tom Mann In New York City

(From the New York Call, Aug. 3d, 1913)

TOM MANN, veteran of many labor fights in various parts of the world, especially Great Britain and Australia, made his first speech in thirty years in this country, August 3d, in New York City. About 1,000 persons welcomed the great agitator.

The greeting Mann received was intensely enthusiastic. He was cheered for several minutes and there were outbursts of applause during his address. William D. Haywood, who was chairman at the meeting, summed up Mann as a worker "who has no country, bows down to no flag and worships at no altar, but who is loved by the working class the world over."

Haywood, in welcoming Mann, declared that he would find conditions no different in this country than in England. Incidentally Haywood, who was one of the leaders of the Paterson silk strike, denied that it was over. "The strike is just

beginning, and the workers propose to fight the bosses harder than ever they did and to do this they mean to fight them with sabotage," he declared.

Mann had not been speaking ten minutes when a photographer took a flash-light picture of him. Mann met him with the following remark: "Shooter, are you all right? I am identified with the policy of don't shoot, so don't do it again until I tell you." The crowd was Mann's from that moment on.

"I have come from a country," continued Mann, "where poverty is so vile that every year millions of human beings die off twenty years before the natural term of their lives. This means social murder, not spasmodically or occasionally, but always there. The capitalist system in England is very successful, accumulating wealth faster than ever.

"Every month it throws thousands of workers into the semi-skilled or unskilled labor class. The capitalist system is not

increasing the number of well paid workers, but steadily diminishing them. Skilled labor is losing its place and losing it fast."

The "parliamentarians" had failed in Germany, said Mann, because "they respect law and order as laid down by the capitalists. They have failed to function because they have not centered their minds upon industrial organization. Not until they turned their eyes to industrialism was any change effected. I have seen the same thing in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, South Africa and in England.

"I was closely connected with the labor movement, both political and industrial, in Australia. There is a general idea that the eight hour law prevails in Australia. It does in some industries. The eight hour law has been established in some industries since 1856, but the men who took part in the fight were exiled. The capitalist has a complete grip upon Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania.

"As soon as the Australian sugar workers resorted to industrial action they got the eight hour day.

"In the smelting furnaces in northern Australia, although labor and Socialists have been returned to office, the men work seven days a week. In Ballarat, Victoria, Australia, one-half of the miners work under the contract system; that is, they get paid a regular day's wage if they produce gold, and some times they work months and months for nothing. You ask me how they live? They live on the earnings of their children. The miner there, when he works, never makes more than 22 shillings 6 pence a week. Never more.

"The real place to exercise power is in the places where work is done—if the workers control their labor they control wealth and can transfer the industrial

power from the dominant capitalist class to the laboring class.

"The power of the working class is increasing as fast as they realize their power and rebel against the ruling class."

"Trust to no savior but yourself—I don't care where I go after I die. I am thinking about now—trust to no politician or parliament, or to no class that is not your class. The thing to do is to educate.

"Solidarity is what will save you workers," cried the Englishman. "By banding together and educating yourselves alone shall you inherit the earth. We don't preach violence. We don't court violence, but if it comes we don't shun it. But violence is only incidental. In our fights it is something that cannot be helped.

"We do not advise violence, but we do not dodge it. After all, what we are engaged in is war. Capital does not hesitate to underpay us, overwork us, or risk our lives in bad factories if it can or dare. Why should we hesitate to lay our hand to any weapon that will wound capital? By fighting and refusing to be misled by compromises we have won heaps of strikes in England and you have only to look to France and Belgium to see the triumph of our doctrine of an invincible solidarity. So great and strong is our banding together in France and Belgium that violence is unnecessary to accomplish anything we wish. And, as we scorn the government, the government must come to us. So there is no chance of our cause being betrayed.

"The standard of life in Britain is better than ever it was. It is further away from the social hell than it was before we organized industrially. Consider yourself as a soldier in the workers' army and arm yourself with intelligence and know exactly where you are going."





ELEPHANT AT WORK IN BURMAH

The March of the Machine

By Mary E. Marcy

ONLY a few years ago a traveler might go, sometimes under great difficulties, from one country to another, finding not only different peoples, but varied laws, customs, governments and industries. Turkey was unlike any other land on the globe. China was a country distinct unto herself. When anybody mentioned South Africa, our minds immediately conjured up life in a semi-barbaric state and the jungles of Burmah and Siam had never been traversed by the feet of the white man.

Now all this is changed, and every day more rapidly changing, and traveling adventurers are complaining that all lands are taking on a dreadful sameness and that it is with difficulty that we may now find any country still untouched by the hand of the Caucasian.

History is being made all over the world at a pace never known before. Barbaric lands are being conquered by the "civilized" nations to make room for her

growing population or to find new markets in which to dispose of her commodities. Great mining, oil and commercial interests have forced their way over the weaker peoples, under *your* flag or *my* flag or *somebody's* flag, at the point of the gun, to snatch up the rich natural resources of the land and make them their own.

It is ECONOMIC INTEREST that has driven men into the fever infested swamps, over the deserts and through the jungles. And railroads have grown slowly over the roads they have traveled, railroads bearing new tools and strange commodities into the hearts of the new lands to the wondering people.

The telegraph is the natural corollary of the railroad, and at its feet have sprung up telephones and newspapers. And these bring, with a marvelous speed, new peoples, new customs—in fact, new blood throughout the old lands. Goods begin to be exchanged all over the changing

countries; circulation is stimulated. And news that had taken months to reach the interior is flashed across the wires daily.

And it is the MACHINE that has made these things possible. The printing press is the father of the newspaper and the invention of the telephone and telegraph enables us to flash the news around the world in time for the morning paper. The steam engine renders the unknown places accessible. It banishes the wilds. It brings the machines that are the real history-makers. After it come the new geographies.

INVENTION has put the out-of-the-way and barbaric corners of the world in touch with civilized lands. It was not the message of Plato that traversed the deserts, crossed the rivers and mountains to change the face of the lands, nor the message of Jesus or Buddah, or even Karl Marx.

Pure, unadulterated IDEAS never moved a spool of thread or lifted a teacup. All the teachers and missionaries in the world could not change the face of the Celestial Empire one-half so much as one railroad has accomplished in one year.

On the heels of the railroad spring up the modern industries. Large machine production takes the place of hand and small tool production. The modern factory, mill and shop is the great tool that supplants the old hand tool. The hand workers cannot compete with the machine-made products which can be sold at lower prices, and the hand-worker gives way before the *great machine*, the factory, the shop and mill, where machines, tended by human workers, perform great tasks with incredible ease and celerity.

MACHINE PRODUCTION is making history everywhere today before our very eyes. It was the invasion of the Western MACHINES far more than the introduction of Western ideas that occasioned the great Chinese Awakening. It is the wholesale introduction into Russia of the most up-to-date farming machinery that is revolutionizing the old autocracy today more than any other factor. Modern farm tools are making it impossible for the peasants to work the lands profitably on a small scale. They are being

freed from the soil and the great rush toward the rapidly growing industrial centers has begun.

In China we see a small group of brilliant and noble-minded men headed by Dr. Sun Yat Sen trying to guide the Chinese Revolution into the safe harbor of Socialism by entrusting the affairs of the Empire to those who will avoid the evils of capitalism. Dr. Sun hopes to see the Chinese "skip" the Capitalist system of society through the education and public spirit of her elected officials. He is hoping to evolve a PLAN for the establishment of Socialism.

But already we hear rumors of the unfaithfulness of those in high office and we predict that the State Socialism for which the Chinese are now working will evolve into State Capitalism, and nothing more. Socialism presupposes an ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS. No education can weld the workers together in a militant class conscious army, DRIVEN to fight, compelled to unite, as modern machine production does. Silently, steadily the factory system gathers the workers into large groups wherein their daily labors, their living conditions, their wrongs and interests are alike. Modern capitalist production is the great preparer for Socialism. It organizes the proletariat into one great mass with like aims, ideals and interest as nothing else can ever hope to do.

And now we see the advent of the railroad and the machine in Burmah. Report has it that the great Standard Oil Company is gathering in the great oil wells. Great Britain is now building railroads through the hitherto inaccessible jungles, and the great Change has begun.

Not long ago an English traveler wrote of his journeyings in the Burmese interior. Within a few yards of the new English railroad in process of construction he came upon a tangle of vegetation and a little party of Burmans. These wore rude hats woven out of vines and stalks. Their rough skirts, jackets and breechclouts were made out of cloth woven by hand, the product of the home-grown plant. Joints of bamboo served as cooking utensils. Signs of a modern civilization there were none. In the sur-

rounding forest chattered hundreds of scampering monkeys; the voice of the puma and other forest prowlers could be heard in the stillness of the night. But here, at the end of the slowly climbing railroad, he found the inevitable Standard Oil can.

At another village along the railroad, he found several of the natives had learned their first lesson in commercialism and were ready to sell food to any applicant. And the canned meats they had stuck up in their booths bore the label of the great American Beef Trust.

Every day sees new changes along the railroads in Burmah. When Harry A. Franck, in company with a chance companion, made the first trip by foot through the Burmah and Siamese jungles ever attempted by a white man, a few years ago, the trained elephants, driven by mahouts, represented the height of native attainment in construction power. In railroad building, elephants were sometimes used to haul timber. Franck saw gangs of natives at work building the roadbeds. There were neither steam cranes, "slips" nor "wheelers" to scoop the earth out of the paddy fields. Men used small hand shovels and carried the earth in flat baskets on their heads. But the elephant still represented the acme of power in construction work.

Since Burmah has fallen under the rule of the British, the oil fields and ruby mines will be worked under modern processes, if the Standard Oil Company has not already some claim on the Burmese possessions. Railways will soon traverse the forests and the civilization of which he saw only the first indications will assume sway in Burmah.

In his travels in the interior of Burmah, Mr. Franck found it impossible to buy food of the natives. In many places they very generously fed him freely. Where food was scarce they refused to sell or to give it away.

At one place he and his companion, being almost at the point of exhaustion, and having no money, decided that they would be compelled either to starve or exploit the shop-keepers—in other words, to eat their fill and run away. They chose a well stocked booth and eagerly devoured a bowl of rice and vegetable currie. They

then hastened away, in momentary expectation of angry pursuit. But no alarm was raised. On the contrary, the fugitives beheld the shop-keeper and his family literally doubled up with mirth at the delightful joke they had played upon them.

Wherever fruit and food grows naturally in abundance, the Burmese may be found in large numbers in the jungle. But even in the swampy regions you may occasionally run across a hut or two where Burmans in attap leaf hats and short skirts may be seen clawing the mud of tiny gardens. Their huts are of bamboo and entrance to them is made by a bamboo ladder. Joints of bamboo are filled with a coarse salt and coarser brown sugar, in place of bowls.

Many natives raise a small patch of cotton. Rice, fruit, fish, bread cakes, with red ants for dessert, are popular foods to the Burmans. Baked frogs and green lizards are in great demand in some places, but the red ant is the greatest delicacy of all to the Burmans. No native banquet would be complete without it.

According to him, all the men, women and children of Burmah are inveterate smokers, indulging in the "whacking white cheroots" mentioned by Kipling. These cheroots or cigars are from one to two feet in length and about an inch in diameter. One cigar may be enjoyed by the entire family, being passed from father to children or the mother, impartially, until everybody is satisfied. Many of the Burmans wear heavy leaden washers in the lobes of their ears. These large holes are used by them as pockets in which to stow away half finished say-bullys (cigars) or other dainties.

In a recent magazine article appears a long report of an Englishman's overland journey through German East Africa. "I have seen the latest automatic glass-blowing machinery in operation within a stone's throw of some of the savage tribes," he said. "The natives take the keenest delight in being employed where they can watch or tend machinery. I have seen big black boys offer to trade their wives for a Singer sewing machine. The possession of a sewing machine is a source of pride and delight to the village that attains one."



THE FIRST DAY OF THE STRIKE

The Copper Miners' Strike

By Edward J. McGurty

THE territory known as the "Copper Country" of Michigan is a peaked peninsula lying to the north of the Upper Peninsula. It is washed on three sides by the waters of Lake Superior, embracing the counties of Keweenaw, Houghton and Ontonagon.

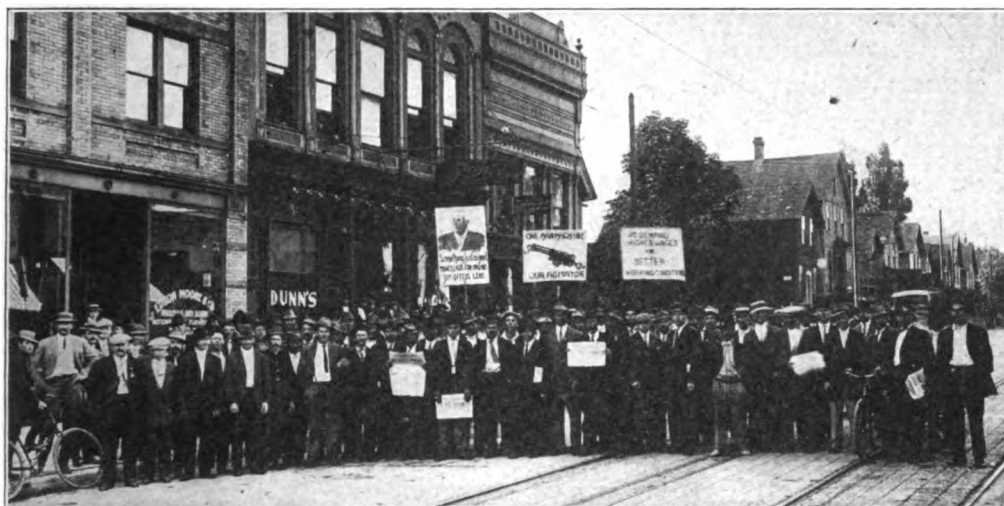
The country is rich in copper and has one of the deepest incline shafts in the world, the Calumet & Hecla No. 7, at Calumet, which goes down about 8,000 feet. The Calumet & Hecla Company, with its subsidiaries, owns and controls practically all the property up here. For the past thirty years there has been no labor trouble here of any consequence. In that time the C. & H. has paid out \$125,000,000 in dividends on an original capitalization of \$1,200,000. The employes, many of them Cornish miners, have not revolted for years. They have submitted to every injustice and to tremendous exploitation.

For a number of years it was impossible for the Western Federation to make any headway in the Upper Peninsula.

Attempts at organization have been met by the sacking and firing of men. Little could be accomplished. Gradually the Federation formed organizations at various points along the range. The Finns were very zealous in keeping activity alive. This last year especial efforts have been made to organize the men of the various nationalities. Those working in the mines are Cornish, Finnish, Croatian, Italian and Austrian. Up to May first, about 7,000 men were taken into the union.

The companies have worked a pseudo-contract system and cheated the men outright. They have paid low wages, many of the men getting as low as a \$1.00 a day and some even less. The shifts have been long, running as high as twelve and thirteen hours. Last year the companies installed what is known as a "one-man" drill which is a man-killer.

It was the straw that broke the camel's back in the copper zone. On the night of July 22, men went from one end of the range to the other, on foot and in rigs



"RED JACKET" UNION HEADQUARTERS—CALUMET

rousing the miners and making known the strike order. The next day there were 15,000 mine-workers who had laid down their tools. Smelter-men, surface-men, under-ground-men, all were out and the copper mines were tied up as tight as a drum. Then the men who had not already joined the union began to make their way to the offices and in a few days 90 per cent of the miners were organized.

Directly the men went out the sheriff of Houghton county deputized about 500 men and sent them about to create trouble. They provoked the strikers to the breaking point and there were 500 deputies without stars or guns in a short time. There were also a few of them went to the hospitals.

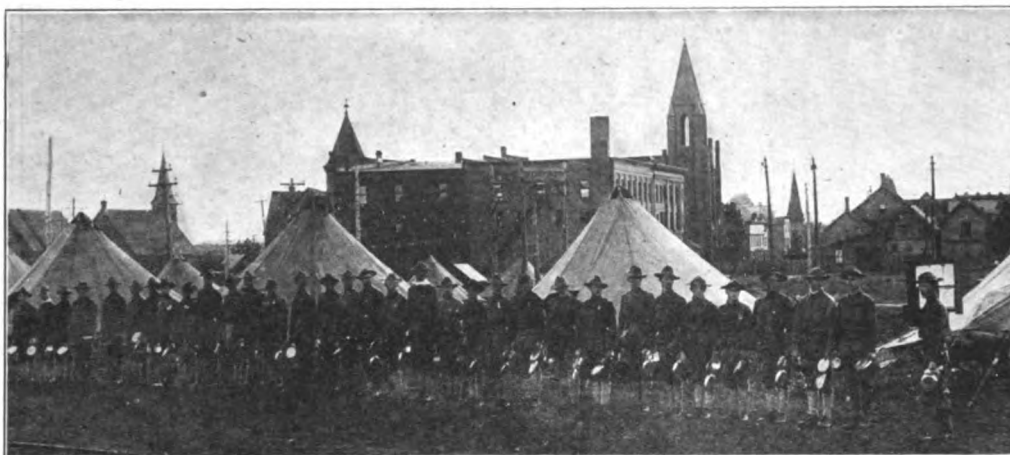
The papers here, under the control of the companies, have, as usual, lied about the strike, slandered the strikers, burned the "locations" up in their columns; killed law-officers, etc. The second day of the strike the sheriff acting under orders from McNaughton, \$85,000-a-year-manager of the Calumet & Hecla, requested troops from Governor Ferris. Without any investigation of the situation Ferris ordered the entire state militia dispatched here. Protest after protest has been made by the people here, because the presence of the troops is for the purpose of creating trouble. But Ferris staltwarty keeps them here.

The commander of the troops is a real, dyed-in-the-wool conservative. He says that the refusal of the union men to work the pumps and keep water from flowing into the mines amounts to the DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY. Even in times of industrial war, the mine-owners are accustomed to meek wage slaves that pump the water out of the mines.

The troops have ridden up the streets of Calumet and Red Jacket at night on horse-back and have ruthlessly clubbed innocent men and women conversing on the side-walks. They knocked down an old man of 70, and threw a baby out of a buggy onto the pavement. They have shot at strikers all over the range when the strikers were doing picket duty.

One of the worst features of the situation is the importation of Waddell and his gunmen and thugs from New York. Two hundred and fifty of them have been scattered along the range. They are being deputized by the sheriff and are arresting men on sight who are known to be strikers. They are continually picking fights and quarrels. The men have decided that they will not put up bail but will fill the jails of Houghton county to the tune of 15,000 if need be. Such a spirit of fighting solidarity cannot fail.

Ferris asked for a conference of the Western Federation and the mine companies, but the companies refused to at-



SCENE AT HANCOCK, MICHIGAN

tend, maintaining that they would have nothing to do with the Federation. They make the usual spiel that the strike is the result of labor agitators.

The sheriff of Keweenaw county was forced to ask for troops by the companies. He has made an affidavit to the effect that he was forced to sign the telegram asking for troops. He has requested Ferris to withdraw troops from his county, but the governor has absolutely refused to do so.

The thugs imported here burned down a bankrupt store at Centennial and the papers put the blame on the strikers. Every effort is being made to plant dynamite and wild rumors are the order of the day. The troops arrested some strikers at Ahmeek and put dynamite into their pockets. Dynamite was "found" in Cuy Miller's grips at a Houghton hotel.

So far they have been unable to intimidate the miners. The men are standing firmly. Parades are held every day along the 28 miles which comprise the range. Meetings of from three to six thousand are held every day in Calumet, Hancock, South Range and Mass City. There is no sign of weakening on the part of the men. They are determined upon a victory. They will refuse to submit to the slavery of the Copper Kings any longer. Thirty years of it has been enough.

The principal bone of contention at present is the recognition of the union.

The men have made up their minds on this point. The mine-owners have also apparently done so. The struggle is on in earnest. The miners are up against tremendous odds. They have absolute solidarity in their ranks, however, and that means a great deal. They are going to win! The copper barons are already desperate!

August 5th. The enclosed affidavit was sent to Ferris on the 29th of July and Ferris has absolutely refused to take the troops from this county. They are still in Keweenaw county at this writing.

Hon. W. N. Ferris, Governor,
Lansing, Michigan.

I, John H. Hefting, sheriff of Keweenaw county, Michigan, hereby certify, that I was requested and urged by certain mining officials to call troops, and I refused as I did not see any necessity, inasmuch as there had been perfect peace and order and not a single infraction of the law committed since the strike commenced. The said mining officials urged me to get your permission to call upon General Abbey for troops, in case I needed them and not otherwise. My intention was not to call troops into this county. On July 29, 1913, several troops appeared at the boundary line, and I protested against troops being brought into this county as conditions did not require it. Whereupon one of the officers of the army stated to me that if I did not permit the troops to enter Keweenaw county at that time, that no matter how bad conditions became even though the location would burn down, they would not give any assistance thereafter. The telegram was made out by the attorney for the company and my attention was called to sign it. I requested them to give me time

to consider the case at least one day, but their answer was that I must decide at once.

Therefore I request you to withdraw all troops from this county.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN HEFTING,
Keweenaw County Sheriff.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this day, the 29th of July, 1918. My commission expires March 4, 1917.

J. A. HAMILTON,
Notary Public.

The newspapers here carried on a three-day campaign to form a "back-to-work" movement and yesterday got one of the company tools to act as chairman, surrounded on the platform by shift and trammer bosses, at a meeting called by the Calumet & Hecla Co., to appoint a committee from the workers to meet with the bosses, and as the chairman put it, find out on what terms the C. & H. would allow its employees to go back to work. The miners saw through the game immediately and refused to "fall" for the game. They started the cry of "scab" and left the hall for union headquarters.

Mother Jones arrived today and was met at the depot by the strikers. They stood bare-headed in two lines two miles long, while she went through to the union hall. She refused to ride in an automobile which had been brought for her. Ten thousand strikers will pack the Palestra and neighboring halls tomorrow to hear her. She will then go over the range, addressing meetings in the various "locations."

The men are standing solidly. No greater demonstration of the "mass strike" has been seen in this part of the country. The Finns have made arrangements to send the women and children cut from the strike zone to the iron country of Michigan and Minnesota. They have received replies from Socialist locals and unions that they can take care of them. This exodus will probably be under way within a week if the Copper Barons do not relinquish their position.



MINERS' "HOMES"

The Latest in Ship-Building

By Winden E. Frankweiler

THE existence of steam and its expansive power was discovered nearly twenty centuries ago, but the means of harnessing the force and turning it to actual use was first accomplished by Thomas Newcomen, who patented his so-called "fire engine" in 1705. His crude appliance, consisting of a cylinder in which was a piston moved by steam power, formed the basis of the improvements of Watt and others, from which the present steam engine has been evolved.

This invention of Newcomen's was a practical steam engine but, although patented in 1705, it was not until 1709 that it was made ready for its actual work of raising water. The year 1909 was, therefore, the two hundredth anniversary of one of the greatest of the world's inventions—the invention of the engine which Fulton turned to commercial value in navigation one hundred years later, when he steamed up the Hudson at the rate of nearly five miles an hour, in spite of the jeers of the spectators, who laughed at "Fulton's Folly."

Just ten years later the American steamer "Savannah" crossed the Atlantic Ocean for the first time, in twenty-six days, in spite of "scientists," who tried to prove that this was as impossible as a voyage to the moon.

In 1838 the first regular transatlantic steamship line was established, while in the same year the first steamer driven by a screw was successfully tried in Europe.

Until the early fifties, transatlantic steamers were side wheel boats taking cabin passengers only. Owing to the space occupied by the engines and the great consumption of coal, they offered limited room for high-class merchandise at high rates of freight. Even with the high rates they could not have run at a profit if it were not for the high payment demanded for carrying the mails. The bulk of the freight business and the en-

tire steerage passenger traffic was still done by sailing vessels. Only the wealthy could ride on the side wheelers. By that time, however, steam as a motive power for ocean navigation had passed the experimental stage. The screw soon succeeded the cumbersome paddle wheel, the improved new style engines occupied less space than the old, and less coal was required.

Progress went on more and more rapidly; the time necessary to cross the ocean was gradually cut down from sixteen to ten days, then to eight and, in 1897, the "Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse" made the voyage from Europe to America in six days. A few years later the "Lusitania" made it in five days.

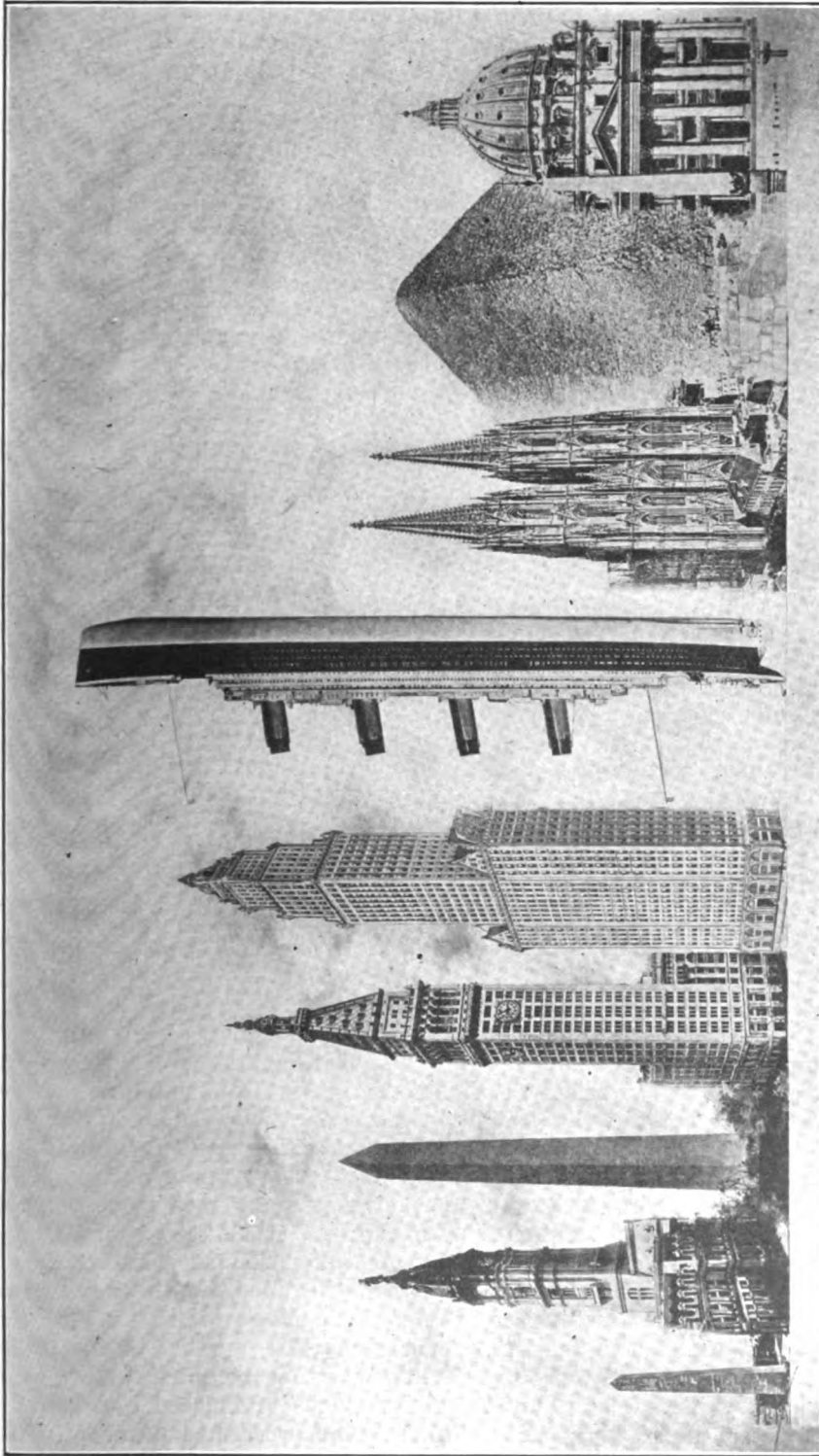
While the early ocean steamer had a length of 200 to 300 feet and about 200 to 300 horsepower, the latter named vessels are 700 and 800 feet long, respectively, equipped with engines of 28,000 to 70,000 horsepower.

There are too many ships of these sizes and power to name, so I give only the details of one of the latest and greatest conquerors of Neptune, the White Star Liner "Olympic," of which the ill-fated steamer "Titanic" was a sister ship.

This ship, which is fitted with two reciprocating engines and a steam turbine connected to three propellers, is remarkable rather by its enormous size than its speed.

Here are a few figures:

Tonnage, registered.....	45,000
Tonnage, displacement.....	66,000
Length over all.....	882 feet, 6 inches
Breadth over all.....	92 feet, 6 inches
Height of funnels above casing	72 feet, 0 inches
Distance from top of fun- nel to keel.....	175 feet, 0 inches
Number of steel decks.....	11 (Like a house of eleven stories.)
Passengers carried	2,500
Crew	860



THE WHITE STAR LINER "OLYMPIC" COMPARED WITH THE TALLEST BUILDINGS AND MONUMENTS IN THE WORLD

1	Bunker Hill Monument, Boston.....	221	feet	high	4	Metropolitan Tower, New York.....	700	feet	high	7	Cologne Cathedral, Cologne.....	516	feet	high
2	Public Buildings, Philadelphia.....	534	feet	high	5	New Woolworth Bldg., New York.....	780	feet	high	8	Grand Pyramid, Gizeh.....	451	feet	high
3	Washington Monument, Washington.....	555	feet	high	6	OLYMPIC.....	888	feet	long	9	St. Peter's Church, Rome.....	448	feet	high

While referring to these numerical details, it may be well to point out that the largest plates employed in the hull are 36 feet long, weighing $4\frac{1}{2}$ tons each, and the largest steel beam used is 92 feet long, the weight of this double beam being 4 tons. Further, the colossal rudder, which is operated electrically, weighs 100 tons, the anchors $15\frac{1}{2}$ tons each, the center (turbine) propeller 22 tons and each of the two "wing" propellers 38 tons each. It is also interesting to note that each link in the anchor-chains weighs 175 pounds.

There are 2,000 sidelights and windows in the "Olympic," and the funnels are large enough for two railroad trains abreast. The accompanying picture gives an idea of the enormous size by comparing with the tallest buildings and monuments of the world.

The above figures are already surpassed as regards size and speed by the German liner "Imperator," being 910 feet long and having a velocity of $22\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour; it made her maiden trip in June, 1913. Although the "Imperator" has 50,000 register tons (loading capacity), which means 5,000 more than the "Olympic," the new steamer "Vaterland," also of the Hamburg-American Line, and which is in course of construction, will even beat the records of the "Imperator."

Since the steamship has leaped from 20,000 tons to 66,000 tons in twelve years, the 100,000 ton and 1,000 feet steamer is not an impossibility.

The driving force in this race for supremacy is, of course, economy, and the result of an economical fight between the small and the big steamship companies.

The larger the ship the cheaper the freight and the more comfortably the passenger can be carried. The smaller ship companies that cannot build such large steamers (the "Olympic" costs \$10,000,000) therefore cannot compete and are eaten up by the large companies.

The big steamers are indeed a great economy. Take, for instance, the "Kaiser Wilhelm II," a ship of 20,000 register tons, carrying 1,800 passengers and only a small amount of express freight and making the ocean trip in six days, needs 700 tons of coal a day, while the "Olym-

pic," with 45,000 register tons, carrying an enormous amount of freight and 2,500 passengers and making the trip in seven days, has a daily consumption of 800 tons of coal only.

Of all this wonderful progress in ship-building, the ship companies have gotten the best in form of big profits, while the seamen have practically been forgotten—the companies do their level best to offer most comfort and luxury to the first-class passengers. The new "Imperator" has a large swimming pool, all in marble, medical baths, a winter garden with grill room, a Ritz-Carlton restaurant, a private dining room, a gymnasium, etc., etc., so it is clear that, notwithstanding the large size of the ship, there is not much room left for those who do the work.

Anyone who thinks all these accommodations are not just a necessity, knows nothing of modern life, especially not what it means to digest heavy champagne dinners without exercise and how to make it possible to pass through long days without working.

Most laws and regulations of the early days of steam shipping have been left unchanged, because they are still suiting well the companies. While in those days a crew of 100 men was a big one, the new "Imperator" employs 1,300 men and carries over 4,000 passengers. Furthermore, the modern steamers cross the ocean within a week, and the changes of climate are more frequent and sudden.

The fast steamers go in fifteen to twenty days from the United States or Europe to South America, and therefore pass the equator about twelve times during one year, making twelve very sudden changes yearly from summer to winter for the people engaged upon the boats. Instead of taking these unnatural conditions into consideration and improving the lodgings of the men in proportion to the increased size of the boats, the men are sometimes "lodged" like herrings.

So, for instance, on the new steamer "Cap. Finisterre" (H. S. D. G.), sixty men are packed together in one room in such a way that five must lie side by side and two beds are placed one above the other. The prescribed number of cubic feet are taken away by the men's trunks

and clothes, because there are only a few closets. There are only two bullseyes (windows) of about ten inches in diameter, which, being only a few feet above sea level, must be shut in case there is some wind. The electric ventilator cannot be operated during the night, as it would cause headache or colds.

Now imagine the atmosphere in such

a room, produced by sixty perspiring men and their damp clothes.

And the causes of these inhuman conditions? Well, on this particular boat are also swimming pools and winter gardens; at the same time the company pays high dividends (14 per cent in 1912), but the real and true reason is, that most seamen are not organized.

Wake Up!

By M. B. Butler

THE world is full of wealth—an abundance for all—while you are starving. And you produced it all.

You build and run all the machinery of production. You produce all the good things of life; you put all the use value into things that they contain, and then give them to the rich loafer class, the human lice that prey upon you, that skin you till you are dead, and then even pilfer profits from your funerals.

All wealth should belong to the working class who produce it. But it was and is taken away from you without your consent. You cannot set the price on your labor power, nor on anything you sell, because you act singly as individuals against solidly organized capitalism. As an individual, you are a mote against a molehill. Solidly organized you would be as a mountain against a molehill. You have got to fight fire with fire, organization with organization, solidarity with solidarity.

Wake Up! Organize! Get one of your shopmates to stick with you. Then you two get two more, and continue thus until you have enough members for a charter. Then don't stop, but keep on and on. *This is the price of liberty.* Don't say that the other fellow "won't stick." The question is, are *you* sticking? Are *you* organized? Do *you* agitate for better conditions? The other fellows will stick together when *you* stick with them. They stuck together in Lawrence, Mass. They stuck together at

McKees Rocks. They stuck together in France, in England, in Norway and many other places. They are sticking together in the timber belt of the south, in San Diego, in British Columbia, and in too many other places to even mention. Do some "sticking" yourself; then talk about the other fellow sticking. You will be forced by starvation to stick, for the "iron heel" of capitalism will grind you into the dust until you do stick. We have arrived at that stage now, and we are sticking together now. Are you sticking with us?

This system is on its last legs. It is outgrown, and is so vile that it reeks with its own rottenness, and so brutal and murderous that its path is strewn with tears and blood, with prostitution and crime, with agony and death.

Fellow workers, haven't we suffered enough? Wake up! You are sleeping the sleep of death: Enlist, today, in the army of the Revolution! Help us to form the new industrial republic within the shell of the old. Help us to grow till we burst the old shell. Then we can own the industries which we built and run them in our own interests, and get the full product of our labor. Join the new, industrial Socialist movement. Join the Industrial Workers of the World, whose industrial solidarity never fails to put spasms of fear into every capitalist that they deal with.

WAKE UP! KICK OFF YOUR CHAINS AND BE FREE!



SOCIALIST HEADQUARTERS—SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Cinders and Smoke

By Bruce Rogers

CINDERS and Smoke, and the story is told.

All headquarters, libraries, book-stores, reading rooms, kitchens, city and county central and local offices of the Socialist Party, all headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, were mobbed, sacked and burned, with the police standing idly by like calves looking at a new gate. How quickly these splendid blue-coated heroes would have recovered their courage had the mob been long-suffering strikers marching or picketing under the law in a mere human effort to live! How quickly these tamed cowards would have become "bulls" had such strikers been madly bent upon the destruction of insured corporation property, and how quickly they would have found

a way to shoot to kill, and to beat with clubs the pregnant women, as at Lawrence! Never forget, O workers!

But don't blame the police. "Ordhers is ordhers," you know. Theirs is but to obey. Not a one of them could face any situation requiring initiative, individual courage, because men do not engage in their calling. They are but the black mercenaries of the Moloch's realm, eating the bread of treason to their own people. They are but pitiful intellectual eunuchs in the harem of Capitalism. Put the blame where it belongs. Blame the mutt of a mayor, the traditional "good man," the white ribboned and knighted mountebank, who, to get his office, tried to say that he was a virtuous Socialist, that he had the support of eminent "construc-

tive" Socialists, whatever that is, who was a friend and sympathizer of labor, and who now cringingly whines that the police did right in not doing their duty, because if they had someone would have been hurt. May the good Lord, or whoever it is, save the worker from his sympathizers, the vivisectioners and analysts of his miseries from afar who are never found in the trenches with him!

Don't blame the other newspapers—the *Star*, the *Sun*, and the *P.-I.* They are the properties of stock corporations and must do as they are told by their certified owners, in order to "make good" on the job. For the same reason you cannot follow any hope to the courts or to the legislatures. All modern industry is corporate now with certificates of ownership scattered like snowflakes everywhere but to you. You pass an owner of the very shop you work in on the street, and you don't know him, nor he you, nor does he care. You could hardly find a judge, a

legislator or other public official who is not in this fashion a silent partner in some enterprise through which you are exploited. Yours is a class movement in a great class struggle, as all historic movements are, and it is your mission and your destiny in it to set yourselves free from the most facile system of bondage ever contrived. Blame the class that opposes you as such. Study the sources of its power, see how cleverly it is organized, and, if you would be free, seek power yourselves, and bear in mind that among our chains are ignorance, our fears, and our superstitions. Let us rid ourselves of them, respect ourselves instead of things ulterior to us, and stand upright at last!

Don't blame the common sailor and soldier. Among them is, we have every reason to believe, a preponderance of sentiment with us, repressed, of course, under the Articles of War. Most of them are in the service of potential murder be-



INTERIOR VIEW

cause of the same stupid ignorance that for so long a time has hung like a gloom and a pall over us all. The chances are that if they were told they might have their discharges today, three-fourths of them would walk out of the service without their accumulated pay. It's very dear tuition, but if you get well acquainted with any enlisted man, you will learn that the service is after all a great anti-patriotic school. Never overlook that it was a common sailor from a warship in port and a member of the organization who stole ashore and warned us of the conspiracy of riot then being arranged aboard ship.

Blame the eminent Secretary of the Navy, whose foolhardy and genuinely incendiary speech to a private club of the arrogant new-rich when published was the direct cause of it all. Although the papers as usual tried laboriously to lay the responsibility upon the I. W. W. and the "red" Socialists. The I. W. W., seeing that it was useless to attempt propaganda on the street during the "potlatch" carnival, had withdrawn from the street. A woman's rights propagandist, Mrs. Annie Miller, took the location. Interrupted by a sailor, she rebuked him. He returned presently with drunken companions and took her "stand." When she attempted to regain it he raised his hand to strike her when he was promptly manhandled by a "well dressed man, wearing a diamond ring." The onlookers handled the other drunks. The mad Blethen immediately charged the I. W. W. and Socialists with an assault upon the uniform of the army, and published in the same connection the complete speech of Secretary Daniels, saying, among other flag-phobic ravings, that there was no place in this country for followers of the red flag. Blethen has never been able to start so much as a dog fight in the light of day, but, with the aid of the Secretary of the Navy's speech, the shades of night, and the carnival spirit rife and boisterous, the riot, destruction and torching began, and with no effort at all to stay it. Don't blame the soldiers and sailors. Only a handful of them were used as tools by the land mob as a shield for their acts. Put the blame where the blame belongs, upon



I. W. W. FURNITURE

the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Josephus Daniels.

And lastly, don't blame the mob. It is true that there was not a single employer of labor among them. It is true that they were all workers or from the working class. There were a dozen or so half intoxicated young soldiers and sailors and a hundred or so wildly excited boys and extremely young men whom a half dozen policemen, if they had had "ordhers," could have stopped. Don't blame the mob. Look back of the mob. Look back of the staging of this lawless "patriotism," and see the material interests of the uneasy employing class.

In the meantime our headquarters are re-established, our book stores and reading rooms will be re-opened, and our work is proceeding as never before, and emerging from the Cinders and the Smoke is a fine spirit of Revolt.

How to Help Yourself

IF YOU should stand up on a cracker-barrel in front of a factory and offer every man, woman and child working in it \$10.00 a week more than they were earning—to work in some other factory—it is a safe proposition that every one of them would quit the old job just as soon as they had drawn their pay envelopes.

A young Socialist from India told me that he had seen dozens of missionaries convert hundreds of the starving natives of his country by feeding them generous measures of rice during a famine. He called these converts "rice Christians." He said that he had found out that no matter whether the missionary was a Presbyterian, a Baptist, a Methodist, or a Catholic, the hungry natives unfailingly threw in their allegiance with the Christian that produced the grub. In other words, they followed the Meal Ticket into any fold.

This is the same reason Socialism—or Industrial Democracy—is bound to succeed. It assures every worker in the whole world shorter hours of labor, steady work, nice homes, good clothes and all the good things of life. It represents the actual interests of the working class.

It assures to every man and woman equal opportunity and a safe and comfortable old age. It assures the rich man exactly the same things as it guarantees the wage worker—*work*, leisure and a comfortable living. He will no longer be able to live off the labor of others.

Now you will have to remember that fundamentally, Baptists and Socialists and Republicans, industrial unionists and members of the A. F. of L. are all alike. Even the grafters are very much like the Socialists and industrial unionists—in ONE WAY. They want more of the good things of life. They want automobiles and fine clothes and vacations. They want short hours and pleasant work. That is why they are grafters. As long as a politician finds out that he can get money by serving the factory owners, the

millionaires and trust presidents, just so long will politicians sell out to these rich men, no matter who they are.

No intelligent Socialist party member pretends that Socialists in office never "sell out." No industrial unionist ever pretends that his officials are born more honest than the A. F. of L. officials. Men and women want comfort and plenty, no matter where we find them.

But the Socialist party members are going to **FORCE** their officials to serve the working class by making them all sign their resignations before they accept office, so that **UNLESS THEY TAKE THEIR ORDERS FROM THE WORKERS** the party members can put them out of office.

Industrial unionists are setting a fine example in keeping officers' square. They are refusing to pay enormous salaries and they are keeping the treasury empty all the time. As soon as funds come in they spend them in organization work, strike benefits, educational campaigns.

In this way they will be able to keep the **GRAFTERS FROM HANGING ABOUT the MONEY BAGS**. As sure as an organization accumulates a large fund in the treasury, just so sure will it accumulate a large group of trouble-making **GOLD SEEKERS**. Some people have claimed that a large fund in a union treasury is a good thing. It **IS NOT**, because there can be no large fund without a correspondingly large band of union pirates who scheme and plot to get their hands on a part of that money.

Socialists and industrial unionists are no more honest than other folks. They want more of the good things of life. So do the grafters, but they are willing (when they have the opportunity) to sell out their class so that they can personally get these things.

There is only one class of men a workingman or woman can trust and that is the **WORKING CLASS—THEIR OWN CLASS**. Nobody can buy out the whole working **CLASS**. They are chained to the factory, mill or mine, and the only

way they can save themselves is by UNITING WITH THEIR COMRADES.

You cannot trust ANY leaders, because nearly ALL leaders Follow the Dollar just as you and I follow the Dollar when we are offered more pay at a new job. The workers can only trust themselves and their class. They must make it impossible and unattractive for their officers to cling to their jobs. They must tie them up so that they can never betray the workers. They must place them in a position where failure to

SERVE the working CLASS will result in their permanent ruin.

United, educated—running their own organizations—the working class can march straight on to victory and the abolition of the profit system.

This is what Socialism proposes to do. This is why every workingman and woman should be a member of the Socialist Party and the I. W. W.

You can make these organizations great, permanent weapons in your war on the Profit System.

THE WAR IS OVER

THE Cabin Creek strike is settled. After months of struggle, which at times assumed the character of civil war, the miners have laid down the rifle and taken up the tools of production. This revolt was born of want and oppression, and the miners fought with the grim determination of men who are driven to bay. Every means and agency that could be conceived by the scheming capitalist mind was employed in a fierce, merciless attempt to drive the miners back into the mines. The conflict was of such nature and the issues involved of such character that the attention of the entire world was focussed upon West Virginia. The power of organized wealth and capitalist government were met by the solidarity and bulldog tenacity of the miners. As long as the operators fought fair, the miners answered with argument and logic. When the operators hired Baldwin thugs and mine guards and enlisted the militia, then the miners stood erect and faced the issue like men.

The midnight assassin, armored trains, the dregs of the city slums were sent into the hills to crush the spirit of the striking miners. Laws and constitutions were trampled upon; courts of justice reduced to a hissing and a by-word; judges and lawyers forever sold their honor before an altar of Gold; and not an editor in West Virginia, save the Socialists, was man enough to tell the truth. Martial law was invoked and used in such a manner that even the capitalist administration at Washington did not dare countenance it. Even the staid old Senate was shaken by the roar of the protest from the Socialist and radical press.

One ex-governor and the present governor of West Virginia have been shown up as malignant enemies of the working class. Glasscock is already buried deep in a dishonest political grave while Mr. Hatfield three years

hence will receive the most crushing rebuke ever administered to a West Virginia official.

The disregard of constitutions reached such a stage that a federal investigation was forced, and, although this was done in the face of West Virginia opposition, and heaven and earth is now being moved to suppress what the Senate Investigating Committee discovered, yet the truth will be published or the present administration at Washington will be branded as the most subservient tool of capitalism that ever disgraced America.

But, best of all, the miners today know their power. Having matched their class consciousness and marksmanship against the class consciousness and marksmanship of the operators and their thugs, they rest triumphant in the knowledge of their power. Without the labor power of the miners the operators are helpless. Without the votes of the miners the capitalist system is doomed. Industrially and politically the miners of West Virginia will henceforth stand solidly together. And none realize this more thoroughly than the operators themselves. And the strike is won! With their lying prostituted capitalist press held up to public contempt; with the full light of national publicity turned on their murderous deeds; with George Wallace and Tin Horn commission kicked into their proper place—the operators have all unconditionally surrendered.

The Cabin Creek miners now enjoy the Kanawha scale, recognition of the union, the guarantee of "no discrimination," the eight hour day and semi-monthly pay day.

Comrades of the revolution, we salute you! Knowing you as we do, we rest assured that the miners of Kanawha county will continue to exhibit that spirit of invincible solidarity in the struggle for complete industrial and political emancipation.—*Socialist & Labor Star*, Huntington.

On the Job

in Oregon

Photographs by
Comrade Behnisch

By Press Committee
of Strikers



PAULINE HALLER

THE strike of the unorganized women and girls against the Oregon Packing Company, Portland, Oregon, was started June 27, by Pauline Haller, on account of the low pay on piece work and the rotten condition of the fruit handled by the company.

At the time of the strike the girls were handling strawberries. The berries came into the plant in 40-pound boxes. The girls were to receive 10 cents for picking one box. When the boxes came to them, however, they weighed from 62 to 75 pounds. A full-blooded Indian, the fastest picker in the place, was only able to pick a box in two and a half hours—and she made, at that rate, just 40 cents a day.

The company handled fruit so rotten and filthy that it was nothing but a slime and mush and the girls had to dig their arms into the mess as they worked. The girls testify also that the fruit juice that falls to the floor to a depth of a half or one inch, is mopped up, wrung out into a bucket and used for JAM. A woman of 61 said the report was true and that she

had refused to use this refuse for preserves.

As usual, there were two kinds of girls working in the plant—the kind that work for spending money and the kind that work to live. The latter knew that they could not exist on 40 cents a day and that they would be forced upon the streets if they did not get more. They said it was not much worse to starve on nothing a day than to try to live on 40 cents.

"I can't pay higher wages," said the manager of the plant. "Profits are low." But they are not so low but that he can eat \$1.50 meals and buy automobiles and accumulate property, while he drives the girls who do the work into the streets by low wages.

A Catholic priest, His Oiliness, Rev. O'Hara, butted into the strike (for the bosses). He advised his parishoners to quit picketing and go back to work. He is accused of telling them that if they did not return to work they would go to hell. Up to this time these women had been stanch Roman Catholics. It be-



FREE "EATS"
FOR STRIKERS

Susie Payne, Aged 15, Speaking.
Priest Threatened her with Hell
If She Continued on Strike.



came a common sight to see girls and women dragging their rosary beads in the mud.

The committee maintained a free lunch table on the street, in front of the packing plant. At this stand all strikers were given the choicest of foods, plus fruits, candies and ice cream, free. Agitators and sympathizers paid as much as five dollars for a cup of coffee and sandwich to help the strikers.

Speaking, singing, music and dining on the street in front of the packing plant was the rule from 6 a. m. till 6 p. m. Later, meetings were held up town. Crowds the like of which have never attended street meetings here before were always in evidence. The enthusiasm at these meetings drove ice cold shivers down the spines of the Employers' Association of Portland.

Goaded into desperation by the mental eunuchs on the capitalist papers, the mounted police on July 12, at 5:05 p. m., committed the most atrociously brutal act in the history of Oregon. About seventy-five girls and women were on the

picket line. They were standing with arms folded, near the sidewalk. Without a word of warning these bloodthirsty savages charged on them. Time after time the pickets were driven off the street. Time and again, under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Schwab, they reformed. They rushed under, by, and through the rearing and snorting horses. The bravery of these women will not be forgotten here.

The worthless lives of the mounted police were saved by the quick action of Rudolph Schwab, Mike McDonald, J. I. Braun, H. Schoen, I. D. Ransley and Tom Burns. These members of the strike committee grabbed the guns of the strike sympathizers and by force and argument compelled the hotheads to leave the crowd. Possibly we should not have stopped the shooting of scoundrels so low as to ride a horse on defenseless women. We would not do it again.

Mrs. Hart, Mitchell and Kennedy were seriously injured. Conferences were held with the Chief of Police, Mayor and Governor by the girl strikers and their com-

mittee. A committee of three—MacDonald, Schwab and Burns—waited on the Chief of Police at his request. His name is Clark. He used to be Chief in St. Paul. We are told he has a rotten record there. He had only been in office one hour when this conference took place. What those comrades taught him he will never forget. He said a girl can live decently in Portland, pay for food, clothes, room, etc., "on Six Dollars a week." We told him in not too polite language he was a LIAR. He did not like it. Clark was at one time a Pinkerton. Jim Hill, possibly through Archbishop Ireland, gave him a job as one of his Second Hand Gumshoe Men. The Citizens' Alliance here made him Chief of Police.

The Mayor gave the strikers and their committee a public hearing. Evidence was taken, under OATH, showing unspeakably filthy conditions at the Oregon Packing Plant. It was also brought out at this inquiry that wages as HIGH as ONE DOLLAR and SIXTY-NINE CENTS a week had been earned at this

plant. Nothing came of this meeting.

Governor West arrived on the strike line just fourteen days after the strike began. A dog had been running around town for five days with a sign on its back which read: "Where is Governor West? Is he dead?" This sign got the goat of his royal lowness. Appearing on the picket line, he began to bully the committee. This did not work. We let him speak from our stand. He tried to get away with a lot of flapdoodle. This didn't work, either.

He wanted us to leave the strike to him. We laughed at this. Then he wanted us to call the strike off till he got "The Industrial Welfare Commission to fix it." We laughed some more. As a last desperate effort he begged us to meet with him, the mayor, sheriff, chief of police and the packing plant owners in the city hall on the following morning. There never was such a meeting here. Standing room was at a premium. His oilyness, Rev. O'Hara, and the Governor received the most drastic drubbing of their lives, being quizzed, questioned and



THE STRIKE COMMITTEE

Two Strikers with Banners
Are a 14-Year-Old Girl and
a Full-Blooded Indian Girl.



torn to pieces by the strikers' representatives, Mrs. Mary Schwab and Tom Burns. His oiliness was forced to admit that he was responsible for a dirty, lying report appearing in the local papers to the effect "that the strike is settled." Once during the fiasco Governor West jumped on the top of a beautiful mahogany table in the council chamber and, rushing wildly at Tom Burns, said: "You cannot call my friends of the Welfare Commission dishonest, and get away with it." "That's exactly what I did," said Burns. "Don't think because you wear a Red Flag I am afraid of you," continued the Governor of Oregon; all the time swinging his arms near Burns' face. The city hall was in an uproar. Burns kept on writing. He never appeared to notice the Jumping Jack on the table. Nothing came of this meeting.

Almost every person connected with the strike was arrested, fanciful charges being placed against their names. Mrs. Mary Schwab, than whom Portland never knew an abler or pluckier AGITATOR, was jailed FOUR times in twenty-four hours. They couldn't break her spirit. This brave little woman is out under excessive bail. All the perjured testimony of police and deputy sheriffs cannot get a conviction against her. Each jury hung. Rudolph Schwab was sentenced to "forty days on the rockpile." Case appealed. Tom Burns was shanghaied, too. His jury of six, contained five members of the Employers' Association and one deputy sheriff. A fair and impartial jury! Sentence, "Forty days on the rockpile." Case appealed; out on bail. Ransley and Peterson have also been convicted. White slavers and forgers get sentences of ten days in this court. Free speech fighters get the limit. Fair and impartial Judge Stevenson!

John J. Jeffrey, the ablest technical criminal lawyer in the state of Oregon, is defending all our cases. He is the terror of the courts here. He has the city administration up a tree. The way he defends us puts one in mind of a lioness protecting her cubs from attack. Not one of us will ever go to jail. Most of us will collect damages from city or county officials.

July 15, 9:30 p. m., while Tom Burns

was speaking for a collection to help girl strikers, Sheriff Tom Word pulled him off the box. On the way to jail Burns was brutally beaten up. He has had to be operated on. Nine others were arrested with Burns. These ten criminals (?) were placed in dungeons for three hours for singing I. W. W. songs. They still sang.

The local Scripps paper, *The Portland News*, has been at the service of the strikers and free speech fighters from the start. Its editor, Dana Sleeth, is a man among men. He always fights for the under dog, regardless of his job. As a result thereof, his is the only paper in Portland whose circulation is increasing. Here's once where it paid to print the TRUTH.

July 17, a band of striking girls under the leadership of Mrs. Mary Schwab were clubbed by the police and deputy sheriffs. The unspeakable brutality of these bloodthirsty scoundrels equaled the mounted police charge on the defenseless pickets. Having been forewarned, we were prepared. All our men and women were instructed to leave off emblems, etc. Result, not one of our crowd got beaten up. Bourgeois storekeepers and politicians who came to see us beaten up got what was intended for the REDS. We have not quit laughing yet.

A monster mass meeting was held in Gypsy Smith Tabernacle on July 26. This is the largest auditorium in Portland. The speakers numbered some of the most influential men in the city. Not one of them was a Socialist. The enthusiasm at this meeting knew no bounds. Another meeting is scheduled for August 2, and every Saturday thereafter till free speech reigns again. A surprising feature of this strike was a poem by a policeman. His name is Fuller. This appeared in *The Portland News*, a few days after the strike began. It caused people to think. He will most likely get fired. Another policeman named Long refused to perjure himself on the witness stand. His testimony helped us. He will get his walking ticket, too.

Written by Press Committee of Strikers—I. D. Ransley, Henry Schoen, Tom Burns—for INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

Making Socialists Out of Socialists

L. E. Katterfeld

WHEN I first joined the Socialist Party an old timer who had been a member since the party's organization, gave me the following advice:

"A large share of the bitterness and strife in our movement grows out of the attempt to make 'Socialists out of Socialists.' You'll avoid a lot of unnecessary trouble if you'll keep the idea that it's your mission to 'make Socialists out of Socialists' strictly out of your head. Leave your comrades alone with their opinions, even if they seem to you peculiar. Do your arguing with Republicans and Democrats. They are the ones that need it most."

For many years I've followed this old comrade's advice as far as lay within my power. And I have passed his words along at every opportunity for I believe that their general observance by all Socialists would help to solve many sorely vexing problems.

And yet my friend was only partly right. Every Socialist should of course consider it his mission to "convert the heathen" rather than to "sanctify the brethren." Nevertheless it is a most important function of every real Socialist to make better Socialists of those who merely think they are Socialists.

It is not the end itself that is bad, but the method that so many comrades use to accomplish this end that works the mischief. The "personal argument" method defeats its own ends. It always arouses antagonism, it never proceeds along logical lines from agreed premises to a definite conclusion. It results in endless, aimless discussion that never gets the disputants anywhere.

The trouble is that in the heat of argument we always forget that, in the words of Pope:

"Men must be taught as though you taught them not,
And things unknown proposed as things forgot."

It is immeasurably better to make it the specific object of your talks to inter-

est your comrade in the reading of some Socialist periodical or book, which will in the course of time, gradually and naturally, without arousing any personal animus, any of the feeling that he "must make his point" or acknowledge defeat, convey to him the truth of the idea that you would like to have him perceive.

As a general proposition, anything that encourages wider and more thorough reading on the part of Socialists is good. A man who reads much will also think much and will gradually become a reasoner on his own account. The way to "make Socialists out of Socialists" without danger of getting side-tracked in profitless personalities is to make your immediate objective not the inculcation of general and abstract principles, but the encouraging of the habit of reading, study and investigation, among the comrades.

It is along this line that the Lyceum Department is performing an incalculable service in the Socialist movement. Wherever the Lyceum is taken up on the subscription basis as recommended by the manager, it becomes the immediate duty of every member to go out into the highways and byways and make readers of Socialist literature out of the people he meets. It encourages our membership to do many times the propaganda among non-Socialists that they would do in the same length of time under ordinary conditions. It also means that practically every Socialist in the community will be persuaded to read some Socialist periodical or book that he would not otherwise have read. The giving of tickets to a series of first-class Socialist lectures free with subscriptions, makes it easy to secure the readers.

An analysis of the orders received by the Lyceum Department during the past two years on Lyceum subscription certificates would show that, generally speaking, non-Socialists subscribed for agitation papers and the more popular pamphlets, while the Socialist party members themselves subscribe very largely to our

more scientific periodicals and our fundamental literature.

Tens of thousands of Socialists now have some of our classics in permanent cloth bound form in their libraries, and the contents of these books indelibly impressed upon their minds who probably would not have known even their titles, but for the Lyceum.

Hundreds of Locals have accumulated Socialist libraries and started reading circles with whom such a thing would have been an unrealized dream for years but for the Lyceum.

Every Socialist publisher now has many subscribers for his papers or customers for his books in scores of cities where he otherwise might never have had any but for the Lyceum.

This widespread diffusion of ideas brought about through the Lyceum will have as an inevitable after effect a better understanding of Socialist fundamentals, and, growing out of this, a broader tolerance as regards unessential differences and a greater unity of purpose pervading our entire organization.

One of the most commendable features of this undertaking is the fact that no one publisher or "faction" has a monopoly. The Lyceum plan as at present conducted does not mean autocratic control from the top, but furnishes an opportunity for a truly democratic use of judgment on the part of the membership, which is impossible where any one publisher conducts subscription lectures for himself alone. The Lyceum Department deals with all Socialist publishers on exactly the same basis. It leaves every Local free to boost for the publications it likes best. It permits every

worker to urge using the Lyceum subscriptions for that book or periodical which is his personal favorite. It enables the subscriber even after he has purchased the subscription certificate to secure with it the paper or book of his own choice. It is therefore not paternalistic, but encourages everywhere the habits of personal study and individual research, which are essential to true democracy.

In these ways the Lyceum offers not only the most excellent method of propaganda among non-Socialists, accomplishing more for the energy spent than any other method, but it also constitutes the best possible means of making real Socialists out of all those who think they are Socialists, a means all the more effective for the fact that it is more or less unconscious.

The plan is no "cure-all," of course. Too many local and personal factors enter into it to guarantee that it will obtain the greatest possible measure of success in every Local that takes it up. But with all it is an honest, conscientious effort to obtain ends favored by every real Socialist regardless of race, creed, "color" or previous condition of servitude. The experience of hundreds of Locals proves that the results obtained are very much worth while.

Every comrade who would like to see scientific knowledge gradually supplant the sentimental hodge-podge of beliefs that so often befuddle and complicate the issues that arise within our party should support the Lyceum by encouraging his own Local to accept the offer at once. *It will make Socialists out of Socialists.*



Socialist Theory and Tactics

By Charles A. Rice

Effect of Pure-and-Simplism Upon the German Labor Movement Since 1900

PART IV—Continued

Bebel, in a recent interview (see *Wilshire's Magazine* for December, 1912), said among other things: ". . . the workers of Germany are not ripe for great changes." Astoundingly strange, isn't it? Where is the secret of this immaturity and all the above weak points in the German?

Many are inclined to seek the solution of this astounding puzzle in the racial psychology of the German people as a whole. Germans as a race are, according to this theory, peculiar in their modes of thinking, feeling, and acting. Their intellect, the workings of their racial mind, runs in special, so-to-say Germanic grooves. Their thinking is deep, goes to the root of the matter, is searching and methodical; but these qualities make up for lack of *speed*; their thought trails, at a snail-pace rate. The German mind is apt to look into things closely, minutely, thoroughly, digging and delving in the realm of the very small, entangled in the maze of details. A new idea, to enter the German mind, must *worm* its way, painfully halting at every turn, through this unyielding brain medium, from fiber to fiber, until it gets a firm hold of the thinker himself.

A startling or revolutionary conception, be it in biology, economics, art, or in the field of applied sociology, must first undergo a very slow and painful process of Germanization, that is, it must be carefully, thoroughly masticated, ruminated, and digested in peculiar Teutonic peptone of "pure reason" of the Kantian decoction. This is done drudgingly, step by step, in minute doses, and in a temperature not far above the freezing point, before the product is finally assimilated by the Teutonic organism and converted into action. The German mind cannot see new things or grasp new conceptions at a flash; it shrinks from a new mental effort on the snapshot principle.

Then, it is claimed, the German lacks temperament and fire, the imaginative dash and emotional buoyancy of the Frenchmen. He is sluggish in temperament, tame in aspiration, timid in experiment. He is too firmly and stolidly chained to the present to have a swift vision of the future. His cold reason, the intellectual depth and acumen of a Marx, for instance, may pierce dimly the future in grand outlines, but his gray and toneless imagination fails to see it *concretely* and *creatively*. He lacks the reckless daring and impulse of the Southern European the force that impels to action, to experimenting, to finding new ways and means, to "hit the untried trail," that *abandon* that laughs at failure, stumbles and gets up again for a new dash into the unknown.

Again, the German has enormous stores of patience, of the waiting mood, the trick of social *suspense*; he can hang on, so-to-say, decade after decade without any decisive effort of landing anywhere. He is discipline incarnate. He worships thoroughness (*Gründlichkeit*) and method and regulation far beyond the point where any other race would give a vicious kick at the traces so as to knock down to splinters the whole regulating outfit, be it a party or a government.

But, whatever grain of truth there may lurk in this racial analysis, it must be dismissed as worthless in so far as it is inadequate to account for the above mysteries of the German proletariat.

In the first place, every race has its drawbacks. If we are to accept as true all the so-called "scientific" twaddle of many self-appointed dabblers in race psychology. No race, for that matter, will stand the test of our prying too closely into its temperamental or mental record. Take the English as a case in point. They are no less Teutonic in racial origin than the Germans, whatever

that may mean from the anthropological viewpoint. Then, they are said to be stolid, sluggish in temperament, cold and stiff, overfed with beef, and carried away by brutal sport; altogether a cunning race afflicted with smug respectability, narrow in their mental outlook, conversational, worshippers of established cant and afraid of anything frankly new and bold, with a host of other bad things in creation.

In spite of the damnable supply of temperamental ice and foggy mentality with which the English are credited as a race, the English workers have recently shown some remarkable bits of revolutionary grit and dash. The transport workers, miners, and even the suffragettes *do* have a surprising amount of militant fire and backbone.

But the German people as a whole have given the world some very fine exhibits of social energy, creative push and capacity for breaking away from rut and sloth. In some 20 years, German industry has outraced the English. They have wrested this industrial prize from the classic home of modern capitalism not only through sheer persistence and dogged determination to win, but also through feverish activity and overbubbling, buoyant energy and creative daring. The Franco-Prussian War was also in great part the triumph of national enthusiasm and fighting mettle. The Germans *can* be aroused to decisive action and patriotic dash on a large scale; they *do* get carried away if given the proper stimulus.

What is more to the point, the *German workers themselves*, as shown at the beginning of this section, have done admirable things in the economic field both as producers and consumers, while in the *fringe* of the Social Democracy they have accomplished wonders in educating the German proletariat. The *core* itself, especially in its heroic days of storm and stress, displayed tremendous energy in marshalling the workers under its pure-and-simplist banners. The puzzle we are trying to decipher is rather in what they have failed to do *over and above what they have done in proportion to all their resources and advantages* which we have treated in detail. And this failure cannot be explained in terms of racial drawbacks.

No, the cause of this failure is to be found mainly at the pure-and-simplist end of the whole Socialist-Labor movement in

Germany. In so far as this movement was and is domineered and steered by the pure-and-simplist *core* of the party and to the extent that the *core* itself is committed to its dogma of parliamentary action *overstressed* out of all proportion at the expense of *economic* class action, to that extent pure-and-simplism will keep on acting as a drag upon the economic initiative of the workers. It retards and hampers proletarian self action and nips in the bud any nascent tendency for effective *class* organization of the workers at the point of production. It gave them its narcotic in doses too strong, hammered into them too great an excess of perfervid, infantile reliance upon the parliamentary end of the class struggle. It trained them too long and too insistently to look to their political delegations for securing radical economic relief as well as for the final feat of overthrowing the capitalist system. This narcotic could not help dulling and lulling their militant class energy and their sense of class power.

The fact is, the German workers have been too busy in pre-election work and political agitation of the parliamentary type to attend properly to their own economic sphere of action. And then, the Social-Democratic workers carried their party colors too conspicuously. When they approach the inert masses of unorganized workers, they do it as *Social Democrats*, consciously or not. The odor of that pure-and-simplist drug is, therefore, enough to scare away those inert and benighted wage-slaves back into their "yellow" pens built for them by Jesuit fraud and lust for power, Protestant cant, or bourgeois cunning and bait.

On the one hand, the Social Democratic workers have been shrouded in the gray mist of pure-and-simplism. This has blurred their vision to such an extent that they cannot see or stir beyond the narrow bounds of tame trade-unionism. They still cling fondly to the myth that their political spokesmen in the Reichstag and other talk-shops, together with the Social Democrats in the councils of the municipalities will lead them out of bondage and blaze the trail to the Social Revolution. They still firmly hug the notion induced in them by the spells of pure-and-simplist hypnosis that radical economic reform of vital value to the proletarian masses can be had solely or mainly through talk-shop efforts. Finally,

they still take it for granted that they *cannot organize as a class* at the point of production and speed up their present craft-union jog-trot so as to reach out *even now*, through their own class initiative, for a larger share in the control of the industrial process itself.

On the other hand, the Social Democratic workers in Germany have give away to the Party all their initiative and directive power, all the social steerage of large masses, all control of revolutionary mass action. According to the terms of this compact, the Party is supposed to hold the class-conscious proletarian masses in a sort of leash, to hold back and rein in their impulses for action "until the masses can no longer be held." (See "Neue Zeit, 1911, Vol. I, p. 697), that is until the giant of labor snaps his chains without waiting for a nod from the pure-and-simplist general staff.

Then, the Social Democratic workers enjoy too much of a good thing and have too little of what pure-and-simplism considers bad than what is ultimately good for proletarian stomachs. The German proletariat has been for the last forty years, fed on "scientific" pap. Too much food, presumably "wholesome" according to the dietary rules of pure-and-simplism, was "scientifically" prepared, dressed, cooked, masticated, and predigested for the workers.

An excess of such food is more than a normal, self-acting alimentary canal and digestive system can stand for a long time without endangering its own efficiency. Then, there is altogether too much fuss in the Social Democracy itself. Our political comrades in Germany deliberate too much, study and write much, fritter away enormous amounts of time at party conventions and various parliamentary bodies. Again, the straight-jacket of discipline is buttoned

up too tight. They prate too profoundly, ponderously, and too much, of political sanity, self-control, legality, and other hoary, worn-out slogans and formulas.

The Party is overshy, shrinks in terror at the mere mention of mass action. It fears too much proletarian instinct. Pure-and-simplism dreads chicken-heartedly any effort involving experiment, a trial of strength, or seeking for new ways of action. But power and efficiency, the capacity for succesful action, are not godsend; they *must be developed* by the *sheer force of actually trying and doing things*. This development of power and initiative is unthinkable without the training afforded by actual trial and failure. In the field of social action it is just as true as in the case of muscular energy and craftsmanship that exercise develops power and practice makes the master. The true formula, or recipe, for success is simply this: try, stumble, and fail, but try again, profiting by your failure. Check off results; get wise by doing and ever doing again, grope and search and test, get a hold of things and try to shape them to your end.

A proletariat, no matter how class conscious, enlightened, well organized and disciplined, but doomed to everlasting calculation, theory, and interminable fuss of ever *getting* ready for action and never *ready* until all the "scientific" formulas for the action have been minutely worked out,—such a proletariat inevitably becomes stagnant, inefficient, and, for a long time, loses all creative power and initiative.

Such were the effects of pure-and-simplism on the German proletariat prior to and since 1900. With most of its guns trained on the talk-shop *end*, pure-and-simplism, when taken all in all, has proved its utter *sterility* in its own field and, as far as the *main* body of the class struggle is concerned, acted as a *wet blanket*.



DR. SUN AND CHINA

**Leading the Changing Chinese, the Political Rationalist,
Social Reformer, Utopia-Marxian Theorist, and Erstwhile
President, Favors a Modified State Socialism for His Republic.**

By J. Usang Ly, A. M.

DR. SUN YAT-SEN is too well known throughout the world to necessitate any reference more than a simple summary upon his life and work. Born in the village of Chin-shan, Heung-shan District, near Canton, in 1865, the year when the American Civil War closed with the passing of Abraham Lincoln; graduated as a medical student from a college in Hong-Kong, the background of his revolutionary force; priced at a quarter of a million dollars for his head by the Manchu Government, after his attempt to capture Canton for a starting point to overthrow the rotten dynasty in 1895 failed; trained in a world school then in military tactics, philosophy, politics and economics while he was traveling back and forth through the different continents and guiding once and again the uprising for the upheaval of China—he is now characterized as the Father of the greatest Republic on earth. His service, as he says, toward the happiness of mankind has just begun. He enables historians to sum up easily indeed his career for the present. His modesty, patriotism and single-heartedness are worthy of admiration and imitation. His earnestness for progress makes the whole body of Chinese social reform ferment and his unselfish suggestions cause the reformers to move onward. He is for universal peace. He is therefore holding a great object in view. It is about one of the means for his object that I shall now propose to begin a general survey.

Sometime after his retirement from the provisional presidency anxious inquirers have induced him to declare that he is to work for a social revolution. This revolution, however, needs no blood, as he already explained. What he really means by such

a revolution is the inauguration of socialism. His experience and education teach him to think about it even though he has been busying himself with his already thought-out enterprise. He reads books constantly. He has studied social conditions wherever he went. Mingled with all



Dr. Sun and Daughter

classes of people, he saw the social evils—plutocracy, disheartedness, pauperism, unemployment, luxurious waste, extreme poverty, and dreadful retrogression. His keenness of observation increased with his wisdom, courage and firmness. He has reasoned with Henry George, Edmond Belamy, Bacon, Darwin, James Stuart Mill, Locke, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Lassalle, Karl Marx and others when he was abroad, and with Confucius, Mencius, Wang An-Shi, Wang Li-Chow, when he was at home. Indeed, his interest in Socialism began years ago. Only because the obstacle—the Manchu Government—was still in the way, he must needs “get rid of it” first before he could come to talk about any further revolution or project.

His notion on Socialism is certainly not new at all to us students most of whom are now his ardent supporters. Early when Tung-Ming-Hui¹ was organized in the last decade, he already insisted that “Mang-Ts’uh,” “Mang-Chuen,” and “Mang-Sang” should compose its object, to overthrow the Manchu dynasty being the inevitable means. The first of these terms means “people’s integrity”; the second, “people’s power”; and the third, “people’s living.” He said then that the people might have easily secured their heaven-born integrity and power as soon as our revolution started, but they could never reasonably insure their demanded living without greater difficulty even though a republican form of government be established. He conveyed to our countrymen at the time the Socialist ideas under the last-quoted two words, perhaps, because he was in fear of a resort to anarchism which might have been very likely to follow his successful revolt the year before last, had he not foreseen and prevented it.

In order to avoid any misconception and undesirable consequence, the two words “people’s living” are still in use in spite of

the fact that whether by Socialism or by “people’s living policy” we practically mean the same thing. Hence, one part of the Kuo-Mang-Tang’s platform now reads: “That this party shall in accord with selective judgment, uphold and exercise the people’s living policy.”

According to his lectures, Dr. Sun has propounded Socialism in China as “Shay-kwei-choo-yee,” which, in English, may be defined as “the theory of Jen-taou or ‘humanity,’ which aims at equality, universal love and peace.” It needs the means of mutual aid; it demands the abolition of “Shay-kwei-keae-keip” or class system; and it tends to guarantee the balance of poverty and wealth, or in other words, “equal distribution.” Elsewhere he says that it is to equalize all the social constituents and to cut out all the existing social evils. “Therefore,” he advises us, “to study Socialism is to digest all the possible methods of reorganizing our society with all its economic problems solved.” How then, it may be asked, does he stand for Socialism?

State Socialism is precisely near to what Dr. Sun wants. Sometime last summer, during his sojourn at Shanghai, he came out on a platform to state very clearly his views on the subject, saying, Kuo-Kea-Shay-Kwei-Choo-Yee which, in English, means State Socialism. According to his conception, Socialism includes Communism, Collectivism, Nationalism and Anarchism, although each may be still sub-classified further. The first and the last, as he elucidates, are so closely related to each other that they may be grouped together under one name, Communism. Likewise, the second and the third may be spoken together as Collectivism. To him, Collectivism is to differentiate the social business and yet put it under the social control. For instance, the lands, railroads, tramways, electric light power, gasworks, waterworks, canals and forests must then be owned (and operated?) either by the central or municipal government. Collectivism is progressive, pacific, but not radical, and therefore expedient and easy for practice. The meaning of Communism, he acknowledges, is very well and “we, as intelligent beings, certainly hope for it.” But, “we can only remember it as an ideal. Together with the development of civilization, the morality of mankind will not be complete enough to substantiate it on earth after thousands of

1. Tung-Ming-Hui was the only well-directed, secret, revolutionary society of, by, and for the Chinese. It is now known as “Kuo-Mang-Tang,” or, in English, “The Citizens’ Party,” or “The Nationalist Party,” either of which has been universally understood. It is the National Progressive Party in China. As the strongest political organization in the country since the formation of our new government, it seems the real and hopeful machine of the changing Chinese in whom the world is interested now.

years shall have come." At that time people will be far better than we, even "in comparison with wisdom or faculty, character or conduct." They will take care of themselves. From his point of view, it is quite absurd to plan for them. We have our problems to solve and we must solve them ourselves at this generation. So he is trying to solve the problems of today only and is agitating what he thinks as the solutions.

In the Republic Dr. Sun did not make so many speeches on Socialism as Mr. Kiang Kang-Hoo², but his speeches have more weight upon the movement not only because he has long been prominent, but also because he has spoken so plainly that every hearer could understand him. On platform, as in conversation, he is brilliant, eloquent, persuasive, yet moderate, simple, firm, and very gentle. He conquers his audience always by appealing to their reason. He does not employ any indefinite, meaningless, literary terms to prey upon the unthinking persons. Those speeches he delivered in Shanghai under the auspices of "The Chinese Socialist" before the largest and most orderly public meeting ever held in China. These were epoch-making. He prepared his speeches for three consecutive days (October 14, 15 and 16, 1912) under one word "Socialism." Each speech lasted three hours. When the first speech was on, there were only fifteen hundred people present; when the second came, there were two thousand, and when the last one ended, there were about three thousand. Those speeches were then published, either partially or wholly, in the several daily papers and periodicals, while the leading points were telegraphed over the whole nation.

In his own words, his appeal for Socialism as once and again printed in the several leading journals is as follows:

2. In name, at least, Mr. Kiang should be regarded as the first practical promoter of Socialism in China. He started to talk about it at a public meeting in Shanghai in the summer of 1911. Then he ran a campaign himself. The following October he promoted an organization, "The Chinese Socialist," the branches of which, according to him, as its president, announced last September, were already about 300, and members, 300,000. Most of them are students and those who can read and write. Even some merchants support it.

" . . . I know that industrialism is necessary in China; the march of civilization is too insistent to be stayed, and it must come to China. We must develop our resources and the development of them provides food for serious thought. I want to avoid what seems to be the natural corollary of advanced modern capitalism—the unfair treatment of the toiler. And when I look around me for a solution I find none has yet been found by foreign countries. I find the ideal is Socialism, but it can not be applied because other countries have gone too far, and can not arrive at a point where capital and labor are able to evolve workable schemes for an equable division of the proceeds of labor and capital."

Indeed, as stated already herein, he foresees the greatest problem of his generation and has long been trying to answer the question: "What will follow if your revolution is successful?" If he had continued to be the Chief Executive in China instead of Yuen Shih-Kai, he would have now directed our unavoidable socio-economic revolution by peaceful means. "In this virgin country," he then said, "there is opportunity to begin rightly—and I am convinced that we should strive in every way to so meet the advance of industrialism that the worst features of it should be prevented from ever taking root. Therefore I advocate Socialism. And what do I mean by that? Not as has been declared in thoughtlessly antagonistic quarters, a redistribution of wealth (for that is absurd), but the introduction of a system whereby the providers of physical necessities will be able to derive mutual benefit upon a common ground of justice and fraternity. That, after all, is the definition of Socialism. I want to see the laborer obtain the full value of his hire and to see the Chinese work upon a co-operative plan so that in the new time coming we shall be able to build up a nation politically and industrially democratic as each unit depends upon the other, all living in a sense of mutual confidence and good will. The ideal is difficult to obtain, but one should strive for the ideal and so secure some improvement of the conditions now far from the wished-for state of perfection."

"By this system production would be enhanced, and advanced to the maximum, with a minimum of poverty and labor slavery. All men would have their proportion of the products of the wealth now awaiting development at their hands; they would reap the full fruit of their toil, secure favorable

conditions of labor, and obtain opportunity in leisure to think of other things than the daily grind in the mill or the mine. They would be able to cultivate the mind, have adequate recreation and procure the blessings which should be in all men's lives, but which, on the showing of other nations, are largely denied the worker and the poorer masses. A chance would be given to all in the race for livelihood and life, and the fullest measure of liberty should be provided. This is what I want to see. When I urge a Socialistic system, I urge a system which will create for the citizens a direct interest in the country that is theirs. I want to see them participate in the results of its productiveness."

To that extent he is for the people as individuals. He seems, however, to favor more definitely and strongly their collective interest. "I want to see, too," continued he, "that the state derives the fullest value from the sources of revenue which should be under its immediate control. I advocate state ownership of railways, tramways, electric light power, gasworks, waterworks, canals and forests. I want to see royalties coming to the state from mines and revenues from the land."

Here then his concrete socialistic schemes should attract more attention and even perhaps more criticism. To be plain, he told us that he has in mind three main sources of revenue for the state. "The first is land value taxation (not as a single tax), which is easy of introduction into China. Without going into details it may be said that the values of city and urban lands will be appraised on the simple plan of proposing the purchase. The owner will be asked to name his price and the value given will be that upon which a tax will be levied, the proviso being made that the government will be entitled to purchase at the price named from time to time, whenever it may need the particular piece of property."

"The second source of revenue will be from the railways. It is stated that in America the net earnings or income from railways—which now finds its way into private purses—are something like \$700,000,000 (gold)—more than sufficient for the purposes of state administrative expenses. In China we know that railways will pay, as they come directly into government control, the whole revenue will be available for government purposes."

"The third revenue is from mining royalties. These three sources are at hand, to a greater or less extent immediately, and other sources open for development are public utilities, such as waterworks, electric power, and gasworks, forestry, etc."

"The revenue derived from all these avenues will constitute a sum greatly in excess of what will be needed for state administration, and the balance may be used in the necessary work of education, and those more charitable but desirable objects such as old age pensions, the care of the lame, and the blind. We should look to the upbringing of our young citizens, and the care of the old and feeble."

If he were in power in our new government, or if the Yuen party were more unselfish and paid a little attention to the socio-economic problem other than that of perpetuating its own interest, the young republic would be much better off now even after two years. He seems rather disappointed with Yuen's administration and the faithfulness of many prominent men who have professed to support his policy. The best and easiest thing he can do for the realization of his good idea is, therefore, to wake up once more our general public. "Citizens of the New China," sounds he, "now employing the blessings of enlightened government, well rid of the oppression which kept them in bondage for centuries, face a golden, happy future. All that is needed is sensible co-operation."

Yet one must not think that he has therefore won it very far. Still he has, as he had, almost as many enemies as friends. Moreover, not all his friends are now supporting all his socialistic policies. Ever since he rose as a reform director, he has never, so far as I have learned, persuaded by force or by favoritism, any persons to come into "his camp and stick to his suggestions." Each follower is his or her own boss with a common end and a hearty, unwritten understanding. For this reason a lack of coherence seems prevailing now in his party. It is difficult for him to carry out his entire program as he formulates it. Considering that China is, in a sense, very young, he has comparatively competent, efficient and unusually talented lieutenants beside him. His colleague, Huang Hsing (or Wong Hing), certainly stands as an able, strong general; and another, Sung Chiao-jen seems more constructive, direc-

tive, and far-sighted as a statesman. However, Huang himself must look after the party in political battlefields and Sung died March 23, last subsequent to assassination by an employe of his political foe. As a matter of fact consequently, no permanent, effective or regular campaign for the Socialist cause can be undergone. Again, unlike Yuen Shih-Kai, who is the son of a noble family, and who has been a councilman, a military chief, a viceroy, and a cabinet officer before ascending to the presidency, Dr. Sun looks rather small to some Chinese citizens. Often they criticize or satirize him as a theorist, an idealist, an opportunist and a prophet and they do not analyze his principles, nor supplement his proposals. Another thing that must be noted is the long beloved Chinese literature. Because he has not grown up as a literalist, and because he does not try to be one, he seems not to have convinced thoroughly the so-called scholars or literati whose influence upon our society cannot be measured. Logically viewing, therefore, we can not expect his success on Socialism too soon.

The success or failure of his several policies will primarily depend upon his own party, Kuo-Mang-Tang. It is powerful in politics, extensive in influence, and rich in resources. Dozens of newspapers, magazines, banks, and other promising industrial associations support it. Almost all the up-to-date merchants at home or abroad belong to it. A majority of the young students here and there are joining it. Thirteen out of the twenty-two provincial governors are its members. Thirteen or more local legislatures are therefore under its control. Besides, there a large number of

votes in the new, permanent congress which was opened on the eighteenth of April this year to vote for its principles. In comparison to the extent of power, its members stand in the congress practically the same as before although the Yuen's régime is trying to persuade the other parties to unite together, to oppose and yet "to buy them over." The following figures, according to recent reports, may give us the truth and serve some purpose to our readers:

Members—	Senate	House	Congress
Nationalists (Sun).....	150	296	446
Republicans (Li-Yuan-Hung)...	70	140	210
Political Unionists (Yuen)...	30	90	120
Democrats (Kang-Liang).....	14	50	64
Independents	10	20	30
Total	274	596	870

These facts being presented, all that Dr. Sun must and will do, and is able to do or not, for State Socialism, remains for our readers to guess, to see, and to judge. General Sung having been assassinated, his party in danger of "splitting out," the other parties held together by the Yuen régime in attempting to form a dictatorship and to defeat the original idea of the real republicans, he cut short his planned around-the-world trip, hurried back from Japan to Shanghai, postponed his projected railway extension, and resumed the leadership of his party. He had recently to declare himself to be, and is today the candidate for the President of the Republic of China in opposition to Yuen Shih-Kai. While the presidential campaign is now going on, is it not interesting for those world-wide political spectators to watch its outcome?

J. USANG LY.

A Chinese Student at Columbia University.



EDITORIAL

The Paterson Strike

After a twenty-two-week display of the most wonderful solidarity ever shown in the United States, the Paterson strikers have gone back to work. They have gained a shorter workday and a militant organization that will put them in a far better position in the next battle.

Many of the demands of the strikers were not granted by the manufacturers, although it is acknowledged by all authorities that they would have gained all they fought for, in spite of every odd, if they had been engaged in the production of one of the necessities of life. Perhaps some day, when another tool of the National Manufacturers' Association turns state's evidence, we will know the true inside story of the Paterson struggle. It is certain that manufacturers stood together to withstand the strikers in an unprecedented manner, and doubtless the whole strength of the capitalist class was organized behind the scenes to aid the silk manufacturers and defeat the I. W. W.

The Paterson (N. J.) *Press*, a constant and violent enemy of the strikers, has the following to say about the strike:

The strike has had one remarkable feature which the people of Paterson will never forget. It is, that although many thousand workers stayed away from the mills for five months, not only was there practically no violence, but the rank and file of the strikers behaved themselves during a trying time in a manner that entitled them to admiration. The *Press* believes that this phase of the great strike of 1913 stands without a parallel in this or any other country.

The truth of the matter, in the judgment of *The Globe*, is that not the strikers, but the officials of Paterson, are the lawless ones, and it continues:

Paterson is afflicted with anarchistic administration officers and with a judge and a public prosecutor who recall Jeffreys and his hanging-assistant. These stupid and wicked persons, when the strike began, thought to suppress it by breaking up peaceable meetings and preventing free speech and by mak-

ing arbitrary arrests. The result has been the struggle has lasted five months and the estimated cost to the city is \$5,000,000. As often as it was about to collapse the public authorities started it up again. . . . Is it strange that the workers of Paterson are bitter of heart?

Lawlessness does not pay. It does not pay labor organizations, as they have discovered, and hence the advice of Haywood to his pickets, "Keep your hands in your pockets!" Lawlessness does not pay in public officers, as Paterson's five months of purgatory abundantly prove.

Strikers declare that only the first part of the strike is over, as they mean to return to the silk mills with the full intention of cutting down their output, since they were unable to increase their actual wages. In other words, wages are to remain the same for a smaller product.

Meanwhile election time in Paterson is drawing near and the municipal officials are suffering anticipatory chills in the fear that the strikers will punish their enemies and vote their own comrades into office. Mayor William Brueckman, of Haledon, has given the Paterson workers a splendid example of how Socialists in office can practically serve the working class in their struggles against wage slavery.

If the Socialists in Paterson understand that they can offer the workers of that city actual help in times of trouble, and if they will discard the reformist junk that a Milwaukee administration would offer in such a crisis, they may have a good opportunity of carrying out their program.

But we Socialists must remember that, even if we had been in possession of the entire state and municipal government, we would have been unable to raise the wages of the Paterson strikers as long as the silk manufacturers OWNED the mills and capitalism endured. But Socialists in office can turn the clubs of policemen against the employing class

instead of against the workers; they can render decisions against capitalist conspirators and anarchists and protect strike pickets. In other words, their only excuse for holding office would be to **HELP THE WORKERS IN THE CLASS WAR.**

Long ago Haywood said, "It is almost impossible for a small group of workers to win against the capitalist CLASS. This is why we advocate the **GENERAL STRIKE.**" From now on we predict that it will be more difficult to win class conscious strikes in America, for the employing class is learning to make the battle of one small group of capitalists

the business of ALL capitalists. In Paterson unheard of efforts were made to defeat the strikers. The capitalists stood together as one man.

^ The Paterson strike taught the workers from many lands the class character of all existing social institutions. It taught them that there are only **TWO** great nations—capitalist and working class—and that the interests of all workers lie in abolishing the Profit System. Every struggle of this kind adds thousands of revolutionists to the ever growing army that will be satisfied with nothing less than the final triumph of the working class.
M. E. M.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Amazing Advances. The fact that Socialism stands almost alone against war and in favor of the democratic ballot might lead one to expect a rapid growth of the movement. But what has been happening during the past two months goes way beyond any natural expectations. Of course, the magnificent increase achieved in the Prussian parliamentary elections is still fresh in every Socialist's mind. Since then our German comrades have gained a seat in the Reichstag, raising their group to 111. Even England has good news. Comrade E. R. Hartley got a large vote, 2,580, in a by-election at Leicester. This result was attained in spite of the opposition of the Labor Party. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of this party, holds the second seat for Leicester, and according to the Liberal-Labor agreement, no Labor candidate was put up. Labor Party adherents were given to understand that they owed their votes to the Liberal rather than to the candidate of the British Socialist Party. Comrade Hartley made a straight Socialist fight, and his fine vote shows that there must be in England a large number of workers who can distinguish between a real Socialist and a Liberal.

But it is in Holland and Denmark that the most interesting things have hap-

pened. In both these countries recent elections have placed the Socialists in a position which has made it necessary for them to consider the desirability of accepting cabinet positions. In both countries the Socialists now constitute the largest parties. In both, however, they refused to depart from the established rule with regard to accepting positions in governments controlled by their adversaries.

Denmark. In the recent election to the Folkething our Danish comrades gained 10,000 votes and 8 seats. Their vote was 107,000, as compared with 100,000 for the party of Moderate Left. This gives them practically thirty per cent of the total vote. Since no party had a majority, either of the votes or of the parliamentary seats, the King naturally asked the leader of the Socialist group whether he and his colleagues would agree to assist in forming a cabinet and share the responsibility of government. The circumstances were such that the opportunity was peculiarly tempting. If ever Socialists are justified in accepting cabinet positions, our Danish comrades would have been justified in doing so.

Like Hungary, Prussia, Belgium and many other European states, Denmark is struggling for a new electoral system. At present the Danish parliament con-

sists of two chambers. The 114 members of the lower house, the Folkething, are elected by all males over thirty years of age. The upper chamber, the Lands-thing, is made up of 66 members chosen in a very complicated way. The king names 12, all voters over thirty years of age elect 27, and voters paying a certain amount of taxes choose the remaining 27. This beautiful system works so well that although the Socialists at the last election cast one-third of the ballots they have only four representatives among the 66 who constitute the Landsting at the present time.

For many years our Danish comrades have been fighting hard for equal suffrage for all men and women over twenty-five years of age. In October, 1912, the government, made up of the Party of the Left, brought in a bill providing for equal suffrage, but maintaining the present two-chamber system. The Socialists presented another bill providing for a one-chamber system. When their own bill was lost the Socialists gave their support to the government measure. It was on this issue that the parties went before the country in the last election.

The issue was as fundamental as any purely political one can be. At first the Party of the Left refused to accept the responsibilities of government on the plea that it was a minority party and not even the largest of the minority parties. Under these circumstances the Socialists might well have found excuses for taking over the government at least until a suffrage reform law had been passed. But our Danish comrades at no time went further than to promise that under certain circumstances they would call a party congress and so put the matter before the membership. Again and again they reiterated the Socialist principle that Socialists cannot logically take over the responsibilities of government without having a clear majority of the voters behind them. There cannot be Socialism before the people want Socialism; and Socialists stand for Socialism, not something else.

Finally the Radical Left Party, the third in point of size, agreed to form a government provided the Socialists would support it until the suffrage bill was put

through. This agreement was made. The Socialist group, however, made it clear in their formal statement that the agreement includes only the coöperation necessary to the passage of one bill. In regard to all other measures the Socialists stand alone.

Holland. The situation in Holland was almost identical with that in Denmark, and the result exactly the same. The victory of our Dutch comrades in the election of June 17 was one of the most astonishing ever recorded. The following figures, taken from an article by Comrade Wibaut in *Die Neue Zeit*, give a graphic picture of the growth of Socialism in Holland: In 1897 the vote was 14,751; in 1901, 39,338; in 1905, 65,664; in 1909, 82,820; in 1913, 144,375. This means an increase of more than 74 per cent in the last four years. Another encouraging element in the situation, according to the analysis of Comrade Wibaut, is the fact that the Socialist vote has increased most rapidly in the large industrial centers. In the four great cities of the kingdom the Socialist vote was approximately 11 per cent in 1901; in the recent election it was nearly 33 per cent. In the agrarian districts the increase has been much less rapid.

In Holland, as in Denmark, the Socialists are leading a fight for electoral reform. The upper house of the Dutch parliament, while its powers are very limited, is, under the present system, a mighty weapon in the hands of the reactionists. The Socialists have fought during many years for equal suffrage of all men and women; the various groups of Liberals have fought for equal suffrage for all men. The Socialists have also fought for an old age pension without any strings to it, a pension which should go to all the aged without their having contributed toward the fund out of which it is paid.

The election of June 17 gave the various Conservatives 45 seats, the Liberal groups 37, and the Socialists 18. No party had a clear majority, but it was clear that the majority of the voters were in favor of electoral reform. So the Queen asked the Liberals to form a government with the assistance of the Socialists. Comrade Troelstra was asked to take a place in the cabinet and designate

two other Socialists to whom places would be given. At first the Socialists considered calling a party congress to take up the matter, but finally they decided to stick to party precedent and refuse the offer without calling the congress.

The motives which actuated the Dutch Socialists are explained in a statement which Comrade Troelstra gave to the press before the matter came to a crisis. He said in part: "The experiences with Millerand in France shall be a warning to us. If Socialists enter the ministry, Conservatives and Clericals will surely attempt to bring about a division in the Socialist ranks by forcing the government into some situation that will necessitate calling out the army. The result will be nothing less than a new reaction."

Incidentally, the election returns throw some light on the prospects of the ultra-Marxist organization, the Social Democratic Party, formed some four years ago. This group has carried on a very vigorous campaign and has naturally expected to draw a considerable following in the larger cities. At the recent election it put up candidates in 18 out of the 100 election districts. The result can hardly be called encouraging. Four years ago the S. D. P. candidates got 542 votes; on June 17, the 18 candidates together got 1,340. On the contrary, the avowed Marxists within the old party stood high in the election returns. The result cannot, therefore, be interpreted as a setback for Marxism; it may, however, be interpreted as a reproof of dual-partyism.

The Australian Election. The enemies of the Australian Laborites call them Socialists and confiscationists. If they were really what they are called, Socialists might find cause for regret in the federal elections held on May 31. As a result of their victory three years ago the Laborites, under the leadership of Mr. Fisher, have had control of the government since then. They have had a working majority in the house and senate. So far as the federal constitution permitted, they have been free to work out their policies.

In the main it cannot be said that they have differentiated themselves from the average Liberal party of Europe. If the

working-class of Australia were really awake to its own interests it would not long endure any party which left on the statute books such legislation as the Disputes Act and the Defense Act. The enforcement of these laws by the Labor ministry cannot by any stretch of imagination be interpreted as in the interests of the workers. And when the workers went on strike they never found that they had friends at the national capital.

The schemes looking toward government ownership or control of industry and commerce had to wait for the passage of a series of referenda amending the constitution. This practically means that the Labor Party had to say to the people of Australia: "The things we were elected to do we cannot do under the present constitution; amend the constitution and reelect us and then we will do something for you."

Australia has the finest electoral system in the world so far as the actual recording the will of the voters is concerned. The vote by mail gives practically everyone a chance to vote in his home precinct. This arrangement, however, makes the tabulation of the vote a very slow matter. It was not until June 25 that final figures were available for the election held on May 31. This is why we had so many conflicting reports about the results. In the lower house, as it has been constituted during the past three years, the Labor Party has controlled 41 seats, while the Liberals have held 32; as a result of the recent election Laborite representation has been reduced to 37, while the Liberal group has grown to 38. All the referenda inaugurated by the Labor Party were defeated by substantial majorities. The Labor Party still controls the senate, however, and is therefore in a position to make endless trouble for its opponent. The Liberals, under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Cook, have formed a government, but they can do nothing without the consent of the Labor senators. If these latter were really the Socialists and confiscationists they are represented to be, they could have a merry time of it.

The Socialists of both factions put up candidates in various constituencies and carried on an active campaign. In some

SCIENTIFIC EATING

I have purchased a page in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to tell Socialists and other thinking people about what I believe to be the greatest reform of modern times.

Let us suppose that we knew as little about the material that goes into our houses, ships and machinery as we do about the material that constructs our bodies; suppose men gave as little thought to selecting and combining the material that builds an automobile as they do to selecting and combining the material that builds their bodies. What do you think the result would be?

Did it ever occur to you that nearly every pursuit followed by man has been reduced to a science except feeding his body? He still eats haphazard and at random. The most important thing in his life is guessed at.

It is estimated by the world's highest authorities that a fraction over 90 per cent of all human disease originates in the stomach and is caused by wrong eating.

Is it any wonder that people are sick, weak, have fermentation, gas, liver trouble, heart trouble, nervousness, constipation, are too fat, too thin, and sick half the time when they know almost nothing about the science of eating, when they guess at the material that makes their very blood, bone and brain. Is it any wonder that people have rheumatism, gout, lumbago, Bright's disease, tumors, cyst cancers, and eczema; that their eyesight, hearing and teeth all go to the bad before they are 30, when they eat combinations of food every day that makes disease instead of health? *These are the reasons why man is only 51 per cent efficient and lives an average of only thirty-nine years.*

Don't you think these conditions can be improved?

Don't you think there is room for improvement?

Don't you think that science is doing precious little for the human race, if it can't show man how to overcome these mistakes?

I am teaching people how to select; how to combine and how to proportion their diet so as to produce perfect digestion of food, and perfect elimination of waste. This removes the causes of disease—this is Nature's way of curing.

Wrong eating is the cause of all stomach trouble. Right eating then is the logical, the only cure.

I am teaching people how to eat according to their age, their work and the time of the year. I am teaching them how to raise themselves mentally and physically up to 100 per cent efficiency. This can be done; it is *being done* every day. It is clearly within the scope of modern science. The government teaches farmers how to feed cattle and hogs, so as to make them healthy. I am performing this service for people. Granting then that I can do this, it is no exaggeration to say that it is the "greatest of all reforms."

I have incorporated this knowledge into a system of lessons, written in *plain language*. These lessons teach the art of correct diagnosis of all stomach, intestinal and sympathetic trouble, and the science of curing *by removing causes*.

Some twenty years I have been studying the question of scientific eating both in this country and abroad, and have treated in all, something over twenty thousand people. From this field of experience I have discovered some fundamental truths about the therapeutic value of food that every thinking man and woman ought to know.

Drop me a card and I will send you my little book, "Scientific Eating," which explains my system of teaching by correspondence.

EUGENE CHRISTIAN, F.S.D., 213 W. 79th Street, New York

places, notably in Broken Hill, they got a good vote. Of course, the division into two parties is most unfortunate. And to add to the difficulties of Socialist propaganda, a good many revolutionary workers keep up a constant anti-political-action campaign. The editor of the Melbourne *Socialist* is probably right when he says that the only hope of the Australian working-class lies in the breaking up of the influence of the middle class. The process of industrial evolution, he shows, is rapidly reducing the numbers of this class; it remains for Socialist agitation to diminish the influence of its thought on the workers. When this process has gone on a pace there can emerge a Socialist party which is something more than an agitation club, a Labor party which really represents the working-class.

The Germans and the General Strike. The great Belgian strike for suffrage reform has forced our German comrades a step forward in the consideration of the

methods to be used in the struggle for a new electoral law in Prussia. Is the general strike the next logical step? Is the German working-class ready for such a strike? Or, on the other hand, has the day of the general strike gone by? Or if not the general strike, what weapon is to be used? Petitions, meetings, street demonstrations, etc., have been tried. They have had a tremendous effect on the public, but they have hardly touched the government. What is to be done now?

All these matters are being discussed in *Vorwaerts*, *Neue Zeit* and the scores of other German working-class journals. The German labor movement is undergoing a period of self-examination. It is trying to make up its mind just what its great organizations are worth when it comes to a real fight. The various conclusions which are being reached cannot be discussed in our present number, but REVIEW readers may be sure of having some report of them in the near future.

Just
Out

THE TRIAL OF A NEW SOCIETY

-By-
Justus
Ebert

IN this book Fellow-Worker Ebert gives the best exposition of the constructive and social philosophy of the I. W. W., that has yet appeared in print. It is not a work of fiction nor of speculation, but a matter-of-fact, practical treatment of recent phases of the industrial, social and political life, as revealed by the great textile strike at Lawrence, Mass., and the trials of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso growing out of same.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



A GROUP OF SEATTLE REDS

Seattle Picnic.—On June 22d the Socialists of Seattle gave a picnic that was an unqualified success. The picture we reproduce here is of the reception committee—eleven reds. Comrade Bostrom, state secretary of Washington, headed the Red Flag Grand March. More luck to the Seattle Socialists.

Goldfield Local Objects.—The following resolution was received from Local Goldfield: Whereas the N. C. of the S. P. has initiated a referendum to increase the salary of the National Secretary, and whereas we believe the present salary ample under the present condition of the party's finances, we hereby enter our protest against the increase and we further resolve that whereas the National Committee selected Victor L. Berger as additional delegate to the International Congress with all expenses paid, thereby adding an additional expense on the party, we hereby enter our emphatic protest and ask an immediate revokal of said action. A copy of these resolutions to be sent to the *New York Call*, *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* and other papers. Chris Dutler, recording secretary, Pro Tem, Goldfield, Nevada.

Oklahoma Hustlers.—Comrades Harvey, Crain and Hoffman of Muskogee, are going to start things moving at the S. P. headquarters where the office of the emancipator is located. They are ordering bundles of the *REVIEW* and intend to start on a literature campaign. Watch them grow in Muskogee!

In Utah.—"From the working class viewpoint your magazine is the acme of perfection, combining and embracing both the political and industrial forces. Here in Utah Capitalism is supreme. Socialist speakers are denied the use of public buildings. To be a Socialist in a Utah coal camp is to be jobless if a miner; if you are a rancher it means your products will be boycotted."—From Comrade Ferron.

Colville Denounces Investigation.—Whereas, *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* in its issue of July, 1913, under the heading, "The Hatfield Whitewash," and in other articles written by men whom we have every reason to believe are trustworthy and reliable, did publish sufficient evidence to prove Comrade Turner and others were right in their condemnation of Gov. Hatfield; and,

Whereas, Comrades Debs, Germer and

Berger of the Socialist Investigation Committee, sent to investigate the Russianized state of West Virginia, do eulogize and hold this monster Hatfield up to the working class as a friend of labor, and that they trust and believe in him thus giving Hatfield and the class of pirates to which he belongs much satisfaction; and placing Comrades Turner, Thompson, Boswell, Merrick, Mother Jones, and the Socialist and labor press in the category of liars and fakers, and

Whereas, We believe that Comrade Turner wrote nothing for publication, but what he could prove to be the absolute truth, and we hereby express our full confidence in Comrade Turner, and we believe that Comrade Warren of the Appeal would not allow the columns of the Appeal to be used for the publication of matter that could not be fully substantiated and proven; and,

Whereas, Various unions of the U. M. W. A., have since the whitewashing of Hatfield by the Socialist Investigating Committee, declared and condemned Hatfield as an arch enemy of the working class; Therefore, be it

Resolved, That Local Colville, Wash., Socialist party hereby goes on record as disapproving the report of the Socialist Investigating Committee, and that we condemn the conduct and utterances of Debs, Germer and Berger as unbecoming Socialists. And further, we condemn their attitude towards Hatfield as traitorous to the Socialist and Labor Movement, and the working class in general, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the *Appeal to Reason*, THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, *The Social Democratic Herald*, *The Commonwealth*, and *The Party Builder* for publication.

Passed unanimously by Local Colville, Wash., Socialist party, in regular session, Monday, July 14, 1913.—R. S. Wiltse, chairman; B. W. Brand, secretary.

Boats Tied Up.—The strikers on the ore docks at Superior and Duluth, Minn., have all the boats tied up at these points. The men struck when it was found that the docks were unsafe. Three members of the working crews were killed on the night of July 31st, and the night gangs walked off declaring they refused to be sacrificed to the greed of the bosses. Members of the I. W. W. got on the job and tied up the work completely. One of the demands is that the workers shall be permitted to select a man on each shift to give the proper signals for the transmission of trains and that blue lights be placed on the ends of trains to protect the workers. July 6th, F. H. Little held another of his rousing meetings. The bosses determined to get rid of him. When he went to change cars from Superior to Duluth a bunch of gunmen attacked and forced him into an auto. He was taken twenty-six miles outside of Duluth and held all night. In the morning Little attempted to get the people of Holyoak to assist him to escape, but his captors informed the crowd that they were deputies and had Oregon extradition papers for Little. On the 9th the Duluth boys organized a rescue party headed by Gus Ericson. We found the city officials unwilling to interfere. The house in which Little was incarcerated was surrounded. The guards fired at us, but when we sent for the sheriff of Carleton county, Little was permitted to make good his escape.

Socialist Playing Cards a Hit.—Dear Comrades: Received my order of twelve packs of Socialist Playing Cards the 18th, and had no trouble getting rid of them. So with this you will find a \$2.00 money order for which please send me some more. Would like to get them here by Friday if possible. The comrades are holding a picnic Saturday the 26th. Please give me your information and favor of an agency on them. I consider them great propaganda.—A. H. Z., Beverly, Mass.



Six Minnesota Reds. (Left to right) Three Members Y. P. E. S. C.; Tom Lewis (center); Comrades Hartin and Draper, Editor Minn. Socialist.

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Yours very truly

ANDREW EGGENBERGER.



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The Lesson of Lima, Ohio

LOCAL Lima, Ohio, previous to the nomination and election of 1911 was but a reflection of the membership of the party both locally and nationally, and when we stop to think, we can see in the mayor which the local party elected only a reflection of the local organization.

The mayor was elected, not by a class vote, but by the organization carrying on a personal (good man) campaign in which the candidate for mayor and some of the other candidates used personal cards, etc., with the sole idea of getting votes for themselves thereby forgetting that they must teach the gospel of economic discontent.

In this connection, an incident which occurred will show the trend of thought prevailing at that time. At a regular meeting of the local a candidate was selected for delegate to the Constitution Convention of Ohio whose duty was, if elected, to help draft a new constitution for Ohio, but who was later withdrawn and some of the members circulated a petition for a man who was not a member of the party. He was not formally endorsed by the organization, but was tentatively endorsed without official action.

After the election, the mayor refused to turn the authority to appoint about twenty city officials which authority was gained by virtue of his election as mayor to the local, or to co-operate in any way with the organization in making the appointments, and proceeded to make all the appointments according to his own ideas, irrespective of the local, or the political affiliations of the appointees. He appointed nine members of the socialist local, and the other appointees were members of the capitalist parties. Five of the appointees were expelled from the local for accepting appointments, and four were loyal to the Socialist party and the local organization. In this connection wish to emphasize the fact that the two Socialist councilmen who were elected re-

mained loyal to the organization and have carried out the instructions of the local to the letter in every instance, and have succeeded in putting the old party politicians in some very unpleasant positions, and put them on record time after time.

The straw that broke the camel's back was placed when the mayor appointed the president of the Progressive Association, an organization of business men, which is affiliated with the National Association of Manufacturers, as his public service director and in every way opposed to the economic interest of the working class.

If the organization known as the Socialist party is to remain a working class organization the power to appoint officials to office must vest in the organization and not in the elected candidate.

The oppression of the capitalist class will compel the workers to take this position as the class lines become more tightly drawn and the workers naturally become more revolutionary and the organization then becomes revolutionary in proportion to their intelligence and knowledge gained from their daily struggle with the master class, the owners of the means to produce the means of life.

In conclusion, we desire to point out that other locals will have the experiences of local Lima unless the bona-fide working class is in absolute control of the organization, and they put up bona-fide workers for political office who are class conscious. The workers are in absolute control of local Lima and every candidate is a bona-fide wage worker on the municipal ticket this fall.

E. O. MCPHERRON, Secretary.

Adopted by Local Lima in regular session, August 10th; forty-six members in good standing.

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GUSTAVUS MYERS

The author of the "History of the Great American Fortunes" and the "History of the Supreme Court" writes on the

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The Status of the Negro in the United States
By Mary W. Ovington

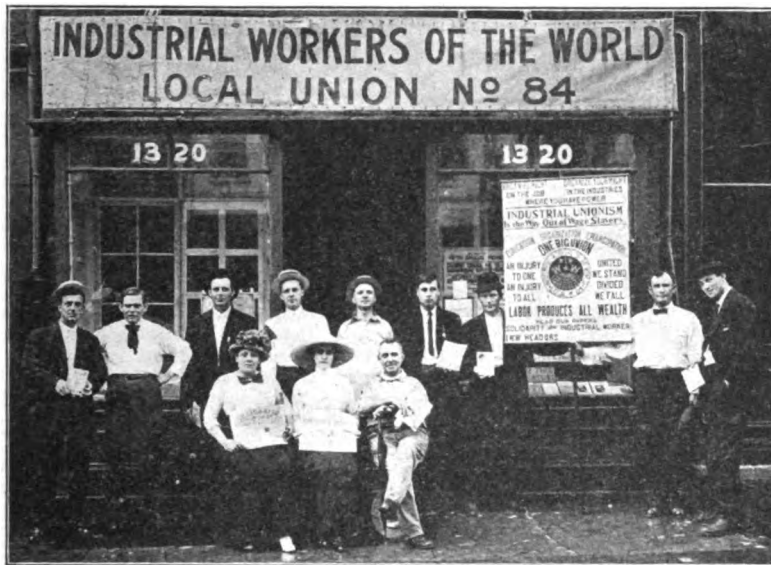
The Woman Suffrage Movement in England
By Theodore Rothstein

Russia and China
By M. Pavlovitch

The Problem of Knowledge
By Paul Lafargue

The Social Significance of Futurism
By Louis C. Fraina

and other articles of equal importance



HEADQUARTERS LOCAL 84, I. W. W., ST. LOUIS, MO.

THE *Plebs Magazine*, published by the Central Labor College, of England, says editorially, referring to the demise of The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the General Railway Workers' Union and the Pointsmen's Association, and their organization into an industrial union of nearly 200,000 members.

"There is no danger in going forward. There is danger only in standing still, or rather in falling backward, for in reality there can be no standing still. . . .

"It is well known how even in the history of craft unionism, when the militant spirit arose, when demands were being formulated and preparations for war made, there accompanied these activities a great increase in the numerical strength of the organization. But when this aggressive mood and forward movement waned owing to the weakness of craft weapons and tactics, and the narrow craft consciousness which is the mental companion of the craft practice, when the hands of the organization became tied behind its back with the cords of a five or ten years' contract, then the outgoing superseded the incoming. The active mood can alone build up the tissue of solidarity. And this active and aggressive spirit can no longer find its basis in the craft-union. . . .

"What reason is there for a workman joining a union? That he may secure and extend his egotistic wants! This he cannot do individually. Just as the production of those things that meet his wants is not the result of an individual act but of mass-action, so the ability to secure the return of these products to adequately satisfy the wants of the indi-

vidual workman depends also upon the mass-action.

"The National Union of Railwaymen is not synonymous with the Social Revolution, but it certainly brings the means nearer to that end. Only people for whom the Social Revolution is merely a phrase will sneer at the coming into being of such an organization.

"The development of organization of workers on the basis of industry instead of on the basis of craft, makes for the extension of the sphere of mass action. The division of labor in the workshop so far as the hand craftsmen is concerned, has been effaced by the progress of machinery. The craft ceases to be a reality in production. In the degree that this development takes place the craft-union becomes more ineffective. It becomes ever more possible for men to pass from one division to another within an industry after quite a short period of training. The growing recognition of this experience leads to the shifting of the base of working-class organization from that of the craft to the industry. This means that a blacksmith working upon the railway would belong to the organization of railway workers; not to the blacksmiths' craft-organization. Similarly with an engineer or any other artisan.

"If the only justification for joining an organization be, as we have already stated, the necessity of satisfying the individual wants, then the particular organization which he is to join can only be reasonably determined by which is the more effective for securing such satisfaction. On that determination the blacksmith employed upon the railway will join the National Union of Railwaymen. It so happens that many of these artisans employed upon the railways are working below the

standard wage recognized by the craft-organization. As a consequence they are not allowed to join the latter. They are thus made non-unionist by craft-unionism.

"What could the craft-organization of blacksmiths do to secure the standard wage for those employed upon the railways? They might call out their members on strike. But that would not be likely to move the railway companies, who after all employ a small number of blacksmiths in comparison with those employed outside the railway shops. On the other hand, the withdrawal from work of the members of the National Union of Railwaymen *would* affect the railway companies very profoundly and would be more likely to effect success in the direction indicated than would the efforts of the craft-organization of blacksmiths.

"The opening of the National Union of Railwaymen to such workers as those referred to, means, of course, a decrease in contributions to the various craft-organizations as well as shutting the door to a possible increase in the contributions. And that is the sore point with some of the officials of these organizations, who look upon the union above all else as a dues-paying machine, and who therefore look unfavorably upon aggressive policies as means to deplete the money-chest. But the point of view of the man who pays the dues is the point of view that matters. And if he joins a union to advance his interests and apprehends that this can be realized only through effective fighting weapons, then he will take up his place in the industrial union. It has fallen to the lot of the National Union of Railwaymen to initiate this new principle. And they will succeed. They will succeed not only in organizing industrially those employed upon the railways irrespective of grade, but they will compel the other organizations in other industries to go and do likewise."—*The Plebs*.

Bauer Replies: The July number of the REVIEW contains an unsigned article headed "Conspiracy and Street-Speaking," part of which is a serious reflection upon the undersigned.

I am not in the habit of rushing into print in my own defense and would not do so now were the insinuation intended to be conferred by the writer, not of the gravest nature. I have been a due-paying member of Socialist organizations (the S. L. P. and the S. P.) continuously since 1894, and fearing that my friends throughout the United States will not see the resolution passed by Local San Diego, in re-

gard the libel, I ask you in justice to yourself and me, to give the same publicity to this statement, as was accorded the unwarrantable libel on me.

"It is singular," to quote from the article, "that Kaspar Bauer, who *confessed* to having held 150 street meetings, should have been acquitted." The inference to be drawn from that statement is, that, first, a confession was necessary to establish the fact that such meetings were held; with all that a confession to the police implies; second, that for said confession and other statements, damaging to the other defendants, I received my reward in the nature of an acquittal. It should be unnecessary to state that having spoken on the San Diego streets for more than two years, on an average, twice a week, to audiences more or less large, with police in the crowd always, it needed no confession to connect me with street agitation.

To quote further: "It is reported that Bauer had a conversation with Captain Schon, about a week after his arrest——Schon testified regarding his conversation with Bauer"——Then here comes a page from the reporter's transcript, stating substantially that I admitted being a member of the Free-Speech League; that Kirk and M'Kee were also members, as was Mrs. Emerson; that there were others whose names I could not recall, but whose names were on the book of the Free-Speech League; that the league intended that only a few men should be arrested and that the thing had gotten away from us."

Now, while the above is the testimony of Captain Schon and not mine, I freely admit the correctness of it. But here are the facts regarding my conversation with Captain Schon:

At the time when this conversation occurred, I was under arrest. The police were looking for a flaw in my naturalization papers for a pretext for deportation. They could not make good on that score. Then they tried their natural method of bluff, wherein they also failed. The interview, from which I could not absent myself, owing to the fact that I was in the police station, under arrest, finally calmed down. I had nothing to hide; I was proud of everything I had done, and I was willing to take anything in the way of punishment, my comrades would have to take. Was I going to deny a matter of common knowledge, that I was a member of the Free-Speech League? Not on your life! Nor was I there to deny anything.

Supposing William D. Haywood was to deny he was an I. W. W. It would be a joke.

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M. D. BETTS, Apt. 201, Jackson, Michigan.



Everybody would have laughed in San Diego and held in scorn, a man, who, like myself, was in the thick of the fight and denied that he was a member of the Free-Speech League. Besides, it would have been silly.

The meetings of the executive committee of the Free-Speech League were held, nearly always, in Attorney Kirk's office. Mr. Kirk, for reasons best known to himself, had reporters from some of the papers, at most of these meetings, and when he did not, he saw to it, that the dailies were informed of the meetings and of the deliberations of the League. Nothing was ever thought of that. We thought we were right, and we didn't care who knew what we were doing. We were not conspirators in our own minds. It was only conspiracy within the meaning of the law and we did not know it at the time we held those meetings.

At one of our meetings we elected a bail committee. Harry M'Kee was on that committee. Subsequently, Mr. K'Kee waited on Captain Sehon, whom he knew well, and told him that he was on a "bail" committee of the Free-Speech League, and would not Mr. Sehon be willing to go the bail of some of the men to be arrested at some future date? Now, if anyone would choose to accuse Mr. M'Kee of willfully furnishing "primary evidence" to convict the rest of us, I would strenuously protest. Mr. M'Kee and the rest of us thought it was a good joke at the time. We were all open and above board, the whole city knew what we were doing, and knew our intentions. The M'Kee-Sehon incident is also part of the testimony in the reporter's transcript.

At no time were any of the members of the Free-Speech League advised by their attorneys to make a secret of anything or of any meeting, or who were members of the league. We boasted of the righteousness of our cause, the openness of our meetings and the sincerity of our purpose.

Nor should it be forgotten that Mrs. Emerson, one of the best-hated of the radical I. W. W. speakers, was also acquitted, as were other I. W. W.'s.

In conclusion, I wish to say, that in my opinion, a police informer is about the lowest specimen of a Socialist imaginable. There is no room in the labor movement if once he or she is known. There should not be any room for them. Neither should the journals of such a movement be used by any one to make such a charge, by inuendo. If there is ground for the allegations, summary trial should dispose of the member forever. If there is not, the damage done can scarcely ever be undone. I value the many friends I have in the Socialist movement too much, to let this anonymous statement go unrebuked.

During the free speech fight I have been in jail three times; I have been measured, "mugged" and placed in the rogues gallery; I have been man-handled by the police and rotten-egged by the "vigilantes." I have never spoken or worked in our movement for money, but always did a man's part. I do think something of my reputation and of my friends, so once more, in justice to the REVIEW and myself, I ask publication for these lines.—Kaspar Bauer, San Diego, Cal.

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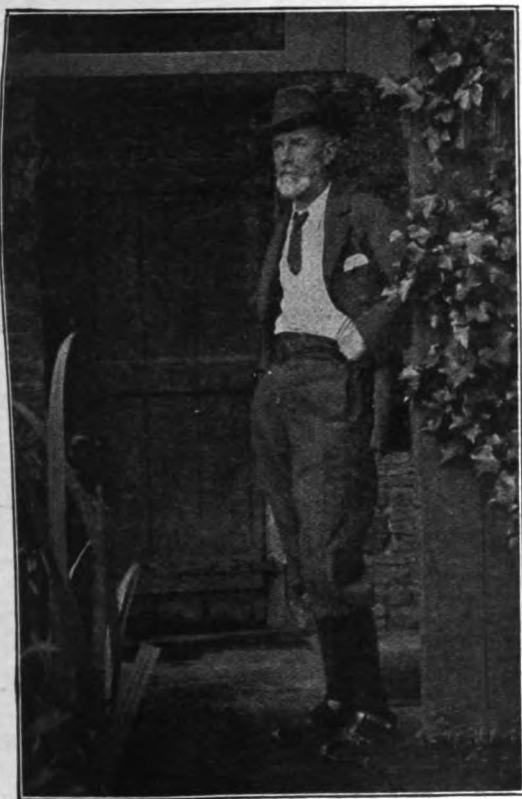
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and gains in so many cities were won because the comrades there have been studying all sides of economics and government—or to put it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the election fights were on they were able to show the rest of the people just what Socialism is and the reason for it. Men will vote right, you know, when they know what right is. They have not been satisfied with the government of greed, privilege and plunder—they have been merely kept in the dark, but now when the comrades open their eyes, they VOTE RIGHT.

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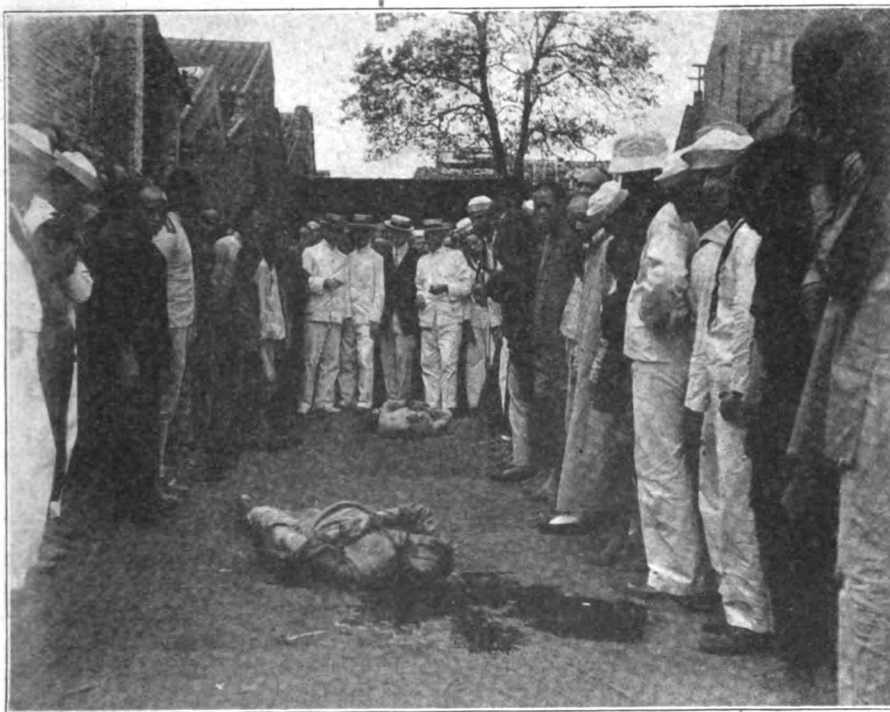
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

OCTOBER, 1913

No. 4



YOUNG BOYS OF THE ARMY AND NAVY WITNESSING GHASTLY EXECUTIONS IN CHINA. THEY ARE ENCOURAGED TO VISIT THE BUTCHER PENS IN ORDER TO "HARDEN" THEM.

SCHOOL OF THE BUTCHER

By Marion Wright

LITTLE do fathers and mothers of the boys who yield to the blandishments of pretty picture-posters displayed by the recruiting officer dream of the schooling ahead for their sons. To the working class fathers and mothers the idea

of **THEIR** sons turning the bayonet against their own kind would be abhorrent. And so it would to the boy—at first. But his crafty masters are diligent to see that any such mawkish sentiment is educated out of him at the earliest possible moment.



AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN THE PHILIPPINES GIVING NATIVE THE "WATER CURE" TO FORCE HIM TO BETRAY HIS COUNTRYMEN. THE "WATER CURE" TORTURE IS INFLICTED BY FORCING ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF WATER INTO THE VICTIM'S STOMACH AND STRIKING HIS ABDOMEN. MANY NATIVES DIE UNDER THE TORTURE AND ARE REPORTED "KILLED RESISTING ARREST."

It is their game to harden the boy behind the bayonet—to instill blood-lust and obedience alone, for he may be needed in the crowded streets of our own cities—in the streets of his own home; and he must be educated up to his duty.

Practice games are played on the defenseless natives whom our benevolent capitalists gathered under the protecting folds of "Old Glory" following the Sugar Trust war in '98.

A sickening story of wholesale slaughter by American soldiers in the Philippines has been but recently told and while intended to reflect glory on General Pershing and the American troops, read between the lines it is a damning indictment of both, together with the "civilized" and "Christian" country that sent them on their mission of murder.

According to the published account, 1,600 Moro tribesmen, entrenched in a crater, where they had been entrapped by General

Pershing, were massacred by Pershing's forces. When the dead were counted it was found that *the lives of 196 of their women and 340 children* had been sacrificed together with the Moro warriors, who in some instances held the women and children up as shields, facing the American rifle fire. Chief Amil, the Moro leader, was beheaded and his head presented to General Pershing as evidence of death.

This wanton butchery of 1,600 helpless natives is said to have occurred on June 10, but the details were suppressed through a strict censorship. General Pershing arrested three war correspondents who attempted to inform the outside world of the massacre and they may be sentenced to prison for long terms for violating the military censorship. The American soldiers refused to take a single prisoner and all captives met death in the trenches. By Pershing's orders all of the bodies were burned.



EXECUTION IN CANTON, CHINA. TAKING LESSONS IN THE ART OF MURDER.

The scenes witnessed during and after the battle are too horrible to relate. As the Americans rushed firing up the crater sides the Moros seized women and children and even infants and held them over the edge of the crater where the sweeping fire of the

machine guns cut the helpless victims to shreds.

General Pershing led his men in person, and so eager was he for the business at hand that he was the first to leap into the last entrenchment of the natives.

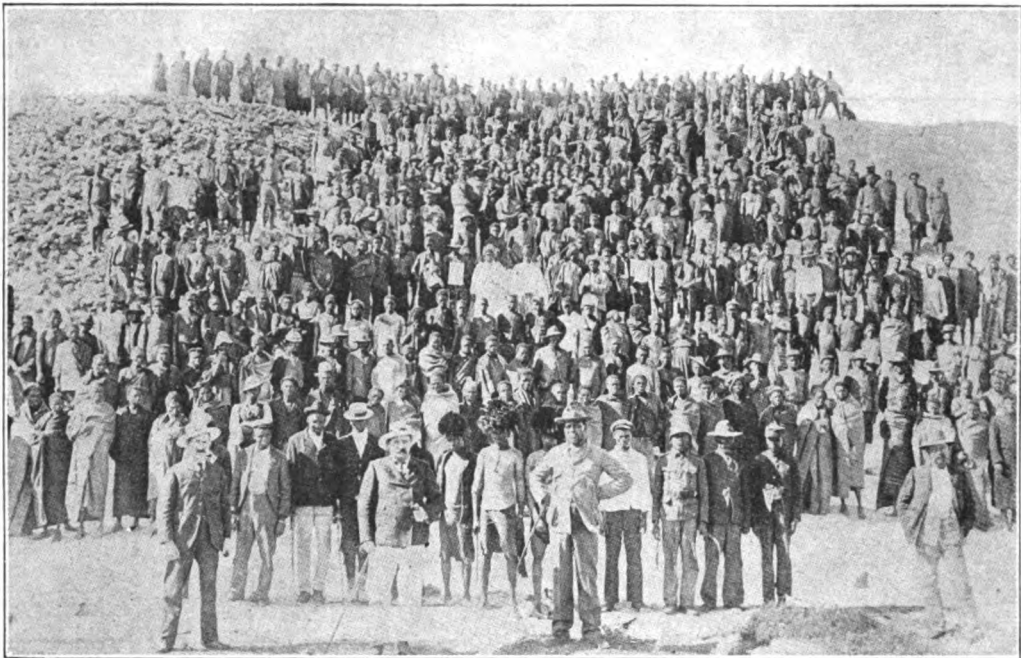
The "Good" Soldier By Jack London

Young men: The lowest aim in your life is to become a soldier. The good soldier never tries to distinguish right from wrong. He never thinks; never reasons; he only obeys. If he is ordered to fire on his fellow citizens, on his friends, on his neighbors, on his relatives, he obeys without hesitation. If he is ordered to fire down a crowded street when the poor are clamoring for bread, he obeys and sees the gray hairs of age stained with red and the life tide gushing from the breasts of women, feeling neither remorse nor sympathy. If he is ordered off as a firing squad to execute a hero or benefactor, he fires without hesitation, though he knows the bullet will pierce the noblest heart that ever beat in human breast.

A good soldier is a blind, heartless, soulless, murderous machine. He is not a man. He is not a brute, for brutes only kill in self defense. All that is human in him, all that is divine in him, all that constitutes the man has been sworn away when he took the enlistment roll. His mind, his conscience, aye, his very soul, are in the keeping of his officer.

No man can fall lower than a soldier—it is a depth beneath which we cannot go. Keep the boys out of the army. It is hell.

Down with the army and the navy. We don't need killing institutions. We need life-giving institutions.



MINE BOYS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL REVOLT IN AFRICA

By F. Murray

• **I**N order to understand the South African situation properly it will be necessary to hark back some considerable distance in the history of capitalist development. Such a review will show in the case of South Africa the prophetic clearness of Karl Marx's masterly generalization that the means by which people make a living decides how they must think and act in all the relations of life. It will show how the recent bitter strike was the inevitable outcome of the evolution of an economic system which permits a few people to own the

whole earth and forces the vast majority who are propertyless to work not for their own advancement but for the aggrandizement of their alleged superiors.

The discovery and colonization of South Africa, as most people are aware, arose out of the struggle for economic supremacy among Portuguese, Dutch, French and English from the 15th to the 19th centuries. The cause which led to the expeditions of Christopher Columbus led also to the voyages of Diaz, Vasco La Gama and Van Riebeck. This cause was the capture of

Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 and the consequent blockage of the overland route for traffic between Europe and India. An alternate route had to be discovered and the attempts to discover such a route led to the establishment of the American Republic and the Union of South Africa.

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company made a settlement at Capetown, but merely for the purpose of a port of call whither ships passing on the way to India might call for supplies of vegetables and fresh meat. The Hottentots, who were then and are still the predominant native tribe of the Cape of Good Hope Province, showed a natural disinclination to be robbed of their land and their cattle, and many wars arose between them and the Dutch people on that account. As a result the Dutch East India Company encouraged settlers to come to the Cape so that they might breed cattle independently of the natives. These settlers received military protection against the Hottentots on condition that they supplied the ships with provisions at rates laid down by the company. The settlers continued to increase in numbers and soon began to chafe under the artificial restriction of prices imposed upon them. Resentment toward East India Company oppression grew with the growth of Dutch colonization, and a contributing factor to this increasing discontent was the large influx of Huguenot immigrants following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Trouble with the natives also grew in proportion as the colonists spread themselves over the country; which fact, together with dissension among the colonists themselves, brought about the easy conquest of the colony by the British during the revolutionary wars.

Owing to the disinclination of the roving Hottentots to submit to settled work and in view of the labor necessary in order to force them to do that work, the Dutch had at first to import slave laborers from the Malay Archipelago. The descendants of these slaves, now "free" workmen under the glorious Union Jack, still retain their Mohammedan faith along with their picturesque fez, and are fairly numerous in and around Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Before the British occupation, however, practically all the Hottentots in Cape Colony had been reduced to slavery, and the Dutch farmer led an easy patriarchal life on this basis of servile labor. Efforts to throw off the yoke

were quickly put down by the expert shooting of the Boers, and Christian missionaries ably assisted the work of subjugation through their teaching of the holy doctrine of obedience to those in authority.

Just about this time Christians in other parts of the world discovered that slave labor requires too much personal supervision on the part of masters and is therefore not so profitable as "free" labor. Appeals were made to the Bible and many texts were brought to light showing that God had changed his mind in favor of emancipation. These were British Christians, and as their God speaks English it was only right that His opinion should prevail in South Africa when it was wrested from the Dutch. Consequently it was decided to abolish chattel slavery, which was a terrible blow to the Dutch patriarchal system. Hatred of Dutch against British waxed all the more fiercely on account of the manner in which the British government permitted its Christian financiers to swindle the Dutch out of their compensation for loss of slaves. Unable to oppose Britain by force of arms the Boers trekked out of Cape Colony in 1836 and set up the Republic of the Orange Free State and Transvaal where, of course, the "niggers" would be kept in their appointed place in accordance with the will of God as interpreted from the Dutch Bible.

Unfortunately the voortrekkers were not destined to enjoy possession of their promised land. Once more God's will appears to have decided in favor of the strongest battalions. The existence of rich deposits of diamonds, gold, iron, and coal was soon nosed out by unscrupulous adventurers of the type of Rhodes, Barnato, Joel, Farrar, et al. An Uitlander population consisting of the scum of international criminality began to settle down on the Rand. Headed by the aforementioned gentry these criminals began operations by foisting worthless script upon the gullible public. Thousands of deluded parsons, shopkeepers, city clerks, pensioner's widows, etc., who make up what is known as the small middle class—the backbone of the capitalist system—were swindled out of their little hoards. Gold there was in plenty, but it is safe to say that legitimate gold mining never made the colossal fortunes of South African millionaires. Those fortunes arose from the ruin of the investing public. The promotion of gold booms created an enormous over-capitaliza-

tion of mining properties; and in order to pay a dividend on all this watered capital it was necessary for the Gold Directors to obtain a plentiful supply of cheap labor.

The gold-mine owners giving evidence before a commission appointed by the Boer government in 1897 demanded cheaper colored labor to work their mines. They argued that certain low grade ores could be profitably mined if the government would increase the native hut tax, establish locations, and take such other measures as would compel the Kaffir to work at reduced wages. They further argued that an increased supply of native labor would give employment to more white labor. On the commission reporting adversely on these suggestions the mine owners talked of the importation of Asiatic laborers and of closing down their mines if their demands were refused. President Kruger replied by passing a law which provided that if the mines were not worked by the mine owners, the government would confiscate them and work them itself.

Needless to say Kruger was not actuated by any humanitarian sentiment in thus refusing to allow the mine owners to exploit the Kaffir. What he was anxious to prevent was any interference with the right of his Boer friends to have full control of the supply of cheap Kaffir labor for their farms. More Kaffir labor for mine owners meant less and dearer Kaffir labor for the Boers. There was a possibility of the Uitlander population increasing to such an extent as to outnumber the Boers; and in order to prevent this political danger, Kruger saw to it that Uitlanders had a restricted franchise.

The mine owners were unable to bribe or terrify Kruger into their way of thinking, so they got up a huge corruption fund with which to bribe the British government. Large quantities of preferential script were "bought" by prominent British politicians who suddenly discovered that the Boers were tyrannizing over "free born" Britons and perpetrating fiendish cruelty on our "down trodden black brothers." The entire press of South Africa, with the exception of three or four futile organs devoted to the Boer land owning cause, was subsidized by the mine owners. These prostitute newspapers began a campaign of calumny against the Boers and made direct appeal to the worst passions of Jingoism. Meetings were engineered in every town and village with

the object of inflaming British national prejudice against Kruger's government. Petitions from "white helots" on the Rand, appealing for help to the British government, were signed at the rate of a shilling per signature. One "helot" could sign as many times and with as many signatures as he pleased.

War was inevitable in these circumstances. Kruger and his farmers made a gallant fight, but treachery and overwhelming numbers prevailed. Be it here noted that Botha, the man who signed the Vereeniging treaty, is the very man chosen by the mine magnates as first premier of United South Africa! Generals De Wet and Herzog are now bitterly opposed to him and have more than once hinted at his alleged treachery in betraying the Boers into the hands of the mine owners.

Chamberlain and Milner waxed emotional over the wickedness of the Boers toward our poor black brethren, but strange to say one of the very first enactments of the Milner régime was to double the native hut tax. As for the mine owners, they reduced native wages from nine dollars to five dollars a month, with the result that only 42,000 natives remained of the 90,000 who were working in the mines at the beginning of the war. On wages being thereupon raised to their former level, the natives flocked back until their numbers were the same as before the war. In July, 1903, Milner appointed a commission to inquire into the adequacy or otherwise of the sources of supply of labor for the mines. This commission reported (two members dissenting) that an additional 129,000 laborers were necessary and that Central and South Africa could not supply this demand. On the 8th of February, 1904, an ordinance was carried in the Transvaal Legislative Council for the introduction of indentured labor "from outside Africa south of 12 degrees north of the equator." It met with bitter opposition from the majority of people both in South Africa and Great Britain; but the mine owners came forward with a petition in favor of Chinese labor, bearing signatures (at a shilling a time, of course) of over half of the adult white population. That a great number of the signatures were forged goes without saying. The first shipment of Chinese coolies from Hong Kong reached Durban on the 20th of June, 1904, and ultimately 60,000 Chinamen were employed on

the Rand. The Chinese experiment was successful in so far as it cheapened Kaffir labor, but other assertions were completely falsified. White labor found less instead of more employment. The proportion of white men to colored of all races were 10 to 59 in May, 1904, whereas it was only 10 to 84 in November, 1906. This is accounted for by the fact that the Chinese proved apt pupils at skilled work and were therefore encouraged to encroach upon the special preserves of the so-called skilled white worker, or "aristocrat of labor," as Merriman puts it.

Unnamable vice was rampant in the Chinese compounds, in addition to gambling, opium eating, murder and robbery. This was common knowledge to every thinking person, but the humanitarians and parsons somehow were totally ignorant of it until the mine owners discovered that the employment of coolies was not so profitable as had been anticipated. Then the humanitarians and parsons began to howl out against the moral cesspool of the Rand: Thus the Archbishop of Canterbury, Right Reverend Father in God, spoke of Chinese labor on the Rand as a "regrettable necessity." The word "regrettable" might be thought to have some reference to the "moral" aspect of the subject, but in reality the archbishop was merely giving a spiritualistic interpretation of the economic fact that Chinese in the mines having higher tastes than the Kaffirs were twice as costly to feed, while at the end of their contract there was the expense of repatriation. Therefore the time had come for the removal of such a moral cesspool, entailing such expense to mine magnates and causing such offense to the nice feelings of our beloved brethren in God. It must not be thought that the whole 60,000 Chinese were repatriated. At least 10,000 were left on the Rand—a few feet underground! Neither their graves nor their names will ever be known.

Quite remarkably it happened with the disappearance of Chinese that the 130,000 additional natives said to be required in 1903 were soon procured by the very people who asserted that South Africa could not supply them. The reason is not far to seek. In 1903 niggers would not work for less than nine dollars a month. In 1909 they were willing to accept five dollars. It came about thus. The Bantu tribes, including the



NATIVES RUNNING MACHINE DRILL.

Matabele, Mashonas, the Zulus, the Bechnanas, the Basutos, the Damaras, and Swahili, hitherto enjoyed almost unrestricted freedom in their communal reserves. There they lived a healthy, happy life, tending their cattle and growing mealies (Indian corn). The cessation of tribal wars gave the Christian missionary an opportunity of visiting these reserves for the purpose of evangelizing the heathen. Inculcating obedience to authority and expounding the doctrine of the blessedness of labor not for self but for others are very necessary teachings of capitalism and the best exponents are Christian missionaries. Right worthily do they fulfill their task for the great God of Mammon.

Along with the missionary came the trader, Bible and brandy bottle being the indispensable adjuncts of capitalist civilization. Soon these worthy servants of the Most High taught the raw native to be discontented. Rather illogical, you may think, seeing that Christianity and Capitalism both preach contentment. But not so illogical as it seems, however. The raw native was made discontented with his happy, healthy life, so that he might "elevate his tastes" and yearn for higher things, i. e., for the products of British factories. Shoddy goods were imported and sold to the unsophisticated Kaffir at a princely profit. But the raw native does not possess much ready

money. His wealth consists in land and herds and crops. Therefore as an additional stimulus our kind Christian friends get their paternal government to cap a heavy hut tax upon the Kaffir, knowing full well that in order to be able to pay it he will have to leave his communal reserve to get hard cash. In this way the Natal government goaded the Zulus into revolt in 1906; but what chance had the Zulu with his heathen assegai against the Christian Maxim gun? What with terrorism and seduction the Kaffirs were taken from their reserves; and shortly there sprang into existence a system of labor recruiting for the mines which for sheer infamy beats anything I can think of. Acting in collusion with the native chiefs who were bribed or intimidated or both, the governments of Natal, Cape of Good Hope and Portuguese East Africa, permitted labor recruiting agents to seduce and terrify the natives into signing away their freedom for five dollars a month. Natives were arrested on all kinds of trumped up charges and forced to work as convicts on the roads. In fact a most elaborate system was introduced for the purpose of manufacturing convicts and then handing them over to employers of labor for the bare cost of their "food." In this way the good and worthy Christian, John X. Merriman, formerly premier of Cape Colony, is always sure of a steady supply of cheap labor for his farm. Of course he is not the only one. They all preach contentment. 'Twould be monstrous if they did not.

Well, by these and various other devices, too numerous to mention here, it was not long before the Rand magnates had 250,000 natives in their clutches. I say "clutches" advisedly, because a native engaged for the mines is under sentence of death. Strikes of natives are not numerous in South Africa but when they do occur they are quickly settled. According to the law of this most Christian land any native servant who disobeys his master's orders is ipso facto a criminal, and his master can either pass sentence and inflict punishment himself or may call in the police if he is not strong enough. When large bodies of natives are foolish enough to strike, a company of soldiers with a Maxim gun soon brings them to their senses. And they have every justification for striking. They are brought to the mines or farms under false pretenses combined with a system of sheer terrorism. In the

mines they are literally killed by inches. The average life of an able bodied Kaffir in the mines is three years, and of a white man, five years. The Boer war accounted for 20,000 deaths. Industrial slavery in the mines since that war has killed nearly 300,000 strong men in the very bloom of manhood.

One might have thought that the greedy maw of capitalism would have found satiety in such a holocaust. But no. There are degrees in exploitation. Why not bring down the white worker to the economic level of his black brother? In Kruger's time the white worker had some measure of protection. The legal maximum working day was eight hours; Sunday labor was absolutely prohibited; and a white miner could average eight dollars a day in wages. In maintaining such extraordinary conditions Kruger was guilty of a crime which capitalism could never forgive. The "white helots" allowed themselves to be made the tools of their own destruction. They helped to engineer the war, they fought for their masters against Kruger, and their reward for shedding their blood in an unholy cause was justly retributive. They got what they never cared for—a vote—and found themselves subject to reduced wages and increased exploitation. Reduction of wages and encroachment on their sphere of work caused the white miners to strike in 1907. This strike was defeated because the surface white workers scabbed on the underground white workers, and the mine owners found that so long as scab engineers continued to raise and lower the ships, Chinese coolies and Dutch "bijwoners" (poor whites) could easily replace the strikers.

I must here digress in order to deal as briefly as possible with another factor of the problem. The Boers (farmers) are the great land owning class of South Africa. Before the great war of 1899-1902 their position economically was impregnable. But the war brought impoverishment, and many Boers were forced to mortgage their holdings to land speculating syndicates which sprang up after 1902. The financial depression of 1903-1909 reduced them to such poverty that they could not in many cases meet the interest charges, and foreclosure was ruthlessly applied. These hitherto prosperous Boers fell into the ranks of bijwoners or drifted into the towns where they helped to bring into prominence the so-called poor

white problem. "Bijwoners" is a Dutch term applied to a class of poor whites who are permitted to inhabit tin shanties on the property of well-to-do Boers and who in return for this privilege make payment in kind on a semi-feudal basis. Their serfdom carries certain other "rights" for the landlord which are curiously akin to those enjoyed by the feudal lord. The notorious "jus primae noctae" has its South African analogy in the unwritten law that the prosperous Boer shall have reasonable access to the female relatives of his bijwoners. Cases are not infrequently heard in court when assaulted females testify that they had to yield to the embraces of the landlord on pain of their fathers, husbands or brothers being driven off his property. Those who exercise such "rights" are earnest Christians; subscribe liberally to the Dutch Reformed Church, and sincerely abhor Socialism which would destroy private property, break up the home and family, encourage sexual promiscuity and abolish religion.

Those of the bijwoner class who have drifted into the industrial centers of South Africa have sunk to the level of the Kaffir. Dutch girls of good family have been found living in concubinage with Chinamen and even raw natives. Illicit liquor selling is largely carried on by the bijwoner class in towns along the Witwatersrand. So glaring became their degradation in poverty, vice and crime that a special commission was appointed by the Union government to inquire into and devise means of removing the cause of the poor white problem. The Dutch Reformed Church, generously subsidized by government grants, has established labor colonies for poor whites in various parts of the country. One such colony in Kakamas has a population of nearly 5,000 souls engaged in irrigation and agriculture. They are a source of revenue to the church, and much jealousy has arisen among other Christian sects because of this monopoly in favor of one sect. Only members of the Dutch Reformed Church are allowed to work in a labor colony and the children are diligently instructed in the fear of God and the blessings of "private" enterprise.

When the Rand strike of 1904 broke out, hundreds of bijwoners were only too glad to scab for a dollar a day. They helped to break the strike and mine magnates were quick to see the value of such a source of labor in time of trouble. Industrial schools

were quickly established by government for the purpose of training young Dutchmen of the bijwoner class as miners at from one to two dollars a day. Hundreds of bijwoners found employment in that manner but the supply far-outran the demand. The government therefore supplemented its philanthropic scheme by finding employment for 5,000 more bijwoners on the state railways at 85 cents a day. The princely nature of such remuneration will be best understood by American readers when it is explained that living in South Africa is 25 per cent dearer than in the United States. For instance a house of four rooms not fit for a stable for the rich man's horse is rented for twenty dollars a month in Cape Town. A similar house in Johannesburg or Pretoria costs from thirty to forty dollars a month.

The foregoing is a crude statement of affairs in South Africa at the time of Union. Put into the fewest possible words, the policy of capitalism acting through the four governments of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal, was to reduce wages and increase hours of labor for white workers. The means by which that policy was to be carried into effect was to force natives out of their reserves, train them into habits of "thrift" and "industry," and bring them into fierce competition with white workers in every phase of labor. That policy had been pursued by the four different governments in different ways with much clashing of interests, and it was with a view to introducing one uniform system of exploitation of black and white labor that the Union of South Africa Act of 1909 was brought about.

British South Africa has now an approximate area of 1,204,358 square miles, and its population, according to the 1911 census, is 8,192,642, of which about 1,305,437 are Europeans. Six natives to one European is about the average for the sub-continent. British South Africa comprises the Union (Cape, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal), the Native Protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, and the territories of North Western and Southern Rhodesia. The factors making up the problem of capitalism versus Socialism in South Africa are as follows: First, the Boer land owners whose existence is a bulwark of capitalism but whose numbers are being rapidly reduced owing to the operation of a law of capitalism which forces it to expropriate its

own friends and to destroy private ownership, the very basis on which alone it can exist. Secondly, the mining magnates of Kimberley and the Rand whose policy of labor exploitation has dominated pulpit, press and parliament for the last 25 years. Thirdly, the South African Shipping Trust which exists in fact though not in name. Fourthly, the merchant importers of the towns. Fifthly, the white wage earners who until recently monopolized the so-called skilled trades. Sixthly, the colored and native laborers who outnumber the whites six to one and who perform the hard, disagreeable, unhealthy, badly paid tasks of capitalism.

It will be seen from this enumeration, which is an exceedingly rough estimate of the forces at work, that the task of the revolutionary movement is perhaps more difficult in South Africa than in any other part of the world. The colored question looms large in America where whites greatly preponderate, but what of South Africa where blacks outnumber whites overwhelmingly?

However, thanks be to the "mysterious dispensations of Providence" (or of economic determinism) religious, racial, and national prejudices are thrown into the melting pot. Catholicism versus Protestantism, Dutch versus English, black versus white, have each had their little day and ceased to be. The great controversy of the twentieth century is, exploited versus exploiters. How startlingly clear the dividing line is cut was seen by the whole world a few weeks ago in Johannesburg.

The magnates of international capitalism had some difficulty in reconciling the various interests to the idea of Union. Bribes had to be provided for the Shipping Trust in the shape of a monopoly of the carrying trade and an increased subsidy for conveyance of mails. The Boers got reduced railway and post office rates for carriage of farm produce. Their national vanity was flattered with the idea of Pretoria becoming capital of United South Africa and of the Dutch language being placed on equality with English for all public purposes. Merchants were bribed with the abolition of customs, tariffs between the four provinces and with reduced railage for their goods. Politicians were bribed with payment of members in the local Provincial Council as well as in the Legislative Assembly of the Union. The corruption fund must have been huge. It

is significant that the convention which decided for Union kept no minutes and its members were sworn to secrecy. They were wise in withholding information, because their proceedings would have caused some uproar if published. And they are all honorable men, not to say Christians.

It must be admitted that they did their work well. They even bethought themselves of possible opposition from that negligible quantity, the wage-slave class. So they got rushed through the Union Parliament a few laws to provide for contingencies. One law, "the Industrial Disputes Act," does for white wage slaves what the "Masters and Servants Act" does for the negroes. It makes a strike a criminal offense, punishable with hard labor. Another act provided for the repression of revolutionary symptoms among government employees, of whom there are some 70,000 in the Union. A third act provided for the establishment of a defense force, under which lads between 14 and 21 are trained to murder fathers and brothers in the event of civil disorder (i.e., a strike against inhuman conditions). So the international robber gang thought themselves well fortified against assault.

But "best laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley." They failed with all their murderous cunning to take into account a possible growth of working class consciousness and working class solidarity. They thought they could fool the wage slave all the time. The machine of oppression being well oiled and everything ready, they gave another turn to the screw by attempting to increase the hours of five underground mechanics in the New Kleinfontein Mine. They calculated—and rightly—that if this increase passed unchallenged the hours of labor would gradually be increased all over the mines and then all over South Africa. It was simply an attempt to insert the thin edge of another wedge which would only widen the gap between exploiters and exploited. But this time their bluff was called. Four hundred odd men walked out of the New Kleinfontein in protest, leaving a few scabs to do the work. The notice of the mine management was illegal inasmuch as it did not provide for three months' grace in terms of the Industrial Disputes Act, but of course who could punish the bosses for breaking their own law? Laws are not meant for bosses but for slaves.

The suddenness and unanimity of the



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Engineers' and Firemen's Assn.

T. A. TOLE,
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GEORGE KENDALL,
Organizer A. S. of Engineers.

J. T. BAIN,
Organizer Federation of Trade
Unions and Strike Secretary.

strike forced the mine management to withdraw their illegal notice, but they stated their intention of bringing it into operation in three months' time. Such being the case the strikers declined to return to work. A deadlock ensued. The New Kleinfontein management pretended that they were only concerned with their own dispute, but everyone knows that they were really instigated by the Chamber of Mines, represent-

ing the whole mining industry of South Africa. The "leaders" of the Transvaal Federation of Trades Unions apparently wished the struggle to be conducted in the old fashioned sectional way, and the strikers, seeing themselves left to fight a hopeless battle against the united capitalists of South Africa offered to return to work on the original conditions. But the Chamber of Mines wanted its revenge. Thirty of the

New Kleinfontein strikers who had made themselves prominent were to be victimized. "All or none go back," was the reply of the strikers. Subsequent events prove that the workers not only on the Rand but also on the railways, in the postal and telegraph service, and in every trade in every town of South Africa would have risen like one man, had the so-called "leaders" of the trade union and labor movement played the game.

A chapter, aye, even a book, could be devoted to an analysis of the various elements comprising what is vaguely known as the South African labor movement. I can best describe it as a movement enervated with the poison of a sterilized "Socialism." The "leaders" with a very few exceptions deal out pious platitudes from Ruskin, Carlyle and the New Testament. They refer to Jesus as the "First Socialist" and speak of "Christianizing" modern industry. They don't believe in strikes, and are persuaded that only constitutional methods will prove successful in emancipating the workers. They are all aspirants to the post of parliamentary emancipator of the wage slave at a salary of \$2,000 per annum, plus perquisites! How could one expect any robust revolutionary movement from such material? Blind leaders of the blind are they.

Meanwhile the rank and file of the strikers were determined to undermine the baneful influence of such constitutionalists. Vivisection had to be stopped sooner or later, and the sooner the better. They marched up and down the Reef, pulling out mine after mine until they had bottled up the whole mining industry. The "leaders" then thought it was time for them to cease being led. They proclaimed a general strike after it was an accomplished fact.

The terror with which such militant methods struck the hearts of the bosses was something ludicrous. The orgy of lies indulged in by the prostitute press of South Africa in connection with the Boer War paled into insignificance as compared with the outburst of frenzied calumny which now broke loose. Above all the howling, wailing, and gnashing of teeth could be heard the insistent cry for military aid to suppress the strike. And now was made clear the mystery of the retention of British troops by the Botha government. Few people outside the bosses and the class conscious workers understood why a Dutch premier should insist upon keeping his former "enemies"

in the country. The excuse was that until South Africa licked her own citizen soldiers into shape, the presence of imperial troops was imperative for the safety of the Union against attack. Who the attacking party might be was never explained. If, however, for the word, "Union," we substitute "bosses," the position becomes perfectly easy to grasp.

Every town or village in the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal was denuded of police. They were rushed to "the Rand from every point of the compass. Two thousand soldiers with Maxim guns took up positions in and around the mines. In order to overawe the strikers the bosses resuscitated a Kruger Act of 1894 aimed against themselves when they were trying to get votes for "white helots." This Act provided that an assemblage of more than six persons in public was illegal and could be violently dispersed. The effect of dragging out this obsolete act was opposite to that intended. Instead of subduing the strikers it inflamed them against the presumptuous tyranny of the bosses. They made it plain to the powers that be that they would insist upon the right of free speech and public assembly. Consequently the bosses got more frightened still and at the last moment withdrew the proclamation at Benoni. The meeting there passed off peacefully, and it was resolved to hold a further meeting in Market Square, Johannesburg, on Friday, July 4th, when a general strike of all trades would be decided upon. The authorities now resolved to try a "whiff of grape shot." Accordingly they rushed troops and police to Market Square, and published a prohibition of the meeting. This prohibition was posted in a few obscure places within a couple of hours of the time fixed for the meeting, and nine persons out of ten in Johannesburg knew nothing of its existence.

How Botha's government acted as tool of the mine bosses in using their former enemies to murder their own countrymen is now ancient history, and need not here be enlarged upon. The whole matter was hushed up as much as possible by the government, so that the exact number of casualties will never be known. The killing of 22 men and wounding of 250 men, women and children are admitted. Cold blooded murder is the mildest term to use in referring to this incident. It was a foretaste of Jack London's "Iron Heel." The govern-

ment has appointed a commission composed wholly of government officials and nominees, and the majority of witnesses so far have been soldiers, policemen, detectives or other government officials. Obviously the object of the commission is to whitewash the government. The bulk of the evidence goes to show that almost no shooting was done by the military, and that the men, women, and children were really killed and wounded by the strikers!

At any rate the bosses and their government got so frightened on Saturday evening, the 5th of July, 1913, that they sent out one of the labor "leaders" with a white flag of truce, and by this means got the crowd to disperse. Had the fighting continued much longer the strikers would have fetched their rifles and wiped out the police and military. There would only be one government left, namely, the strike committee. But when victory was absolutely within their grasp the "leaders" were either too timid or too treacherous to pluck it. Even the railwaymen of the Transvaal struck of their own accord, and the railwaymen throughout the rest of South Africa would have followed suit had they been able to get any decent advice and encouragement. They were kept in the dark both by their "leaders" and the capitalist press.

The railwaymen held the key of the situation, and a separate article would have to be devoted to their part in the struggle. Railways, harbors, posts, telegraphs, telephones, etc., etc., are "nationalized" in South Africa. A large part of so-called "Socialist" program is carried out here. Conditions are none the better. The government service is seething with discontent. But the employes are kept "loyal" by bribery and intimidation. They are told that if they strike, their pension rights will be forfeited and they will be liable to prosecution as criminals. When they agitate constitutionally, their complaints are shelved and their

representatives either "bought" or victimized. When the apparent treachery which brought about the truce gave the government a breathing space in which to consolidate its forces of intimidation, the railwaymen were warned and exhorted to have nothing to do with the miners. The manœuvre of splitting the workers into two camps was repeated with all its old success. Railwaymen became discouraged at the failure of the Federation of Trades to take prompt and decisive action. Enthusiasm waned and now the position is that the strikers have gained the shadow and lost the substance.

Nevertheless the upheaval was one of the most remarkable in the history of South Africa if not in that of the whole world, and augurs well for the time when a more scientific labor movement evolves from present chaotic conditions. The lessons of the upheaval were badly needed by wage slaves here and elsewhere. The most important lesson is that workers of every color and of all trades must sink their racial and sectional differences in order to combine in one all embracing union ready to take revolutionary action whenever the time comes. Secondly, workers must be prepared to expect organized violence from the masters, and must devise means of drawing their claws. Thirdly, workers must educate themselves so as to sift truth from lies on the part of parsons, politicians and editors (a somewhat difficult task, I admit). They must also be on their guard against the treachery of "leaders." In a word, the working class must work out its own salvation not in fear and trembling but with courage and perseverance. The Rand strike as a strike was a success. It could not have been otherwise. The masters did not end the strike. The workers ended it themselves. The masters are after all a feeble folk. Their strength lies in telling lies, and using one section of the workers against another. "Divide and govern," is their motto.





CAMP ON DURST HOP FIELD.

For these hovels Durst Brothers charged a rental of more than \$480 per week.

THE CASE OF THE HOP PICKERS

By Mortimer Downing

ACTING on an invitation by Durst Brothers twenty-three hundred men, women and children assembled to pick the Durst Brothers' hops on their 600-acre ranch near the town of Wheatland, California. The posters and newspaper advertisements described the conditions on the Durst ranch as something ideal. All the workers had to do was to pick a few hops, enjoy a picnic and make plenty of money.

Just prior to August 3 these people assembled at the Durst ranch and found the first thing they had to do was to rent a shack or a tent from agents of the owners at the rate of from 75 cents per week up. The first money they earned was deducted to pay this rent. The rentals charged the

pickers were in excess of \$480 per week for four acres of ground which the state health inspector has described as a "sun-baked flat." This in itself was a rather tidy profit for the boss.

It was soon found that Durst Brothers had provided only six single toilets for the twenty-three hundred workers. These apologies for modesty were turned over to the women, who used to stand twenty and thirty deep waiting a turn to use these places, while the whole camp looked on. Later it was found, when the men and women swarmed into the fields to pick the hops, that a cousin of the Durst Brothers had the "lemonade privilege." In order that this thrifty scion of canny stock should have every opportunity to make an

honest penny, Durst Brothers would not permit any water to be hauled into the field, nor would they allow the workers to fill bottles from the water wagons which were used in cultivating the crop. Lemonade was sold to the workers at five cents per glass.

Pay at this hop yard was at the rate of 90 cents per hundred pounds of hops picked with a sliding bonus up to 15 cents, according to the length of time the worker staid on the job. Durst Brothers were particularly urgent that the hops should be absolutely clean of leaves or stems and that only the blooms should be taken. This rigid inspection made the work far slower than in other hop yards.

Conditions were so bad that after one or two days' work the pickers assembled in meeting and voiced their discontent. They drew up demands for better sanitary conditions, more toilets, that lemons and not acetic acid should be put in the lemonade; that they should have water in the field twice a day, that high pole men be provided to pull down the hops from the poles,

and that owing to the strict inspection of the pick that the pay be a flat rate of \$1.25 per hundred pounds. This would enable an average worker to earn about \$2 per day, out of which he had to pay for his shack and board himself.

These demands were presented to Durst Brothers by a committee. Ralph Durst, testifying before the coroner's jury, stated that when Dick Ford, the chairman, approached him he "had both his gloves on and that he jocosely slapped Ford across the face." He then took the demands under consideration. After a time he returned and made evasive promises of remedy of the sanitary conditions, talked a lot about having water in the field and flatly refused to advance the wages. This was on Sunday afternoon, August 3. The workers remained in meeting and were considering the reply of Durst. While they were so assembled Durst telephoned to the nearby town of Marysville for the sheriff and a posse.

While the workers were still in meeting and while they were singing "Conditions



PAYING OFF AT THE DURST RANCH.

They Are Bad," eleven armed men, headed by Sheriff Voss, whirled into the hop yard in two automobiles. They leaped to the ground. Among them was Edward Tecumseh Manwell, the district attorney. All these armed men charged the crowd. Voss, the sheriff, rushed to the stand, seized Dick Ford, and said he was under arrest. Ford asked for a warrant. Voss struck him. At the same time he lifted his gun, fired and ordered the crowd to disperse. Just then a woman seized Voss. He clubbed her with his gun. She tripped him and he fell. By this time all the eleven men were shooting and the shots sounded like a battle. Voss went down. The crowd closed in around him. The woman was on top. A Porto Rican, name unknown, rushed from his tent through the crowd and got the sheriff's gun. He saw the district attorney, Edward Tecumseh Manwell, ready to shoot into the crowd of workers. The Porto Rican killed Manwell. Already one of the workers, an unidentified English boy, had been killed. The Porto Rican then

shot Eugene Reardon, one of the deputy sheriffs, and at almost the same time he dropped dead himself with a load of buck-shot in his breast, which tore away the ribs and exposed his lungs. Harry Daken fired the shot. All these incidents took place while William Beck, one of the prisoners held in Marysville jail, was running less than two hundred yards.

So dumfounded were the deputies when this Porto Rican boy returned their fire that they ran like scared jack-rabbits. In less than a minute after they charged into the yard they were tearing away again in their automobiles. They made the trip back to Marysville from Wheatland, more than ten miles, in eleven minutes.

Left in the hands of the strikers was the sheriff, whose leg had been broken in the scuffle. Four dead bodies and about a dozen wounded testified to the savagery of the fight. The strikers nursed the wounds of the sheriff and the others injured, regardless of whether they were friend or enemy. After the battle, working-class humanity



STRIKERS UNDER ARREST.

From left to right: City Marshal McCoy, Charles Bohn, William Beck, Charles Santori and two "bulls."



MILITIA MARCHING TO THE BATTLE GROUND.

asserted itself. The sheriff told the men and women that they were better to him than his own men, who had fled. He was taken in a wagon to the town of Wheatland and turned over to his friends.

Meantime the frightened deputies were frantically calling upon the governor for troops, which were promptly ordered to the scene. They arrived about daylight next morning. Then came back the brave deputies and began a man hunt for victims. They arrested eight men at that time, some of whom had never been in the town of Wheatland or in the Durst hop yards. Among these are Otto Enderwitz and Charles Bohn, two Germans who were traveling through the country in their own wagon. Somebody identified Enderwitz as the man who translated the speeches into Spanish. Enderwitz can not speak Spanish but he has been held now for more than forty days in a vermin-ridden tank exposed to contagion of syphilis from an unfortunate prisoner who is suffering from that disease. This syphilitic had no part in the hop-yard affair, but he is herded with the other prisoners, to their great danger.

Since then Dick Ford has been arrested and up to date it is known that the authorities have gathered in twelve men because the workers refused to disperse from their own ground, held by them under outrageously high rentals. To give an idea of

the testimony and evidence on which these men are held without legal right, it may be stated that Harry Bagan, one of the first arrested, is suspected of being the secretary of the strikers' meetings. Bagan can not read or write. At the coroner's inquest the deputies and others were asked whether they heard Ford or any of the men addressing the crowd and if anything was said about violence. Universally the answer was: "Ford and all of them advised against violence and told the strikers if they committed the slightest illegal act their cause was lost."

None of the men arrested is an I. W. W. card man; but just before the shooting some of the strikers had telegraphed to various I. W. W. locals for organizers and assistance. As they thus evinced a desire for organization, the I. W. W. has determined to give them legal defense. To that end Austin Lewis and R. M. Rouse of Oakland have been retained. Both these lawyers understand the revolutionary movement and will give the men a defense of which they can later be proud. Local 71, I. W. W., has taken charge. These men and women were fighting for the common rights of workers and as such an appeal is made to all revolutionists and radicals for help. Send all funds to Andy Barber, Secretary Local 71, I. W. W., at 1119 Third St., Sacramento, Cal.

ONLY ONE GOAL

By

Gustavus Myers

PRECISELY as in Canada the appropriation by capitalists of the public domain, coal deposits, timber and mineral lands and other resources has been much more scientifically accomplished than in the United States, so Canada is developing its super-agents of capitalism who, foreseeing the coming of Socialism, are scientifically instructing their capitalist class how to take measures to ward off the genuine Socialist movement.

One of these sagacious instructors is Professor O. D. Skelton. Recently Professor Skelton had an extended article in the Canadian *Monetary Times*, a periodical circulating largely among the financial and other capitalists of Canada. His article was entitled, "Are We Drifting Into Socialism?" and contained this edifying sub-title which we shall not attempt to analyze, "Within the Existing Framework of Society We Must Combine Private Initiative and Private Energy with Social Control and Social Justice."

Those who hold that it is the necessary immediate aim of the Socialist movement to agitate for reforms will do well to give attention to what Professor Skelton says. As to the purposes of the revolutionary Socialist movement, Professor Skelton is no ignoramus. He knows its substance and goal. Socialism, he sets forth in the beginning of his article, "is at once an indictment of capitalism, an analysis of it, a substitute for it, a campaign against it. More positively, the aim of Socialism may be said to be the organization of industry in the interests of the masses of the people, and its method, collective ownership of all instruments of production and collective distribution of the product."

At the end of his extended article, Professor Skelton gives capitalism the clearest advice as to the measures by which it can



GUSTAVUS MYERS.

perpetuate itself and its system. In effect, he advises the capitalist class not to resist certain reforms but to grant them voluntarily and as a matter of wise self-preservation. These reforms, he tells the capitalists, will not assail the fundamentals of the capitalist system, but may, and probably will, put that system on a more effective basis. Let us, however, present Professor Skelton's recommendations in full. He says:

"Government regulation of industry, again, is undoubtedly increasing. But it does not follow that its net result is to lessen competition. The state referees the game, but the game is none the less strenuous because played under rules. Government intervention is not necessarily wise, governments, as a rule, being merely human, but neither is it necessarily hampering. A child labor law, prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen, does not do away with competition, but simply raises it to a higher plane; employers may

compete in organization, in opportune buying and selling, in quickness to seize new methods and new openings, but they must not compete in callous disregard of childhood weakness and childhood needs. A Railway Commission, forbidding one competitor to crush another by secret rebates, gives competition new lease of life. It was the lack of regulation of railway rates that permitted the Standard Oil Company to crush its competitors; under regulation, the rivals of the Steel Trust and the Sugar Trust are wresting yearly a larger share of trade.

"So with state provision of common needs, in free schools, free parks, free playgrounds. Such state activities can fairly be said to make for socialism only where it would be reasonably possible for the individual to provide the service himself, and where the net result is to weaken self-reliance: Free public parks supply a need which the average dweller in our congested cities can no longer meet himself; free books for school children supply a need he could meet, or if not, the trouble is too deep-rooted to be cured by any such tinkering.

"Does the help given lessen the initiative, the self-reliance, the independence of the recipients, or does it enable them to help themselves, make them more fit and more inclined to take their part in the struggle? Free education should, I think, be rated as on the whole an individualist measure; the non-contributory old age pensions scheme recently adopted in England, with its failure to grapple with the causes of the poverty it sought to meet, its inevitable sequel in demands for higher pensions, and lower age limits, is distinctly a socialist step. It is significant that in the later Lloyd-George insurance measure the non-contributory basis has been abandoned.

"Conceivably, the taxing power of the state could be brought to bear so heavily on the rich as to amount to confiscation. But as a matter of fact, while the tendency in Europe is to make the broader back take a larger share of the burden, it can hardly be said on any reasonable interpretation of ability to pay that the rich are as yet taxed unduly. And as for Canada, the case is quite the contrary. Here, with our reliance mainly on indirect taxation, our rich men are undertaxed. A federal income tax is not at present in practical politics, but it

will be before many years. And the taxes our land barons and others pay can be increased before we will be within hailing distance of socialism.

"Not only are these policies not necessarily socialistic; they are the best bulwarks against socialism. They are homeopathic cures, vaccination against its growth. For private property today is on the defensive. It has no heaven-born sanction. It will endure only so long as it proves socially beneficial. The hour of social as well as political democracy has come. The ideal which will prevail, the ideal shared by socialists and individualist reformers alike, is the organization of industry in the interest of the masses of the people. Our existing order will endure if it can be made, and can be shown, to be true, that private property is a better means of attaining this end than collectivist property. It must be shown that within the existing framework of society we can combine private initiative and private energy with social control and social justice. Every tax-dodging millionaire, every city slum, every instance of shady high finance or of overworked and underpaid employes, is a potent argument for socialism. Remove the grievances—and they are many, even though exaggerated by the socialist out of all perspective—and the socialist has lost his best ammunition."

In brief, Professor Skelton's plan is to make capitalism more palatable to those whom it exploits and to give it an attractive appearance of respectability. It is a shrewd policy of seeking to save the fundamentals of capitalism by distributing alluring sops to the mass whose interest it is to overthrow it, and by veneering the system, to blind its victims to its artfully concealed enormities. Professor Skelton solemnly advises capitalists to turn themselves into a reform party and outdo all other reformers. This can be easily done, for whereas other reformers can merely agitate from the outside, the capitalist class has the power to enact whatever reforms suit its purposes. Professor Skelton is but one of a rising group of perspicacious men who are giving the capitalist class gratuitous and pointed instruction on the best methods of conserving its system.

It is unnecessary to point out the lessons that these facts convey to the Socialist movement. They are self-evident.

WHY CATHOLIC WORKERS SHOULD BE SOCIALISTS

By Timothy O'Neil

OUR Catholic fellow workers ought to become Socialists for the same reason that all workers belong in the Socialist movement. It does not matter whether you are a Catholic, or a Methodist, a Baptist or a Presbyterian, an Italian, Irishman or an American, a Japanese or a negro—if you are a working man or a working woman your place is in the Socialist movement.

The place of every working man and woman is in the Socialist movement because Socialism is the one movement in the world devoted to *protecting* the interests of the working class, to aiding the workers in securing shorter hours, higher wages and first, last and *all* the time to helping them in their efforts to improve their material living conditions.

Helping the workers is the every day aim of Socialism but the great goal towards which Socialists are working is a new society in which *every worker shall receive the value of his product*.

Think this over. Today we see the miners digging \$10 or even \$20 worth of coal or gold or copper a day. But the boss *keeps* the miner's product for *himself*. The miner is compelled to *divide up with his employer* and accept *low wages* while his boss appropriates his output.

If you are a baker, a butcher or a builder of houses, if you make clothes, or produce food, we propose to see to it that *you receive* the full value of these things without having your products kept by any employer.

In other words, we are working for a society where the man who plants a crop shall reap his own harvest; where the man who builds houses shall receive those houses, or the value of those houses; where every worker shall receive the value of the things he makes.

Today the workers sow all the wheat, make the bread, build the homes for the world, dig the coal, run the railroads to

make profits for the boss. We intend to stop making profits and working *for them* and begin to *make things for ourselves*. We shall work *for ourselves*, our wives and our families instead for working *for a boss*. We will give the boss a chance to *work for himself*.

Government statistics show that the average man, woman and child makes from \$2,000 to \$3,000 worth of things a year; that is, they produce between \$2,000 and \$3,000 worth of wealth every year. Their wages average about \$500 a year.

The workers must *organize to keep* the value of the wealth—the cloth they weave, shoes they make or coal they mine. They must stand together to *keep* this wealth *without dividing up with the employing class*.

When the workers rule the earth, the man or woman who works the longest will possess the most. If a man wants to work two hours a day, he will probably be paid something like \$1,000 a year. If he wants to work eight hours, he will receive something like \$4,000 a year. Probably all workers will earn much more than these figures would indicate because they will have *steady work*. And whenever a new machine is invented that lessens the number of hours it takes to make things, all the workers will receive more for their labor for they will be able to *produce more*.

We do not intend to permit anybody to make any *profit out of you or me*. We shall organize with the other workers of the world, Atheist, Presbyterian, Italian, German, Catholic, Chinaman, Negro,—all together into one great working class union. We shall ask every working man and woman in the world to join us. We shall guarantee easy work, short hours, a comfortable living and old age incomes to every useful member of society.

Socialism means that *you* shall receive the value of your work and *not* an idle boss

who performs no useful toil. It means that you will receive twice as much for your labor as I will receive if *you work twice as long*.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

You will often hear priests and clergymen speaking on Socialism. Sometimes they do not understand it and sometimes they misrepresent it.

We are organized to *abolish poverty from the face of the earth*. What have they to say about that? Are they with us? We need soldiers in the great army of the revolution. Will the churches join us in the great crusade?

Nobody can help you and me and our bosses at the same time. Because every time we secure shorter hours or higher wages it means lower dividends for the boss and whenever the boss can cut our wages or force us to work longer hours, it means more profits for him.

The church must help those who *work* against those *who sponge off* the workers. The church must lend its aid to those *who toil*, in their struggles with the idlers who *do no useful work*.

BREAKING UP THE HOME.

Every day we see homes being broken up all around us. The *homes of thousands of workers are broken up every day*. Fathers

are forced to leave their families and go to distant states *to get a job*; mothers are compelled to leave their babies and earn money in factories or mills to support them. Little children, who ought to be in school, have to go to work to keep the *wolf from the door*.

Low wages, uncertain jobs and the *profit system* are breaking up the homes of working people faster and faster every day.

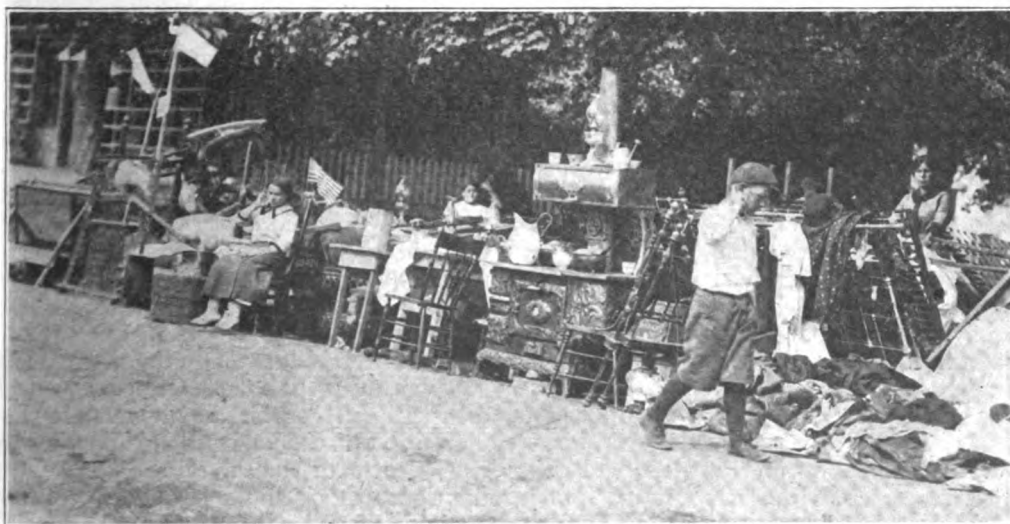
Poverty breaks up a million homes every year.

The security of your home depends upon your job and that is uncertain, because your *boss controls your job*. You are his working slave and he throws you out of work to *starve whenever he so desires*.

Socialists are organizing the working class to *own their own mills, factories, mines, farms and shops* so that every worker will be *certain of a job as long as he wants it*.

Read this over. Talk it over with your friends. Study Socialism. For 10 cents we will send you a booklet called *Shop Talks* which explains how the *boss robs you*. For \$1.00 we will send you *ten* booklets on Socialism and industrial unionism *and this magazine six months*.

We have told you a few of the reasons why *every* working man and woman should be a Socialist. Are you with us?



EVICTING WORKERS' FAMILIES DURING THE RECENT STRIKE AT IPSWICH, MASS.

RESUMING FERRER'S WORK!

By Aristides Pratelle

*Truth is going forward, and nothing can
stop it!*

—EMILE ZOLA.

*I hail with delight the work you are do-
ing!*

—JACK LONDON.

(From a letter to Aristides Pratelle.)

FOUR whole years have elapsed since the tragic day when Francisco Ferrer was shot in Montjuich, and our love for the murdered teacher is still so lively in our hearts that it seems to us as if the terrible event had taken place but yesterday!

But Ferrer is not dead at all! Indeed, we may say and prove that Ferrer's thought is always living amongst us, that Ferrer's example is always inspiring us and stimulating us in the days of gloom and depression, that Ferrer himself is always working among us and that during these four last years, Ferrer's work of uplift has been resumed successfully in quite new directions, and upon a most extended scale, with really original conceptions of how to teach and what to teach, and we may add, with a considerable stock of wonders quite unknown and undreamed of by the former Ferrer staff, during Ferrer's apostolate!

Shortly before the death of the Spanish educator, I outlined a scheme of a small series of elementary text-books, or "primers" to be used in the radical schools, which I was about to present to him in October, 1909, on the very month in which he was murdered. A few months before, Ferrer had written to me enthusiastically that he accepted me for a course in natural philosophy in the school for teachers which he expected to open in Paris in the year 1909. But the school for teachers was never established, alas! and instead of it, all his care was brought to his Spanish editorial house in Barcelona. What Ferrer alone had been powerless to create here in France sprang up naturally in the last months of 1910. It assumed the shape of a small weekly educational review, *L'Ecole Emancipée*. The Marseilles syndicate teachers had taken the

bold initiative to publish it, under the patronage of *The Federation of the Syndicates of Teachers of France and the Colonies*. At the end of its first year of existence, 1,800 copies of this periodical were printed weekly and it is said that now 5,000 weekly copies of *L'Ecole Emancipée* are issued and read all over the country. An unparalleled success, indeed, this bold little sheet, composed by the teachers and for the teachers. You will easily realize that our republican satraps look black upon this little sheet!

In *L'Ecole Emancipée*, the Mary Brothers and myself could develop fully our own standpoint regarding the problem of popular education in both its aspects, practical and theoretical. Our program of uplift is vast. Indeed, it is a most ambitious one; it is a revolution in human knowledge, in methods of teaching, as well as in methods of investigating and in our ways of understanding everything around us. Nevertheless, our program can be condensed into a single formula: the return to what has been best in the thought and life of the ancient world!

Perhaps some will exclaim that going forwards, we should never look backwards, that the past is dead and that tradition should not be brought to life again. Yet we will answer to them that there is tradition and tradition, and that if many things in the past were bad, some others were good and worthy to be taken as models. Thus, after careful consideration, we have been driven to this conclusion that the philosophical schools of ancient Greece had found the right way of thinking and the right way of living, in order to be just and happy. The Ionian and Adberitan philosophers were right, they were more sharp-sighted, and more deep-sighted than many scientists of



TRINIDAD FERRER KISSING HER DEAD FATHER. BY EMIL DERRE.

the present day when they outlined their bold dynamic synthesis of the Kosmos. The school of Athens was right when it taught its followers to practice wisdom in order to reach the true aims and end of mankind which is justice, fraternal love and harmony. Unfortunately the school of Athens misunderstood its elder sister, the Ionian School. The writings of the Ionian School have been lost. We today have understood

the aims and ideals of the two schools, realizing that one of these was the necessary complement of the other. If the living representatives of the two schools go on understanding each other as at present, our humanity may rid itself once for all with the curse of the ancient world, the Roman Church, which triumphed only too easily over philosophies lacking in adepts!

Reserving for another article the practical

side of this program of uplift, which we call "Duncanism," from the name of its world-famous founder, Raymond Duncan, we will only in a few words deal with this grand, magnificent, rational theory of the Kosmos which is called by us "neo-dynamism" or synthetic philosophy. This last term, it may be seen, had been used already by Spencer as being the general matter dealt with in his tremendous philosophical work. We stick to it at any rate, for the dynamist philosophy of the Kosmos, elucidated by Clemence Royer in the second half of the last century will be recognized by all in a very near future as a considerable improvement upon Spencer's own conceptions.

The living generations, indeed, owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Clemence Royer, the "French Newton," for having courageously brought to light the beautiful conceptions of Demogritos and the Ionian dynamists, for having with marvelous sharp-sightedness extended their principles to their ultimate consequences, turning up the old ideas regarding matter and life, these fanciful, irrational ideas through which we only saw the "wrong side" of things!

The benefits of such philosophical revolution are visible now in every branch of knowledge. Here, everywhere, from a formerly virgin soil, the vigorous sprouts of a young, rejuvenated science are springing up. Transformism and evolution of species are triumphant all along the line. Plasmogeny or synthetic biology is soaring. All over the world, a natural rebirth of Clemence Royer's ideas is taking place; and nothing is more curious, indeed, and more encouraging than this spontaneous genesis of these ideas in the brains of scientists from all countries, men who do not know themselves and who, up to this day, had never heard of Clemence Royer's theories!

Indeed, we may say that a wonderful and

most hopeful philosophical movement has started, a movement with numerous surprise and unlimited possibilities. It is to be thought that in a few years, the dynamist and substantialist philosophy of the Kosmos will be admitted everywhere on both continents, that in America as well as in Europe, the substance of the universe will be duly recognized as eternally living and active, as composed of elastic, expansible units which owing to their mutual repulsions, produce all the various phenomena to be seen around us. In the living, fluid, elastic, already conscious atom of Demokritos, we possess now the logical basis of a rational synthetic philosophy and the clue for thorough researches in all directions. Last year, we suggested our theories to the pupils in the Ferrer School at Lausanne (Switzerland) and may say that not only the children did understand it perfectly well, but that one of them has even "discovered" our theory of ether-pressure as producing the phenomenon of gravity!

Thus, it is a proven fact that a twelve-year-old child can understand the main principles of synthetic philosophy and even build them partially, by the mere force of his reason. In fact, such rational knowledge should not be acquired in books to begin with. It should be the direct result of the impressions received by our senses from the outward world. It should be created by the mere action of the sound reason of the child when studying these impressions, just as the ancient Greek philosophers had done. In the schools of tomorrow, the theoretical side of education, as well as the practical side, will no longer be a preparation to life. They will be life itself, and the investigations undertaken by the pupils in possession of such rational methods and principles will successfully extend themselves in all directions during the whole length of their lives.



WHY YOU NEED INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

(From "The Case for Amalgamation," by Jack Wills, published by Guy Bowman, 4 Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, London, England; price 2 cents.)

WHEN a strike occurred twenty years ago, owing to the puny means of transportation and the scarcity of skilled labor, it was with the utmost difficulty that men could be obtained to replace the strikers, and consequently the master, to save his business, caved in.

But Capitalism in its onward march breaks down the barriers that impede its progress.

The industrial revolution, bringing with it the invention of the steam engine, and later on the building of railways, revolutionized the methods of production and the means of transport; manufacture gave way to machinofacture.

With the introduction of machinery, tools that were formerly operated by hand, by the skilled mechanic have been transferred to an iron body called "a machine." Thus we see the tools of an engineer embodied in the automatic lathe; those of the blacksmith in the steam hammer; those of the carpenter in the steam saw and the plane; those of the compositor in the linotype; those of the spinner and weaver in the modern spinning and weaving machines; those of the stevedore and skilled laborer in the modern cranes, lifts and so on.

The work formerly done by hand labor is now performed more rapidly and accurately by the machine.

The machine reduces complex labor to simple labor, and being driven by motive power, a little human exertion is required to attend it; consequently, the machine minder can be either a man, woman or child, and the skilled mechanic finds himself not only being displaced by the unskilled and semi-skilled manual worker, but also by female and child labor.

Under the system of hand labor, the workman controlled the tools which were subjected to his wishes and desires; they were his servants. With machinofacture

the machine is the dictator. The actions of the minder and feeder must be in simultaneous co-operation with the machine. In fact, the human being becomes part of the machine. When ready to start, these iron monsters demand attention from their human subordinates, and that attention must not be relaxed until the order is given to close down.

Thus, not only the skill, but the independence of the worker is sapped. He is reduced to a mere automaton. The relations of the workers to the tools of production are reversed.

The Passing of Apprenticeship.

The apprenticeship system is gradually disappearing. As an example, a young man who formerly had to serve seven years' apprenticeship in order to become a compositor, can now become a full fledged linotype operator in six months' time, by following a six months' course of training at the linotype school on payment of three guineas.

The introduction of machinery, and the use of new materials have rapidly increased the division of labor. New trades spring up which call into being special sections of workers to perform a particular piece of work which previously formed part of a recognized craft.

The boot, which under handicraft conditions was made by the individual bootmaker, now passes through no less than 120 different hands in the course of its production in a modern factory. The boot operative no longer requires the knowledge to make a boot throughout, but specializes in making a part of the boot and then passes it on to another operative to perform his particular portion of the work, and so it is handed from section to section until it becomes a finished commodity.

In the building trade, new material such as terra-cotta, glazed tiles, wood blocks for flooring, steel frame work, etc., has called into being classes of workmen who special-

ize in handling these particular kinds of material.

This development, causing as it does a superabundance of skilled artisans, breaks down the monopoly the craftsmen formerly possessed. The displacement has been so extensive in every calling that the supply of labor is greater than the demand. This has resulted in keen competition amongst those who have been termed the aristocracy of labor.

The ownership of capital has been transferred from the individual capitalist to the gigantic limited company, and it is beyond the wildest dreams of the ordinary workman to rise through diligence, perseverance, and thrift to occupy the position of a modern capitalist.

The conflict over the division of wealth created by labor has become keener and more brutal.

Craft Divisions Disappearing.

It will be seen clearly that the conditions under which our craft unions secured success have disappeared.

It is true that attempts have been made to combat this weakness by amalgamating local and national unions catering for a given craft into one national union. But even a national craft union is insufficient to cope with modern industrial conditions.

The machine compels the working together of a large number of workers of diverse and connected trades. Although working together for one employer in the workshop, the workers have not yet learned to get their trade unions to work together.

The division of labor previously referred to has brought into existence numerous new

unions, each having an entirely separate policy and maintaining a position of glorified isolation.

Instead of trying to rectify these wrongs, we have wasted our time and energy in quarreling over who should do a particular piece of work. The bitterness which these demarcation disputes have brought about has often ended in open conflict by one union striking against the other.

The Folly of Sectionalism.

Even when the dispute is waged against the employer directly, the workers are often defeated through one section of an industry going on strike, and leaving at work other crafts in the same industry. The fact of those crafts remaining at work constitutes blacklegging quite as effective as that of the professional blacklegs.

From what cause does this deplorable state of affairs arise? It is not because those who stop in at work are not imbued with the same spirit of unionism as those on strike, or because they wish to see the strikers defeated, for they are generally the first to resent the position in which they are placed of having to remain at work through being in another union. The cause is to be found in the antiquated form of organization which does not unite the workers within an industry so as to permit of quick and concerted action.

Their efforts are turned to disaster because their organizations do not correspond with the methods of production in modern society. They were successful in their time, but that was the age of *manufacture*, not *machinofacture*.





WOMEN IN JAPAN

By S. Katayama

UNDER the feudal regime the Japanese woman was the slave of man; at best she was but his amusing tool. Buddhism as well as Confucianism regarded women as entirely inferior creatures who should be always subjected to men. Buddhism counted women as sinful beings and the education of Japanese girls was considered an evil to be rejected altogether.

According to Confucius women were to be subordinate all their lives. When young, the girl should obey her parents and when married she was expected to obey her husband, his father and his mother. Upon the death of her husband she rendered obedience to her son.

But these old concepts of women have almost passed away in Japan today. Girls are educated throughout the country at grammar schools and in the higher branches of knowledge.

On the other hand capitalist economy requires girls and women to exploit and the

high cost of living is forcing them into various factories. No regard is given for the health of this class of workers. In many spinning factories girl workers are employed where the mills run continually—day and night. The old ideas of women in every phase of Japanese life are changing very rapidly.

Among the classes more comfortably situated, the girls are making great headway in various kinds of work. Many are employed in post offices and as telephone operators. Girls are employed in the booking offices of the national railways and as clerks in the transportation department of the government. There are women editing our magazines and our newspapers. We have now many girls' magazines—all edited and managed by women. Japan has many women authoresses who command a large number of readers.

This is a great gain in the position of our women compared with the status of the women of old Japan.

Another field has recently been thrown open to our women. Many are entering upon stage careers as actresses or opera singers. Japan has long possessed actresses and public women singers but in the old days their professions were never considered respectable ones. It is only for two or three years that we have had women and girls acting upon the stage in company with men.

Several years ago, Prof. S. Tsubouchi, of the Count of Okuma's University, started a dramatic association and produced several plays from the German and English, among them, *Hamlet*, *Caesar*, *Shaw's You Never Can Tell*, *Ibsen's Doll House* and others. From the beginning many dramatic clubs and societies were organized in which the girls took part.

This is a great gain for the girls because in the old style theatres respectable girls were not allowed to appear in the scenes. Female parts were taken in our plays by men especially trained in their parts. These men were called "Onnagata." Even today we have quite a number of noted "Onnagata."

With the appearance of REAL women in the scenes the "Onnagata" appeared more and more unnatural. Girls are now generally taking female roles and we have developed several excellent actresses in Tokyo. Miss Kaku Murata and Miss Nomi Hatsuse are well known and promising actresses of the day.

They come from the common people and, artistically as well as intellectually, are commanding the attention of the public. Both belong to the Imperial Theatre of Tokyo, the best theatre modelled after the western style, in this city.

They are now producing girls in operas in Japan. This is really a new thing among us, but all have progressed very auspiciously. The Imperial Theatre has produced

several operas with women in the roles and the public has greeted them enthusiastically. This theatre has schools for teaching acting and singing and they are receiving thirty times as many applicants as they can accommodate. Girls are flocking to the new profession.

The last opera produced in the Imperial Theatre was *Die Zauberflöte*, by Mozart. The caste was composed of young people. The production of the opera was the beginning of a new art to them and under the circumstances they accomplished great things, particularly Miss Nobu Hara, aged twenty-five, a pupil from the Tokyo Academy of Music. Unable to complete her studies because of poverty, she has succeeded largely through her own efforts. Her soprano voice is exquisitely sweet and clear. Last autumn she sang in Shanghai during the whole season and thus established a reputation in Japan. She is now teaching in the Opera School and singing in the Imperial Theatre. Her voice ranges over three octaves and she is best on Puccini and De Bussey pieces. She is the first woman to be able to sing Puccini in Japan.

Miss Hara is young, studious and very popular, having deep sympathy with the common people from whom she came. Already she is the prima donna of Japan and the leader of the new movement for girls.

The new movement is very inspiring to our women and girls. New fields are opening up to them and in the theatre and in the opera they are now recognized as artists who can do fine things. Japan has gained a new respect for women through the new movement. Women in public life are no longer regarded as the Geisha girls.

The Japanese woman is awake; she is making rapid strides forward. It will not be long before she will claim her true position in society.



WHAT CONSTITUTES POLITICAL ACTION

By R. C. Woodbury

IN these stirring times we hear much of political and of direct action, of their relative advantages as a means whereby the emancipation of the workers may be effected. When on the one hand we find political action repudiated and on the other, direct actionists decried as being anarchistic, we, who are gifted with a sense of humor, only smile and say to ourselves that sooner or later the great educator, the machine, will show to all concerned that each of these extremes is as untenable as the other.

A misunderstanding in regard to a premise of the definition of a term employed, is often a cause of much useless and idle discussion. What then is political action? Does it mean parliamentary action only or is it really wider in scope? Needless to say, Socialism, which implies industrial freedom, is, if anything, a question of ownership and it is by means of the state that the capitalist class maintains its ownership of the tools and machines of production. The state in its legislative, executive or judicial forms, implies coercion and for practical purposes the terms state and government are synonymous. Therefore in order to obtain that ownership now in the hands of the master class, the workers must first obtain control of the power of the state, which maintains that ownership and politics being the science of government, it is political power which must be obtained and so it is the only sort of power with which we are here concerned. Those who doubt this may afford themselves a practical demonstration of the fact that it is political power or the power of the state, which the capitalist class uses to maintain its ownership of the machinery of production and consequently of the product.

If you take home some of the things you have produced—even a loaf of bread, the police will hand you over to the court which in its turn will hand you over to the prison.

In the words of Engels, "The Modern State is only the organization that bourgeois society takes on in order to support the external conditions of the capitalist mode of production against the encroachments of the workers as well as of individual capitalists. The modern state no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the state of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital." Recently Colonel Mulhall and his 20,000 letters have conclusively proven that Engel's definition, at least so far as the United States is concerned, is absolutely correct.

The platform of the Socialist party of Canada says: "The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold—the worker to secure—it by political action. This is the class struggle." The platform of the Socialist Party of Great Britain says: "As the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic."

Evidently the term political action as used in the platforms of these two Socialist parties, applies only in the narrow and restricted sense and means but the use of the ballot by the workers but such can readily be proved to be erroneous and if Engel's definition be correct, obviously any action whatever, peaceful or otherwise, which has as its aim and object the securing of the power of the state, is political action. Par-

liamentary action is but the indirect form of political action. It is not impossible for it to also exist in a direct form.

There are then two kinds or forms of political action, direct and indirect, which are complimentary and bear the same relationship to each other and the working class movement, as do organic and inorganic matter to each other and to matter as a whole. As to the respective merits of direct and indirect action, we are not at present concerned, but we wish to reiterate and emphasize the fact that "*the State is the sword of the master class.*" It lives by this sword and "by this sword it shall perish"; and that any action, direct or indirect, is political action to the extent that it lessens the political power in the hands of the master class.

The power of the State is not a fixed and absolute quantity but is a relative term by which is meant that the capitalists possess more political power than the workers; not that the former possess all and the latter none, for even in 1848, as stated in the opening page of the "Communist Manifesto," "Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power." So, we see, it is but a case of the capitalists possessing *more* power than the workers, just as in the heavyweight championship battle between Johnson and Burns, it was a case of "too much Johnson." If the political barometer remains steady and high, we may safely predict fair weather for the capitalist class, whereas a sudden fall of the column portends stormy weather and trouble for that same class.

Then any action, direct or indirect, on the part of the workers which decreases the power of the capitalist class is political action rightly understood and less power for one class means more for the other.

Why not, then, if we wish to deserve the name, class-conscious revolutionists, cease to hide the light of political action under a bushel and misrepresent, contort, and attempt to narrow down its meaning to the marking of a ballot? In the opinion of the writer it is high time that the foremost and most intelligent portion of the working class should practice some of the things they profess to believe and not only avowedly but tacitly adopt and apply not that narrow metaphysical method of reasoning which "sooner or later," as Engels says, "becomes one-sided, restricted, lost in insoluble contradictions," but rather when at-

tempting to interpret social phenomena, make use of the highest form of reasoning, dialectics, which "comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin and ending."

The ballot has played but a light part in the revolutions which have occurred up to the present time but new conditions may demand new methods. We desire peaceful political action but we are not sentimentalists and shall establish a saner system of society, "peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must." The methods we use depend in a great measure on the attitude taken towards us by the capitalists, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that in some countries the form of political action used will not be peaceful. The capitalist class has less to fear from an educated than from an ignorant working class so far as violence is concerned, but the more restrictions there are placed on the apparently peaceful methods, the ballot, and the general strike, and the longer the social revolution is thus deferred, the greater the oppression, and poverty, misery and degradation will exist at the time forcible action may be required, the more final, full and complete will the results of that revolution be.

Macaulay, one of the leading writers on history, which England has produced, says: "We deplore the outrages which accompany revolutions. But the more violent the outrages, the more assured we feel that a revolution was necessary. The violence of these outrages will always be proportioned to the ferocity and ignorance of the people; and the ferocity and ignorance of the people will always be proportioned to the oppression and degradation under which they have been accustomed to live."

In spite of the facts, there are some who claim that it is not political but rather economic power which keeps us in slavery.

Now what is this economic power? Briefly speaking it is control of the job and political power is the reflex of economic power. It is political power which is used to prevent infringements on the direct ownership of machinery and control of the job. Since political power is a reflex of economic interests certain Philistines arrive at the erroneous conclusion that political power is not worth bothering about, which is equal to saying that natural laws are necessary but human laws for the improvement of society

are not; that is, that apart from nature, man should not attempt to map out his own destiny. Although a reflex ordinarily has no material existence yet in this instance, it has a very material and actual one, which may be proved to your entire satisfaction by a policeman's baton coming in contact with your skull. Then, whatever else you may see, you will clearly perceive that if money talks, so does also the power of the state which is, in the final analysis, another name for physical force.

The definition of economic power and its relation to political power, is generally accepted as being correct and therefore a decrease or increase in economic power is followed by a corresponding change in political power and vice versa.

The "Communist Manifesto" states that "each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class" that "generally speaking, for the economic development of the bourgeoisie, England is taken as the typical country; for its political development, France." Furthermore, although Marx and Engels are unlike the Pope, as regards infallibility, I am charitable enough to believe that if all concerned were to make themselves thoroughly familiar with the "Communist Manifesto," "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," and "Value, Price and Profit" there would be more harmony and less acrimonious discussion in the Socialist Party. If utility is any standard of comparison, these three pamphlets are of much

more value to the working class than a whole Carnegie library.

In conclusion, we repeat that since Socialism is a question of ownership and that which enables the capitalist class to maintain its ownership of the means of life and consequently of ourselves, is political power. It is true that political power is the reflex of economic power, or ownership—the control of the job, and since political and economic power are dependent on each other for existence, when we lessen one of these and we lessen both. Therefore any action, direct or indirect, which lessens either the economic or political power in the hands of the capitalist class is, in the long run, not misnamed when we call it political action, which term we respectfully insist on using. For there is something in a name, when the name is right and in the words of Plecanoff, "Every class struggle is a political struggle." And there were class struggles before anybody ever heard of the ballot.

Finally, rather than waste our efforts in any acrimonious discussion on whether it is ninety per cent political or ninety per cent economic power which keeps us in slavery, let us recall a remark made by Theophile Gautier, one of the foremost of French romantic novelists during the first half of the last century. He says: "It is always a stick which governs you and I am surprised that men of progress should dispute about the choice of a cudgel to tickle their shoulders, when it would be much more progressive and less expensive to break it and throw the pieces to the devils."

LET US SUPPORT OUR OWN PRESS

By Carl Ulonska

THERE is one thing that every Socialist must learn to do and that is to support the press of his class, support the paper, the magazine that represents your ideas, the one that fights the battles of your class, the working class.

One of the greatest needs of the Socialist movement today is a powerful press, it is essential to the workers in the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

With the growth of the Socialist movement capitalist editors have found it most

profitable to publish semi-Socialist and reform news and articles; magazines that are not Socialist but merely muck-raking reform publications have had the support of Socialists.

It is a fact that a magazine which pretends to represent Socialism advocates the amalgamation of the Socialist Party with the Progressive Party and endorses the Boy Scout movement.

There is a magazine from the time it pretended to endorse Socialism has had the

heartly support and co-operation of many so-called "prominent Socialists" and the result has been that many well meaning but misinformed Socialists rallied to the support of this reform publication while the revolutionary Socialist press has suffered in loss of and in many cases were forced to suspend publication.

The press is a most powerful educational factor.

Under capitalist control it has held the workers in mental servitude for years, it has blinded us to our own interests.

The working class must come to the realization that no leader or prophet can emancipate it. Our emancipation lies only within ourselves; our struggle is not only a political struggle but also an industrial struggle.

We cannot fuse with the ruling class, the class that exploit us, we cannot compromise with the small business man who seeks to retard the coming revolution, reform amounts to nothing, it is as some one has aptly said, but a bone thrown to the working class to keep them from taking that which belongs to them.

In our struggle for freedom we must move as a unit, as a class, as rebels against the existing order of society.

If we are to teach the working class Socialism, that stands for something more than electing politicians to office we must

put revolutionary Socialist papers, magazines, and books into their hands.

NO MEMBER OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY HAS ANY VALID REASON TO SUPPORT ANY PAPER OR MAGAZINE THAT UPHOLDS THE PRESENT SYSTEM, NOR SHOULD HE GIVE HIS SUPPORT TO ANY MAGAZINE OR PAPER THAT PRETENDS TO REPRESENT SOCIALISM BUT ADVOCATES THE AMALGAMATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO ANY POLITICAL PARTY REPRESENTING CAPITALISM.

Such magazines and papers have come into our movement, they seek the support of the working class by alluring cover designs and pictures; they pretend to advocate Socialism but constantly teach the workers to be content with reform and reform measures.

Rather an Otis or a Blethen fighting our party from the outside than so-called Socialist magazines and papers fighting from the inside by seeking to degenerate the Socialist Party into a mere reform party.

The time has come when the Socialists must realize this danger, we must educate ourselves before we attempt to educate others. Let us begin our own education by **SUPPORTING OUR OWN PRESS.**

NEO-MALTHUSIANISM

The Control of Child-Bearing

By Caroline Nelson

LARGE families and poverty go together. The rich and well-to-do have few children. It is the workers, and the poorest at that who have children they cannot care for. They simply bring their little ones into the world to become cheap slaves in the labor market. Ignorant people, of course, believe that it is an incident in the scheme of things that the poor have more children. The plain fact about it is that the leisure class practices artificial sterilization. They determine how many children to have; or to have none at all.

But the moment one begins to suggest that the workers should do the same thing, society holds up its hands in horror, and

screams "race suicide," as though it were not worse to produce children doomed to poverty and suffering than to refuse to bear any. When parents bring children into the world that they cannot support, nature eventually punishes the whole race.

An international society has been formed in Europe under the name of Neo-Malthusianism, for the purpose of teaching the workers to control child-bearing. It is also called the modern Malthusianism, and first appeared among the French peasants. As we know, Malthus the English theologian, rested his theory on the ground that man increased faster than the earth's productiveness to support him. He pointed out that

the working class increased in proportion to its lack of sustenance. To avoid a final calamity he advocated late marriages and wars and pestilence to kill off some of the poor. His idea was raw and barbaric, but it satisfied the capitalist class. The central idea was that man should consciously control the birth rate. To say that this is immoral, is equal to saying that man should not use his reason and will power. Those, of the Roosevelt type, who preach the immorality of birth regulation praise the mass murder of wars with a clear conscience.

As long as the French ruling class practiced Neo-Malthusianism within their own border lines, so long did press and pulpit keep silent about it; but as soon as the working class took it up, then there arose a terrible howl. The howl was so loud that the authorities of learned men and official dignitaries investigated the matter. After a careful consideration they decided that there was no real danger in the modern Malthusianism; that at its best it could only help the individual worker economically, while it contained no real social danger. This silenced public opinion.

The French workers held no public meetings to discuss the subject, but privately the idea penetrated the whole mass by word of mouth, pamphlets and leaflets. "Think for yourself, do not place children in the world that you cannot support," was the cry. All went well until the capitalists found that women and children became scarce for their factories.

Women and children play the chief role in the industrial life of France. And it was the factory owner that first woke up to the fact that his cheap labor source had been cut short. It hit him squarely in the pocketbook. Ruin stared him in the face. In his frightened imagination he saw his factories empty, and he immediately called on the state to set its machinery in motion, but alas! no state has yet the power to compel parents to reproduce their kind. Starvation and jail has no effect on the worker in that case. Here is where he can get the ruling class to crawl on its knees. Here is a strike that can't fail. No eloquent fool can say to the workers, "This is a mystic dream of despair!" To regulate the production of labor-power, is to regulate profit, and render the profit monger helpless. This is not a matter of hope built

on theory, but a matter of education of the simplest kind.

The French statesmen grew nervous about it. The ever handy statistician told in plain figures that the French nation would disappear in 50 years. Had the dear French workers ceased to love their country? All the literature about Neo-Malthusianism was confiscated by law. The advocates were arrested. The liberal press, whose editors had no children, preached about the honor due to parents with a large family. The priest, whose religion forbade him to be a parent, thundered against the wickedness of bearing only one or two children. The whole brood of ruling class mouth-pieces was set in motion to save the workers from this dreadful sin. The result was that the control of child-bearing took deeper root. The farmer and the worker went to church with their wives, and heard the priests thundering. "They may be right," they would say, "but we can't afford to have any more children."

Where everything else fails, baits must now be thrown out to married folks. In Germany, where they need much food for cannon, there has long been a reward for families with many boys. France adopted the reward idea not only for boys but for girls as well. The only thing, however, that the French ruling class accomplished through all its agitation against Neo-Malthusianism was to spread it among all other nations. Everybody heard about this movement in France, and the net result is an international society.

In Sweden the society publishes a journal called *The New Moral*. There the ground was prepared by Knut Wicksell and Anton Nystrom. Wicksell is a revolutionist and a proletarian.

In Denmark, the editor of the syndicalist paper, "Solidaritets," has written a book on the subject, which pictures to the dullest mind the tragedy of irresponsibly crowding children into the world. Christian Christensen was born in the slums of Copenhagen of a large family. He speaks from sad experience. When he was only ten years old he was sent to work in a match factory, where he in common with the other children he was thrashed by the grown workers whom they attended. He organized the boys together with those in the surrounding



CHRISTIAN CHRISTENSEN.

factories, and one day they posted a notice in the factory that there was a strike of the children and that they would not go back to work until they got a raise in wages without thrashings. The manager was away and came rushing back. The men could not work without the children so the factory had to close down. The manager granted the children's demands and posted a notice to the effect that no one would be allowed to punish the child workers. The men then refused to go back. They were strongly organized with cash in their treasury. They shamelessly offered the boss the difference in the wages of grown-up workers, until he could supplant the striking boys with other, unorganized children who would take their beatings and say nothing.

But the kiddies were such good pickets that the grown scabs couldn't get near the factory. A big building was under construction next door and the workers on it stood by the children and furnished them with bricks. The parents of the striking children were also against them. A brave boy got a licking at home one morning and then was taken by his mother to the boss to receive another licking. Then he was ordered

to work. His comrades on the picket line heard his shrieks as the blows rained down on him, but in a short time his head was seen sticking out over a board fence, and he cried out, "Here I am again; no scabbin' for me, Hurrah!"

Now, Mr. Lyngsie, president of the unskilled trade workers' union, to which the match-workers belonged, solved the problem by appealing to the authorities to break up the boys' union. They promptly dug up a law which forbade the organization of any minors, without having six adult men at the head. The poor boys were all under age. Christensen who was the head of them and who had the books and the cash in his possession, was called into court. While he was gone the police went to his home and carried off the books and cash. The cash was for strike benefit, and there was about two hundred crowns. This ended the children's strike and organization, broken up by the demand of the adult workers. That is the kind of class-consciousness that the craft unions have produced in Denmark.

No wonder the youthful Christian early learned to have no faith in the craft unions. When he became a man he eagerly threw himself heart and soul into Neo-Malthusianism.

It does not take a philosopher to see that having many children renders working class parents almost helpless in the hands of their masters. When they go on strike the children's cry for bread drives them back. Machinery becomes so perfected that children drive fathers out of their jobs. The children, in turn, have no chance to become thinking men and women. They are not equipped for any kind of a battle for life. They are a thousand times worse off than the jungle child. They are not born because their parents want them, but of an irresponsibility that is inexcusable in the 20th century.

The Swedish ruling class has passed a law forbidding the Neo-Malthusianists to help the workers practically along this line. But they carry on the educational work just the same. And in a few years this thing is going to loom large upon the horizon in every country. It is the duty of every worker to spread this teaching among his class. We may find that it will give us additional strength in our ceaseless war on the Profit System.



COMRADES KIRK AND McKEE.

PROPAGANDA IN JAILS AND PRISONS

By E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee,

San Diego County Jail, Calif.

EVERY Socialist Platform should contain a plank relating to prisons and jails. It should embody the fact that the bulk of the persons confined belong to the working class; that their offenses are generally against property laws, and are of a nature that would disappear with a sane economic system. After recognizing the prisoners and their offenses, there should follow a statement that special efforts should be made to reach the prisoners and the officials of the prisons and jails with the Socialist program. The Immediate Demands should also, we believe, contain a demand for the prisoners, to the effect that so long as persons are punished by confinement, their surroundings should be both sanitary and hygienic, and the places of confinement should be open to public inspection. Also, when prisoners are compelled to work, the value of their labor should be paid to the order of the prisoner.

What Is Crime?

A crime is any act or omission which is expressly commanded or prohibited, and which the state prosecutes and punishes in its own name.

Crimes are either felonies or misdemeanors.

A felony is a crime which is punishable with death or by imprisonment in the state prison. Every other crime is a misdemeanor.

The minimum punishment in a state prison is one year; the general maximum punishment in a county or city jail being six months. There are a few exceptions in each case.

The total number of those who are jailed is appalling. The city jails, the county jails, the reformatories and the state prisons harbor hundreds of thousands each year. Naturally the prisoners come from the working class. Very few capitalists see jail or prison from the "inside looking out." The crimes for which punishment is inflicted are mostly infractions of the property laws, the inevitable outcome of the present social system.

Jail life makes rebels. Every prisoner is a protestant, some boldly, some whining and others sullen. They each feel that the law and the authorities have discriminated against them. But theirs is a blind protest.

They cannot put their finger on the exact cause. In many instances the prisoner places the blame on some individual or set of individuals. He either "has it in for" the district attorney, the police, the judge, his "pals," his own bad luck or weakness. Without knowing it, this protest is against society and present conditions.

Here is the field for the Socialist. Through our literature the prisoner may learn why he has been punished; why other offenses of greater hurt to society are unpunished. He will learn history in its rightful sense, and as a victim of the system, he will apply it correctly. He will thus be able, not only to adjust himself to jail life making it less intolerable, but when he comes out will see the world through different eyes.

Briefly, the Socialist Party has the opportunity to change the prisoner from a blind rebel into an intelligent revolutionist. The possibilities of this are thrilling.

The rule as to reading matter in jails and prisons is generally that he may have anything that is published outside of the state in which the prison is situated. There is almost unlimited time for reading, and outside of the books supplied from the prison library (there are no libraries in county or city jails) the only printed matter is of a religious nature. Socialist papers, books, and magazines will furnish material for discussion and will prove of real value.

A Few Suggestions.

How are any of these things to be done? Well, that all depends on your opportunities and willingness. See the jail in your town. Have you ever been inside? Citizens have the right to inspect public property. It may be that your local jail is a disgrace from every viewpoint. Look it over, talk to prisoners, and learn if you can better their conditions. If so, go to it. Tell the facts, first to the officials of the jail, and if there is nothing doing, then to the newspapers. Pass resolutions of censure.

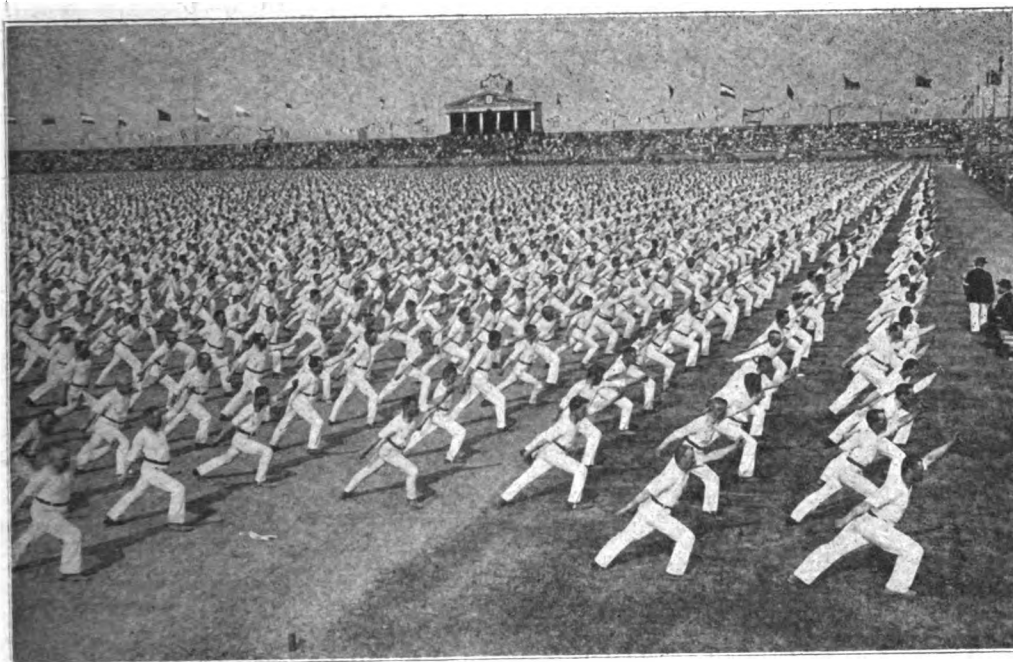
If sanitary conditions are all right—and

that's rare and unusual—then find out if a visiting committee cannot get in to see the prisoners at stated times. Religious bodies have a chance to tell the prisoner about his soul; you should have the same chance to explain the present day industrial, political and economic conditions. The average prisoner is in your local jail for some petty offense. But every man charged with crime passes through the county jails. The inmates of these little jails don't get into the limelight of the reforms that some of the larger prisoners are enjoying. They will be glad to see you. "When a feller needs a friend" is the time he will listen closely. Besides he gets a chance to discuss matters with Socialists.

Of course, it is apparent that the local doing the work will not benefit by an increase of members from the jails. The men generally scatter on being released. But there is also this advantage. A prisoner has no interest in professing to be interested in Socialism as he has in an emotional doctrine. They learn to understand. The fruits of teaching are to give the men confined, a new hope, a new language, and the consciousness of their own class.

If there are women prisoners in your local jail, find out if there is a matron. If so, what are her duties, and do the Socialist women interest themselves in her? In the San Diego county jail, there has been a matron for fifteen years, yet never until a year ago did any women's organization attempt to assist her with her charges. And from inquiries made from turnkeys and jailors with many years' experience, we find that no union, no radical organization has ever approached them in an endeavor to interest them in humanizing their work.

So let's investigate the local jails and prisons for the benefit of both prisoners and guards. Propaganda work can be done there. And also let us see that our national and state platforms declare the Socialist position toward the prison victims of this system.



SEVENTEEN THOUSAND TURNERS GOING THROUGH THEIR EXERCISES AT THE INTERNATIONAL TURNVEREINS' CONGRESS HELD RECENTLY AT LEIPSIK.

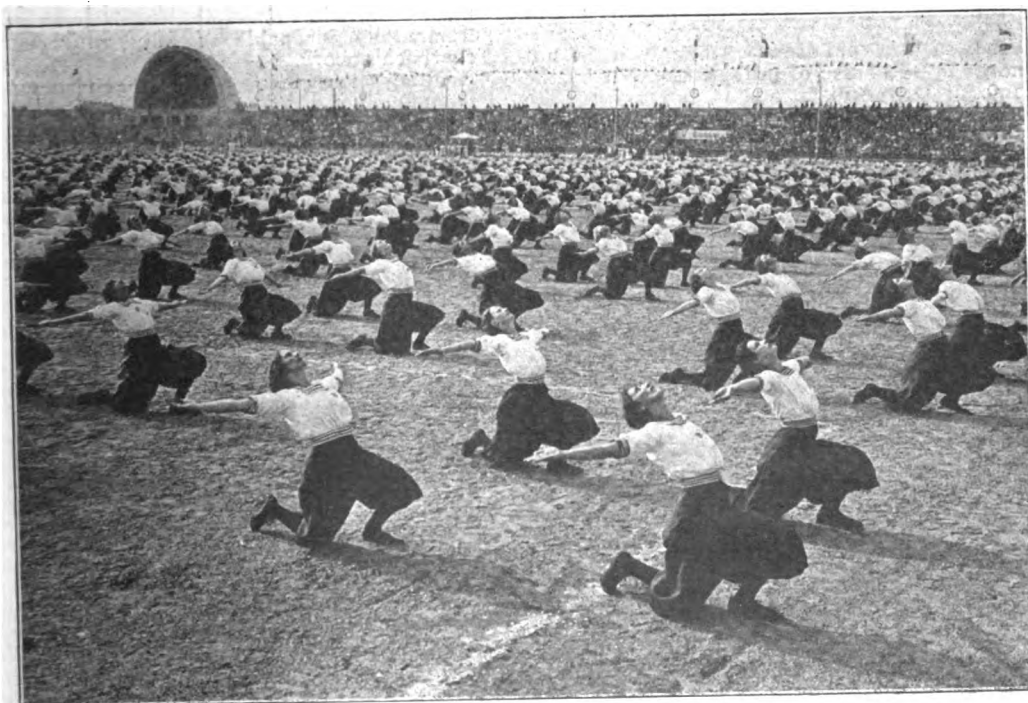


Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

PRAGMATISM

The Larger Aspects of Socialism. By William English Walling. The Macmillan Co., New York, \$1.50 net.

By Marcus Hitch

THIS book is a welcome recognition of the fact that the Socialist political party does not embrace all the factors of the proletarian revolution. The political party eschews philosophy and religion; but these are as much alive today as ever, though they generally go under other names. The author finds in the pragmatism of John Dewey the elements of the coming Socialist philosophy. A large portion of his book is taken up with comments on and quotations from Spencer, Stirner, Nietzsche, John Dewey on education and Ellen Key on sex matters. It almost seems as if the book were an attempt to claim for Socialism the brilliant writers of the individualist-anarchist school, to whom proletarian literature is an abomination. We doubt if the attempt would be approved either by those writers themselves or by the Socialists in whose interest the claim purports to be made.

"How does it happen," asks Walling, "that the modern Socialist philosophy did not come from the Socialist movement? What I mean is, that since Marx and Engels made a decided beginning in the direction of pragmatism more than half a century ago, we might have expected that the socialist movement would also produce the socially radical philosophy of the present day." The answer is, it has produced such a philosophy, though it is not known by the name of pragmatism, but by the name of Dietzgenism, and it differs from the former in substance as well as in name.

For pragmatism the logical unity of the world is a negligible abstraction. In his 11th letter on logic Dietzgen says: "All distinctions must logically be based on the consciousness of the absolute and universal unity, of the interconnection of all things. For this reason some pious people, with their God, in whom all things live and have their being, have more logic than some free-thinkers who have no coherence in their method of thought. How can a man who is out of touch with the mass of the 'shifting' population feel that he is one with the universe?"

It is doubtful whether an admirer of Spencer, Stirner and Nietzsche would take kindly to the Dietzgen philosophy, but the obligations of pretentious authorship require at least a fair discussion of it.

Walling disposes of Dietzgen in a single sentence, as follows: "If, then, we find a Socialist philosopher like Dietzgen offering a system of scientific reasoning as a key to the riddles of the universe, we will certainly attach no particular significance to the fact that he was a Socialist, but merely remember that he was caught, as even Socialists must frequently be (according to their own philosophy) in the current of his times."

Having erroneously put Dietzgen in the same class of materialists as Haeckel, he apologizes for poor Joseph, who, though a good Socialist, was, so far as his science goes, swept away in the current of his times. Yes, he was; but in which current—the current of one-sided materialism or the current of all-around materialism, which wipes out materialism as the all-classism of labor wipes out classes?

For Dietzgen there is no riddle of the universe; the riddle is in the mind; it is the riddle of cognition. He completely solved this riddle by showing what knowledge is and what it is not, and that no difficulty arises except by trying to make out of knowledge more than there is to it and straining after some other and different kind of knowledge than simple human knowledge, and thus gratuitously manufacturing a riddle where none actually exists.

The Socialist movement, especially in America, needs greatly the broadening and deepening that can only come from a philosophy and religion that harmonize with the needs and aims of the working class. Feuerbach achieved on the religious field what Marx did on the economic, any disparagement of Engels to the contrary notwithstanding. Engels was temperamentally incapable of fully appreciating Feuerbach's work.

Walling's knowledge of Feuerbach seems to be confined to Engels' well-known pamphlet, with the appendix containing eleven fragmentary notes or paragraphs hurriedly scribbled down by Marx in 1845; it was after this date that Feuerbach wrote his most important works, all of which are now accessible in a new edition of his complete works. Lassalle frankly recognized the importance of Feuerbach's labors; in a letter to him dated October 21, 1863, Lassalle says: "The progressives are rationalists of the shallowest sort, and the same battle which you wage on the theological field I am now waging on the political and economic field. I should be exceedingly sorry to have this deep, inner identity unrecognized,—an identity which, even though unrecognized, would remain a historical and philosophical fact."

The seed sown by Feuerbach found its proper soil in the sweet, well-balanced soul of Joseph Dietzgen, whose open mind was free from the blind fury of the old materialists against everything called religious. Prepared by Feuerbach and by his own independent studies he was able to assimilate the teachings of Marx's *Capital* with marvelous rapidity. See his letter to Marx of Nov. 5, 1867. His keen intellect read between the lines of Marx's economic writings, not pragmatism (a new name for some old ways of thinking), but a

new philosophy, a new materialism, broad enough to include both the world of matter and the world of mind; call it monism, pan-materialism, systematic world-view or anything you please. Seeing that Marx would probably never get time enough to develop this philosophy Dietzgen was spurred on in his work. A year and a half later he "went back to Kant" and brought out in 1869 his little book entitled "A Renewed Critique of Pure and Practical Reason." We respectfully recommend his writings to all pragmatists and others who are interested in the larger aspects of Socialism.

Though Walling devotes one whole sentence to Joseph Dietzgen, he does not deign to waste a single word on Ernest Untermann, Eugene Dietzgen, Adolf Hepner, Henriette Roland-Holst and other Dietzgenists. Shall we attribute this to the author's shortcomings, or was he, even though a pragmatist, swept away in the current of his environment?

It is difficult at best to interest the masses in improving their methods of thought. If it is true that pragmatism is the best expression of the Socialist philosophy, every effort should be made to spread a knowledge of it among the masses. Its doctrines should be published in cheap form and their bearing pointed out as affecting the actual struggles of the workers on both the industrial and political field, as has been done for Dietzgenism by Roland-Holst and others. We were not aware that the pragmatists had distinguished themselves in the Socialist movement in any way, not even by showing the usefulness of their philosophy to the working class. In fact, Walling assures us that the struggle is not between the

working class and the capitalist class; that it is improper to speak of a working class in this connection; that there is a privileged ruling class on one side, and over against it all the rest of the population, called the mass or the people.

The Dietzgenists say that the only practical nucleus for a fighting force to overthrow privilege is that class which is the peculiar product of capitalism, namely, the wage-earning class, assisted by such others as are willing to help. The unpragmaticalness of the pragmatists consists in their self-imposed distrust, in that ultra-keenness of intellect which condemns them to inaction, because they perceive it is possible that every way may be wrong. I once asked a university professor (one of the high spots) why he did not come out openly for Socialism; he replied that by doing so he feared he would lose his scientific attitude of mind! He was a typical pragmatist. The bourgeois' scientific attitude of mind requires him to keep his philosophy and religion separate from politics; the proletarian's scientific attitude of mind requires him to mix up thoroughly his philosophy and religion with his politics.

No doubt some of the sayings of the pragmatists could be interpreted favorably to Socialism; no doubt such was not the intention of the pragmatists themselves. Pragmatism is a philosophy of method only without a goal. Dietzgenism is a philosophy both of method and of goal which are inseparable. The class struggle method itself is a part of the essence of Socialism, which distinguishes it from that reformed society which philanthropists claim to be the same goal.

Looks Good to the Miners. Local 145, W. F. of M., South Porcupine, Ont., Canada.—I am herewith enclosing \$24.48 for 36 copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for one year, commencing with the October number. You will notice we are doubling our order, which shows that the REVIEW is well appreciated here.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Twenty-Five Bucks in a Bunch. U. M. W. of A., Local 2616, Superior, Wyo.—Enclosed find check for \$25.00, for which renew bundle of SOCIALIST REVIEWS for one more year.

ED. TINKLER, Secretary.

Local Union 2328.—U. M. W. of A., Superior, Wyoming. Enclosed you will find draft for \$25.00 for 42 copies of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for one year.

Louis Dierden, Sec'y.

EDITORIAL

THE STATE OF THE PARTY

THE Socialist party is absolutely indestructible—which fact furnishes a perfectly safe but far from satisfying mental refuge in times like these.

In every country of a sufficient degree of capitalist development, the Socialist party appears as naturally as the steam engine and the automobile. For syndicalists, anarchists and old party politicians to talk of its decay or permanent setback is like the horse, the ox and the ass resolving that the world should go back to the days when they constituted the fundamental powers of transportation. Especially in the life of Great Britain, America and Australasia, is political action of the workers a necessary accompanying form of the class struggle. The working class in these countries have always voted—thinking that they were voting to better their conditions of life. That they have failed in their object has been due to their lack of knowledge and of political and of industrial organization. Even so, who can doubt that the working class vote has protected their fundamental civil rights—their right to assemble, to organize, to publish and to speak their minds with a degree of freedom which makes the abnegation thereof at this time a strange and startling matter. In every country the Socialist party has grown steadily. Strange, indeed, must be the cause which can produce a break in the upswEEPing curve of Socialist progress anywhere.

The fact that during the past twelve months we have lost one-fourth of our membership and seen our activity decrease at least 75 per cent would be amazing were the cause thereof not patent to all. We would be lacking in both intelligence and loyalty to the party did we not analyze the forces and factors at work and suggest needed remedies.

The cause of this loss is not ephemeral or

temporary. It is due to deep-seated forces of disruption within the party—forces which must cease to act before the tide can turn toward better things. In the August issue of *The New Review*, the editor of that valuable periodical, after pointing to the colossal loss in membership suffered by the party, goes on to analyze, in language none too extreme, the main cause of the difficulty. Without hesitancy he puts his finger on Section 6, Article 2. Every member of the party should read this editorial entire. We can quote but briefly from it here. After emphasizing the weak and contradictory character of this clause, Comrade Simpson continues:

“But the worst effect of the whole business was that now, for the first time in the history of the Socialist Party, a basis was laid for inquisitorial procedure against members who happen to be unpopular with the powers that be in the party. Hitherto Socialists had differed among themselves as to the relative value of political action (in the narrow, parliamentary sense) and industrial action, but believing in both forms of action they stayed in the party and worked together for the common cause. They even ventured to differ among themselves as to the profound world-shaking problem of sabotage. But now all was to be changed. Henceforth every party member of somewhat vivid imagination and loose tongue could be haled before the inquisitorial tribunal. Did he or did he not say this or that thing? If he did, he stands expelled for heresy. And this in a party that rightly boasts of being not a society of the elect, but of being, or aiming to become, the party of the working masses of the nation, the political expression of the class movement of the proletariat! * * *

“Expulsion of individual members, and even of entire branches and locals, has become the order of the day. In the State of Washington the state organization was split wide open, the reformist element there going out of the party, forming an independent organization, and adopting a platform in which the words ‘working class’ and ‘class struggle’ are carefully shunned.

"The fact is that in our factional embitterment we appear to have forgotten, not only our common Socialist principles and aims, but even the rules of ordinary intercourse and the commonest democracy. In our platform we demand proportional representation, but in our internal party practice we find an unholy joy in being able to suppress the minority utterly and completely. Wherever one faction happens to be in power, it systematically excludes the members of the other faction from the party counsels, the management of the press, the selection of speakers, etc."

Quoting the astounding conception of the editor of that "sheep in wolves' clothing," the Metropolitan Magazine, to the effect that Haywood's expulsion from the N. E. C. "clears the way for a better understanding between the progressives and the Socialists," the editorial concludes with the following suggestion:

"Surely, a halt must be called to such tactics, as destructive and disruptive as they are disreputable. The Socialist party cannot thrive upon, and should not tolerate, the methods of boss and machine rule which prevail in the old parties. The S. L. P. has shown us where boss methods lead to in the Socialist movement. Even the Republican party, inured to machine rule and reeking with corruption, has recently afforded the spectacle of revolt against the excessive employment of the 'steam roller.' The appalling loss in membership reported by the national office should serve to call us back to our senses. To persist in our present ways is to court destruction for the party and to hamper and retard the progress of Socialism on this continent."

SECTION 6, ARTICLE II.

Section 6, Article II is a living, standing insult to the whole American movement. At Indianapolis, in May, 1912, I sat in the balcony of Tomlinson Hall and saw the majority of the convention systematically worked into a fever of excitement, bitterness and fear of something which did not exist, until the time was ripe to write the clause into the party law. During the thirteen years in which it has been my privilege to work in the Socialist movement, I have never heard a capitalist politician or even the most bitter Roman Catholic clerical opponent of Socialism say that we were criminals. It remained for the Indianapolis convention of the party itself to declare to the world that our ranks were so infested. When the vote was passed the hilarious leaders of the majority started to sing the "Marseillaise"—thus degrading our sacred anthem into a means of jollification to signalize their victory in a party brawl. And this deed was accomplished through the

help of scores whose services to the movement I had admired and whose confidence and respect I thought I had, until then, enjoyed. Ninety delegates and hundreds of comrades sitting in the balconies left Tomlinson Hall that afternoon feeling the party had reached its very lowest possible state of moral degradation. The forces of disruption had at last created for the time being an unbridgable chasm between two groups within the party. Only a firm faith in the fundamental principles of the party and in the moral soundness of the thousands of members of the rank and file who were thus led into the belief that some of us were criminals, have, during the past year, served to keep us in the party and at work.

SOME DEFINITIONS.

A criminal is one who has committed a heinous offense against the well-being of the state, for which the state provides juridical means of accusation and a heavy penalty in case of conviction. It is for the state, not for individuals, to define this word. To the British government every advocate of American independence during the Revolutionary war was a criminal. To the slaveocracy in control of the government in 1850 every citizen who refused to help the Federal government to catch slaves was a criminal. Section 6, Article II binds the Socialist party to accept the definitions of crime prescribed by the legislatures and courts of capitalism. When that clause was passed the Socialist party thereby temporarily resigned its revolutionary position and humbly cringed before the powers that be. THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE OF SABOTAGE.

When Section 6 was under discussion, Delegate Tom Hickey of Texas declared that he knew of few delegates who were capable of correctly pronouncing the word "sabotage," and to think of delegates being able to act intelligently upon something they did not understand was ridiculous. Comrade Hickey was quite right. Sabotage as a means of accomplishing the revolution! In all my traveling for the party I have never heard any member anywhere remotely suggest that sabotage could be used in any possible way for the purpose of accomplishing the revolution. For any one to suggest such a possibility would simply be to expose a degree of ignorance so great as to make him absolutely harmless. Sabotage is used everywhere, in season and out, by intelligent workers, organized and

unorganized, to secure definite immediate ends. That is all.

Now as regards the negative of the sabotage argument. Tell a revolutionist who has lost a dozen jobs, broken with half his friends and quarreled with his wife in order to engage in the Socialist movement, that he must not use a certain word and then watch and see what he does. He will cry it from the housetops. He will din it into the ears of those who tried to muzzle him until they wish they had left him in peace. That is just what has happened during the past year. After the Indianapolis convention there were revolutionary Socialist papers which advocated sabotage in screaming headlines to the workers in general. I. W. W. soap-boxers began to talk of nothing but sabotage. I have heard a street speaker spend an hour telling clerks how to spoil paint by putting chemicals in it while painting. Thousands in the party who would never have heard the word had it been left out of the party constitution, began to grow excited and to argue and quarrel about sabotage. This was but the beginning of the terrible price our party was to pay for that acme of official stupidities, Section 6, Article II.

EXPULSIONS AND DESERTIONS.

In order to found this argument entirely upon facts I shall here refer to such only as have fallen beneath my personal observation. During the year I have traveled and mixed with the membership from New York to San Francisco. Since we are talking about crimes, the worst crime I know of is a cowardly refusal to face facts which are troublesome and disappointing.

Elyria, Ohio, is an industrial town of fifteen thousand people. Two years ago its local of over a hundred members was the most active organization of its size with which I have ever come in contact. It now numbers just five dues-paying members. In Chicago, Ill., following the death of the Daily Socialist, the English-speaking membership has fallen to 1,500. Years ago Chicago often received more than 1,500 applications for membership within a period of six months. In Chicago the foreign speaking organizations, which have escaped this disruption, now outnumber the English-speaking branches by about 600. I am told by veterans here in Chicago that the local is today conducting less work of propaganda and education than was accom-

plished by the old S. L. P. before the split in 1899.

Detroit, Mich., now has 50,000 workers in the automobile industry alone. It is one of the ripest fields for sound Socialist progress in the whole world. On the occasion of my visit to that local last June I found seven members present at the meeting of its main branch. The next night at a meeting of an I. W. W. local I found at least a hundred active young men who had left the Socialist Party and joined the I. W. W. When I labored with some of them in order to point out the error in leaving the Socialist Party, they replied to me with jests about Section 6, Article II.

Local San Francisco, Cal., so greatly feared my presence among its membership that it refused to conduct the Lyceum Course because I was one of the lecturers. Its membership had reduced to a shadow of what it was several years ago and seemed to be wholly inactive.

The great state of Illinois has not now a single Socialist organizer or lecturer in the field.

The whole situation is by no means statistically summed up by citation of the numbers of members lost. For the first eight months of 1912 the average number of dues-paying members was 118,519. For the first eight months of 1913 the membership averaged 93,327, showing a loss of more than 21 per cent. But the activity of the party has decreased more than fifty per cent. The life spring of our activity is enthusiasm for our cause. Nothing so poisons and dries that spring as factional bitterness and conflict. During the year just past hardly a local and state organization has escaped disruption. During this year we should at least have held our membership even, as we did during the post-election years of 1905 and 1909. Furthermore, let it not be overlooked that the members lost have not been new and untried recruits. They have been largely the most active and valuable workers in the cause.

PARTY UNITY.

A member's degree of loyalty to the party and to the cause is indicated always by his willingness to forget differences, great and small, with his comrades, in united service of the movement as a whole. As soon as a member spends more time in fighting his comrades than in fighting the common enemy he becomes a negative force

and is worse than worthless to the organization. When factional troubles are of long standing their worst effect is to embitter the members against one another and thus destroy their usefulness. During the past year many thousands of members have so far forgotten the primary purpose of our movement that it is questionable whether they will ever again be valuable factors in the struggle. A man who works ten hours a day at a machine or a woman who toils from dawn until dark in the kitchen and the nursery find that bitter words soon "get on their nerves." Either they remain away from meetings or they come to find a certain joy in "putting it over the other fellow." Thus a local falls from a membership of a hundred good-natured, active workers, to a score of cantankerous, mean-spirited factionalists. Such has in many cases been the course of our locals during the past year.

When the convention of 1912 met at Indianapolis the party had not been greatly injured by any of the factional controversies which had taken place. By far the greater majority of the membership or the delegates took side permanently in none of these conflicts. The opening days of the convention were marked by a fineness of spirit which greatly encouraged every one present. I recall an incident which I shall always remember as indicative of the proper spirit on such occasions. A young delegate came up to Haywood in a state of considerable excitement and urged that the fight be pressed against those who disagreed with the policies which Haywood and others advocated. "Let us compromise with our friends and fight our real enemies," answered Haywood.

This was the spirit which the revolutionary minority exhibited throughout the convention. Specifically was it manifested in the discussion of the labor union resolution, both by the committee and on the convention floor. I have suggested that the depths were reached during and after the passage of Section 6, Article 2. The heights of party fraternity and unity were attained during the discussion of our attitude toward labor unions. *The unanimous report of the committee was unanimously endorsed by the convention. That was the time to sing the "Marseillaise."* But—

"We will get them tomorrow," said certain delegates as they left the hall—delegates who had not dared by voice or vote

to break the unanimity with which the resolution on labor unions was received and adopted. "Tomorrow" brought with it the poisonous exhalations which still weaken the body and trouble the spirit of the party.

The fact that such action could result in such a travesty which in turn could prove so ruinous to our party is in a sense merely proof of our untrained and unwashed greenness. The lack of Socialist education which makes it still possible for a few Socialist leaders to lead us into the mire and leave us there is a condition which it will take much time and labor to improve. And this work of education must be accompanied by a finer spirit and a higher idealism than has hitherto marked the relations of any of us within the party. The rack and the thumb-screw of inquisitorial procedure have been dragged out of the fourteenth century to be used by factions in the Socialist Party of the United States, not because the membership relished that sort of thing, but because the majority of the membership do not know just what they wish to have done nor how properly to go about doing anything of a constructive nature.

Every delegate who voted for Section 6, Clause II, to whom I have spoken declares most positively that he privately believes in sabotage and that upon reflection he realizes fully that there are no "criminals" in the party. They were led to do what they did on that evil day by their entire lack of preparation to hurriedly face a condition which they did not understand. But for those who were made to suffer for this muddleheadedness to desert the party can only work harm and not good. Running away from a fight because our comrades do not wish to keep step with us in as much desertion as fleeing from the face of the enemy. A member who lacks either the intelligence or the loyalty to be a good loser in the counsels of the party surely lacks the will power to be anything positive at all, not to speak of living consistently the life of a revolutionist.

LET ME SUGGEST.

To the thousands of comrades whom I have met in all parts of the country and whom I have found to be in agreement with myself as regards party policies, let me make the following suggestion: Many of you have left the party. Many more of you have become inactive. A very great many have already come to doubt or are already seriously doubting the efficacy of working

class political action in its entirety. Do not permit the circumstances we have described to drive you into this fallacious and inutile position. The destruction of the Socialist political movement in this country was prophesied in 1899, in 1904, in 1905 and in 1910. It did not happen at any of those times. It won't happen now. Parties in the United States are not made like fresh bread, every morning. The Socialist Party is just ourselves—the twenty thousand who do the work, the 87,000 who paid dues in August—the nine hundred thousand who voted in 1912—the three millions in this country who say to all the world that they are Socialists. We are what we are. If you wish to see growth toward better things within and without, stay with the fight and help build this movement into something better than it is. If sixty years ago the handful of Socialists could live and die keeping the fires burning, you are a pretty poor kind of a successor to them if you lose hope today.

For the time being forget Section 6, Article II, and the day will come when those who passed it, realizing their shame and disgrace, will vote to repeal it. Let me confess here that I have pitied those responsible for it and have wasted not a single moment in hating them. However wrong they were, their error is not one-tenth as great as that of the member who deserts the standards under fire. Let us purge ourselves of every sentiment except that of burning zeal for a cause whose heart's center can never be touched by individual error. Remember that those who do the most work in the party will eventually control its counsels.

Factionalism lays hold of the ignorant member and keeps him ignorant. It seizes upon the weak man and turns his weakness into downright meanness. No man or woman can long continue engaged in internecine quarrels and come out with mind unscathed. Let us have an end of it.

FRANK BOHN.



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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Death of Bebel.—It was at Passugg, Switzerland, on August 13, that August Bebel passed away. For years he had suffered from some sort of heart trouble. At recent party congresses he has been able to appear only by nerving himself up to bear the suffering entailed and running the risk of bringing on a crisis which might at any moment mean the end of life. But both in parliament and in the party organization he fought on to the end. In fact during the last days he was at work upon an edition of the Marx-Engels correspondence.

The funeral took place on August 18, at Zurich. While one great mass of people was attending the ceremonies at the crematory, where the body was incinerated, another, and much larger one, was listening to speeches in the open air. In the formal services there were addresses by representatives of all the chief civilized nations of the globe. Morris Hillquit, for the United States, told how we have drawn inspiration from the German movement and especially from the words and the example of Bebel.

Just at the present moment, when the German movement seems to be entering upon a new phase, it seems especially worth while to consider the meaning of Bebel's life and character. The distinguished thing about him was that he was able to put principles into practice without first debauching them.

A story told in Vorwaerts by Eduard Bernstein suggests Bebel's quality of stuff better than an epic of great parliamentary struggles. In 1881 he was up for election in two districts. In both of them he received just enough votes to place him in the second election. This was during the time of the Bismarckian anti-Socialist law. The movement was dependent on the privileges of its parliamentary group for its propaganda. Only members of the Reichstag were beyond the reach of the police. At the first elec-

tion not a single Socialist had been successful. Almost any sacrifice might have seemed justifiable if it promised to gain a seat. The so-called Christian Socialists of that day, lead by court-preacher Stoecker, were contesting both of the seats for which Bebel was running. They offered to throw their vote to him if he would promise to support only a few of their reform measures. With regard to one of the seats in question Bebel and Liebknecht issued a joint statement. "Rather 3,000 honestly gained votes than 30,000 that are bought," they said. And with regard to the other seat Bebel wrote to Bernstein: "I will not mix myself up with any of this business. Better lose my seat than support measures which I hold to be wrong. I will tell these people straight out that they are on a fool's errand." He did as he said and actually lost his seat.

But Bebel was no "impossibilist." He kept his principles clean and clear, but such was his devotion, such his talent, such his enthusiasm, that he made multitudes understand them and support them. This is what we need now, what Germany needs now, what all the world needs. Germany is entering upon a time when the workers must consider the necessity of trying new tactics. We are for the first time in a position to get the attention of great masses of working men and women. There is more than ever need of clean and clear principles and of the understanding and devotion whereby Bebel made principles a living thing in the political activity of millions of people.

The Workers in Republican Portugal.—It is three years now since the Portuguese drove out King Manuel. They had reason enough. The government was inefficient and extravagant. It delivered the nation into the power of Rome. Certainly no one except the immediate beneficiaries of the royal establishment had any reason to

regret the hasty departure of young Manuel.

The working-class bore an important part in the revolution. The industrial workers were republicans and willing to fight for a democratic government. And they did fight. Of course, they expected a return for the sacrifices. The republican leaders made promises of reform and freedom.

Now three years have passed and we have an opportunity to size up the difference between a republican and a monarchy. So far as can be seen at the present moment the republic is different but hardly better. In a recent number of *Neue Zeit* Edmondo Peluso writes illuminatingly of present conditions in Portugal. Within three years the republic has had five ministers, one as useless as the others. National funds have been wasted on festivities designed to replace old church holidays or on a policy "of intrigue and persecution of monarchists, conspirators and innocent working-men."

Since the inauguration of the present Radical ministry the labor union movement has been systematically suppressed. Unions have been dissolved by the police, and labor papers have either been suppressed or fined so heavily that publication is almost impossible. At the time of the writing of Comrade Peluso's article 110 workers lay in jail for no other crime than having taken part in strikes. The police have been given full power, as if the land were under military law. And in parliament the lone Socialist deputy is the only one who has raised his voice against this state of affairs.

Economic conditions were never so bad under the monarchy. A new tax law lays heavy burdens on land values. As a result land-owners have ceased to build and rents have gone up. The workers in the building trades are unemployed and lack of work is becoming general. Like the French government in 1848, the present Portuguese ministry has started national shops for the unemployed. But the treasury is so depleted that work can be furnished only three days in the week. When, under these conditions, the government instituted expensive celebrations, the workers rose in revolt and were put down with violence.

During the entire three years there has been no municipal election. The municipalities have been under the dictatorship of the government. An electoral law is under discussion, but the various republican factions are unable to agree upon it. In its present form it is most unsatisfactory to the workers. Under the monarchy all male heads of families or tax-payers had the ballot; under the proposed law only males over 21 who can read and write will have it. And in Portugal 75 per cent of the workers are illiterate.

"In this terrible situation," says Comrade Peluso, "the Socialist party has kept itself clear of the capitalist parties and preserved its freedom and its principles. The proletarians are daily learning that all capitalist governments are alike and are rapidly filling the ranks of the Socialist party. At the time of the foundation of the republic this party had 20 groups with 1,000 members; now, after three years, there are 78 groups with between 3,800 and 4,000 members. The party has a daily paper in Lisbon and eleven weekly papers. And it is growing steadily. Soon it may be the strongest political party in Portugal. Out of present chaos rises the Socialist movement as the only hope of the people."

Good News From England. A London correspondent of a German paper recently gave a striking picture of English Socialist agitation. In a public park representatives of the I. L. P. and B. S. P. occupied stands within earshot of each other and entertained the populace with verbal charge and countercharge. Nearby another orator, representing a group which had split off from the B. S. P., was holding forth against the latter organization. And not far away a representative of a subdivision of this subdivision was berating all the other speakers. The crowd strolled from one stand to another and was much amused by what it heard.

The results of this sort of thing are just what one would expect. All the groups involved are coming to see that, despite the rebellious condition of the working-class, Socialism is practically at a standstill. In fact, it is stated by those in a position to know that there are fewer groups of organized Socialists now than

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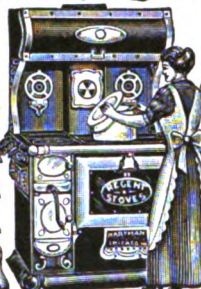


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there were some years ago. The I. L. P. Socialists may be seeing a new light. In the by-election at Leicester a good many Laborites supported the Liberal rather than an out-and-out Socialist. More recently, at Chesterfield, a member of the Miners' Federation has been running for Parliament as both Laborite and Liberal. To be sure he was finally disowned by the Executive of the Labor Party, but he got active support from Labor Party leaders and, it is to be supposed, practically the solid Labor vote. On the other hand, the members of the B. S. P. are forced to acknowledge that under the present conditions they are unable to get hold of the workers. Quelch, Hyndman and the others are not one whit less revolutionary than of yore. If they are willing to discuss union, or even the possibility of entrance into the Labor Party, it does not mean that they are ready to compromise. But they do wish to do whatever is necessary to make real Socialism a real power in the land. The Fabian Society is ready to do most anything that is sufficiently indefinite.

For some time past the International Socialist Bureau has been carrying on negotiations looking toward a unity conference of English Socialism. On July 18 an informal preliminary conference was finally convened. Vandervelde and Huysmans were present as representatives of the bureau. The I. L. P. men made it clear that they object to working with a certain "impossibilist" element of the B. S. P. The B. S. P. men made it equally clear that they do not look forward with pleasure to co-operating with a certain "mugwumpish Liberal" element in the I. L. P.

The conference finally agreed to put before the membership of the three organizations represented two suggestions: (1) the establishment of a United Socialist Council; (2) the affiliation of all the organizations represented in the council with the Labor Party. When a B. S. P. delegate asked what would be involved in membership in the Labor Party he was told that this question might be left open till a later date.

A further conference is to be called for some date in November. At that time the delegates will have instructions from

the rank and file of the membership. The purpose of the leaders in the unity movement is to bring about Socialist unity and, through that, finally bring the Labor party round to Socialism. It is difficult for an outsider to see why the second purpose should be considered inextricably bound up with the first.

The Krupp Trial. It wasn't called the Krupp trial, but that is what it was. In form it was the trial of seven little fellows, some of them petty officers in the German army, some of them unimportant employes of the Krupp firm. It began on July 31 and lasted six days. The men were all found guilty and given sentences varying from six months' to three weeks' imprisonment. Both prosecution and defense were carried on with the express purpose of minimizing the crimes committed. Comrade Liebknecht, in the course of his original revelations in the Reichstag, had called the affair a "Panama scandal." The public prosecutor began his formal address by saying it was "no Panama." So, though this was a prosecution in form, in reality it was an attempt to exculpate the Krupps and the ministry of war before the public conscience.

What was proved was that the Krupp firm, the pride of the German chauvinists, had for years supported in Berlin a representative, one Brand, paid a high salary to secure useful military secrets. Besides his regular salary he was paid thousands of marks yearly for incidental expenses. His information was sent to Essen on special blanks and there checked up by a special official and turned over to the department to which it might be of most use. At the end of each year all of these blanks were destroyed. Large numbers of them were, however, in the possession of Comrade Liebknecht, and the police took many more.

Herr Brand's confessions involved only petty officers, and his superiors in the Krupp firm professed absolute ignorance of his operations. So the government and its papers have loudly proclaimed that, after all, Comrade Liebknecht was making a great fuss about nothing at all. To all these Liebknecht has answered powerfully in an article published in *Vorwaerts*. He shows conclusively that the

directors of the Krupp firm must have been involved in the bribery which was proved and that the probability is that information has been bought from much higher army officials than those directly involved in the trial. He draws attention, also, to the fact that the capitalist spokesmen have tried to forget the proven fact that the Krupps bribed a French paper to foment trouble between France and Germany.

It must be confessed that the whole affair looks worse now than it did at the start. Not only has there been systematic graft; the more important fact is that the whole machinery of the imperial government has been set in motion to cover up the graft and the grafters. Big business and militarism have put an end to any sense of honesty or truthfulness. Capitalist morality was hardly ever better revealed.

"Peace" in the Balkans. The end of the internecine war in the Balkans has been brought about in most surprising fashion. Roumania, which took no part in the fight against the Turk, waited until Greece and Servia had got Bulgaria fairly down and then stepped in to claim a good share of the booty. During the first days of August the peace conference was held at Bucharest, the Roumanian capital. Roumania took a large slice of northeastern Bulgaria, while Greece and Servia divided Macedonia. The Bulgars had to be content with what little was left. As the division has thus been made it bears no possible relation to the distribution of the various races or to natural boundary lines. The conditions are excellent for the beginning of new conflicts whenever any party to the peace treaty thinks he can take more than has been accorded him. A billion dollars have been spent, countless lives have been lost, the industrial life of the whole region has been destroyed—and the settlement is no settlement at all. The people are helplessly ignorant and the rulers are bent on aggrandizement at any cost. Of course the war was undertaken at the behest of various groups of capitalists. It is for their benefit that the nations have been led to the shambles. But even from their point of view, it would seem, the struggle has been a wasteful and almost futile one.

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NEWS AND VIEWS

Sointula, B. C., Canada. Comrade Kaario fires in a list of 22 wage-slaves to whom the Fighting Magazine looks good. This shows what a live comrade can do when he gets his hustling clothes on.

Comrade Bowman of Hubbell, Neb., rounds up ten new subscribers, besides ordering a bunch of books. If 100 more comrades would follow suit there would soon be a big Red streak in Nebraska.

From Wisconsin. Comrade Carter comes across with ten subs from Eagle River and Comrade Cocke of Lamasco, Texas, follows suit.

Live Ones. The following comrades have sent in ten or more subscriptions to the Fighting Magazine during the past month: Charles Devison, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; J. F. Ditchen, Newport, Ky.; J. P. Eastman, Fredericktown, Pa.; Peter Fanoni, Cumberland, Canada; A. R. Finke, Argenta, Ark.; J. H. Frow, Hubbard, Ohio; C. A. Faxon, Wellington, Ohio; Robert Helms, Oakland, Cal.; J. D. Mallette, Palestine, Tex.; A. Orden, Rochester, N. Y.; D. Robertson, Bloomington, Ind.; A. O. Rosen, Silvis, Ill.; William G. Schultz, Napoleon, Ohio; Theo. J. Steblin, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Emil Seidel, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Simeon Syfert, Fredell, Pa., and G. W. Moore, Tarpon Springs, Fla.

From Far-Off Hawaii. Comrade Estelle Baker sends in 11 subs from Honolulu, which shows what a live revolutionist can do on the job.

Disfranchisement in the Party.—The wool has been drawn over the eyes of the members of the Socialist party by that wonderful change in the Constitution. Now the National committee elects the Executive committee and the National Executive secretary. When we think of the opposition for the direct election of United States senators by such men as Taft, Lodge and other questionable celebrities who claim that it is a dangerous thing for the common horde to select men for the highest legislative branches and to permit the unlettered mob to have something to say about who is supposed to represent them, we are not surprised. But we are glad the mob will have a chance to vote for their choice for the United States Senate. But things have

changed in the Socialist party. It is claimed by some officials that things that happened in the National office forced the change. We have boasted of our democracy. We stand for the Referendum and Recall, or at least we say we do when we talk to capitalists, but we have disfranchised ourselves in our Own Party. It is always easier to control a FEW in a convention than it is to control the mass by referendum. The claim was made that abolishing the referendum would save the members a lot of trouble. Then we went on record against sabotage, violence, etc., etc. Probably it will be pragmatism next—anything to divert the workers' minds from the class struggle. A discussion of pragmatism would give the "intellectuals" another chance to get in the spotlight. If they discuss "who's right" long enough instead of getting into the class struggle we will have another drop of 40,000 in party membership.

We now have a new executive committee. Did you have anything to say about whom should be elected? Did you have a chance to vote for the new National Secretary or for some other choice? Did you have a chance to say who you wanted for party officials? Nothing doing. We MUST not trust the rabble. You can vote for the National committee but you can't be trusted to vote for the "higher officers." No, the National committee will choose for you. Don't you want a chance to do your own choosing? We hope that soon the members of the Party will stop disfranchising themselves in the Party and rescind such foolishness as we have permitted to go through: The management of the Party must be from the bottom up and not from the TOP DOWN. The voice of the rank and file must be SUPREME. It can always be trusted for its honesty as above the few.

TOM J. LEWIS.

Gisslen Starts Them Up.—Comrade Gisslen, of Minneapolis, started the REVIEW subscription list going up on the 27th, with eight big yearlies for Minneapolis. Wish some of our friends would take a lesson from him.

From Canada.—Comrade Geo. Townsend writes from Canada: "The Kerr Co. is the greatest fighting machine we Socialists have on the continent." Good for Comrade Townsend! This is the kindest praise we have ever received and we want to tell our readers that we mean to live up to it.

How To Help.—Comrade Steere, of Chespochet, writes that he will be one of 100 to send in \$5.00 for books to help out the fall and summer slump. I hope all

our friends will respond the same way and force us to hire another entry clerk. We would rather have orders than money any time, for every book makes us new friends and new workers in the movement.

Ohio Picnic.—The Socialists of Cuyahoga and Lorain Counties, Ohio, held a picnic at Crystal Beach, Vermilion, Ohio, Sunday, August 17. About 200 attended from towns in northern Ohio. Addresses were made by J. E. Robb, F. C. Ruppel, C. E. Ruthenberg, of Cleveland, Peter Kinnear, of Columbus, and Ben Williams, of Cleveland, editor of *Solidarity*. One group of comrades sailed over from Sandusky in the yacht of F. E. Fick. At her mast-head she flew the Red Flag and her name is "Comrade."

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English Transport Workers.—Comrade Robert Williams, secretary of the National Transport Workers' Federation, of England, writes sending us the report of the International Transport Workers' Federation Convention, held in London, in August, and his plea to the Transport Workers. It is an inspiring document, and if the English friends will only take up and carry on the work as outlined by Secretary Williams his prediction will probably be verified and 1914 find One Big Union of all English Transport Workers an accomplished fact. Comrade Williams writes: "I get the REVIEW every month. What about a special edition for England?" We hope to have further news from Robert Williams before long.

A Protest from Tonopah, Nev.:—Against Paragraph (e) of Section 1, of Article 5, and Sections 2 and 3 of Article 5, and Sections 1, 2, and 3 of Article 15 of the National Constitution of the Socialist party.

Whereas, The sections of Article 5 and 15 herein mentioned will, and does, place unsafe and arbitrary power in the hands of the National committee and robs the membership at large of voicing their will and wishes, and;

Whereas, The members of Tonopah Local, after due investigation of the National Constitution, protest against such centralization of power in the hands of the few over the vast many which comprise the Socialist party of the United States, and believe it a vital and dangerous mistake, unwise, unjust, and unsocialistic and a menace to the progress and final victory of the Socialist movement, as the baneful effect of centralized power, which tends to deprive any Local (no matter how small that Local may be) to at any time initiate any referendum which to them may seem just and necessary; would in effect, strike at the very heart and fundamental principles of the Socialist movement, which declares for the government of the Socialist party by a referendum vote OF ALL THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Therefore, We, the members of Tonopah Local, of Tonopah, Nev., do hereby

most earnestly protest against the sections of Articles 5 and 15 hereinbefore mentioned as being more capitalistic and plutocratic than Socialistic, and we believe it to be an indisputable fact that the best interests of the Socialist party can be more wisely and safely managed and controlled by the vote of the membership at large on all vital and important matters than by the votes of the few members of the National committee.

Wherefore, We earnestly request that the National committee do immediately initiate a referendum to so amend the before mentioned sections of Articles 5 and 15 that the referendum will be restored to each and every Socialist Local in the United States, instead of by the few members of the National committee; and,

Be it resolved, That the State Executive committee do take immediately the necessary action to initiate a referendum in accordance with this protest.

LOCAL.—Please take action to endorse this protest and forward same promptly to State secretary so that the results may be speedily known.

TONAPAH LOCAL, S. P.

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The Review Vindicated.—We desire to submit some statements of fact in support of the article which appeared in the July issue of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, entitled "Conspiracy and Street Speaking."

We have both read the article in question and wish to say that we endorse every statement therein expressed.

At the outset let it be remembered that we, E. E. Kirk and Harry M. McKee, are now and have been since June 30, serving sentence in jail as a result of our activities in the San Diego free speech fight of last year. Our status in that fight is evidenced by the fact that we were among the first to be arrested, and are the only Socialists who were adjudged guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to jail. This should be sufficiently convincing as to our first hand knowledge of the origin and outcome of the fight.

We have learned that since coming to jail our local, Branch San Diego, endorsed a letter to *THE REVIEW* in which the above mentioned article was characterized as "a cowardly slander on Comrade Kaspar Bauer." Please understand that we do not criticise our local for this action. We are too well acquainted with its upwards of four hundred members to hold any such feelings; and besides, on the occasion when the letter to *THE REVIEW* was endorsed, there were not more than twenty-five persons present. When we are free again we think we can promise a different expression from the local.

The facts substantiating *THE REVIEW* article are as follows: There was a free speech fight in San Diego in 1912. It was a clear cut class issue. The Socialist local unanimously endorsed the fight. The Federated Trades Council did likewise. The Free Speech League was formed with several hundred members. An executive committee was elected (composed of delegates from some fifteen organizations) with thirty members, including three each from the Socialists and the I. W. W. The purpose was to test the ordinance and create public sentiment and if possible secure its repeal. Thirty-nine, including Bauer, Kirk and McKee, were arrested the first night on which arrests were made, and charged with "conspiracy." Numerous arrests followed, but no other conspiracy charges were made. The police and vigilantes committed many outrages and brutalities. Only fourteen of those charged with conspiracy were finally tried and of these but six were convicted. Bauer was acquitted. Two of those convicted, Kirk and McKee, appealed the case, and the Appellate and Supreme courts affirmed the verdict. These two comrades are now serving their sentences in the county jail.

During the week following our arrest, while we were all denying the conspiracy and asserting that we individually broke the ordinance; Bauer, who was also out on bail, was called to the office of the chief of police, and there made the statements quoted in *THE REVIEW* article. He was not even under arrest at the time. He made similar statements to Francis J. Bierman, notorious as "captain" of the "Vigilantes," as they walked up the street together a few days later. Hundreds were ar-

rested or detained during the trouble, nearly all of whom were sweated or threatened, but not one of these, aside from Bauer, implicated any other individual. And while these statements were made to our enemies in February, 1912, it was not until our trial five months later that we knew of it, and then only when it came as a complete and disconcerting surprise from the lips of Police Commissioner Sehon and "Captain" Bierman on the witness stand. In our presence, Bauer did not deny the testimony of Sehon and Bierman, but he did swear that there was no conspiracy. His testimony taken verbatim from the transcript is:

Q. Was there any agreement made by yourself in conjunction with any of these defendants or anyone else, a meeting of the minds at all, an agreement or understanding, that you would violate the ordinance, or not?

A. No sir. I could not tell you what the other minds were; I was speaking for myself. I stated that I would be willing to try the ordinance; If I was arrested I would be willing to be tried and subject myself to the penalty of the law if there was a penalty and if I was convicted.

Q. Mr. Bauer, did you have in mind anything further than the violation of the ordinances by yourself as an individual alone?

A. I was just speaking for myself. I had no intention that I would use any coercion as to what anybody else would do.

Q. Did you know, as a matter of fact, what anybody else was going to do?

A. No sir, I did not. (Page 1594 et seq. Rep. Tr.)

Since his acquittal, and in contradiction of his sworn testimony, he declares that there *was* a conspiracy and that he is proud of his part therein. While he is free to say what he pleases, yet he is refuting the testimony not only of himself, but of all his co-defendants, and giving the very turn to the affair that the vigilante coerced authorities most desire.

In addition to the foregoing, Bauer is in complete harmony with the vigilantes and authorities in a far more serious matter. He has made public attacks through the press on the I. W. W., who, whatever may be said of their tactics, are a portion of the working class. His statements to Ralph Korngold, which appeared in the *New York Call* of May 13, 1913, and other Socialist papers, is in point. He is there quoted as saying "that if it had not been for the language and tactics employed by the I. W. W. speakers, there never would have been a free speech fight in San Diego, nor would any restrictive ordinance have been hatched." Now, neither of us are members, nor are we eligible to membership, in the I. W. W., but we want to emphatically resent these statements. Even if Bauer's charges were true it would be had enough to see a Socialist working with the vigilantes to discredit a part of the workers. But the statements are not true. His own testimony from the witness stand contradicts his present attitude as does every investigation ever had here. Not only this but not one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution attributed the cause of the fight

to the acts of the I. W. W. Bauer himself, under oath, declared they were not true. He testified:

Q. Do you know any facts existing about January 8, 1912, in connection with the street speaking in this city which might have resulted in breaches of the public peace?

A. There has never been anything occurred there that so far as I know could have been construed into a disturbance of the public peace. (Page 409 et seq. Rep. Tr.)

And to prove that he knew whereof he spoke, he swore that he had spoken on the street corner 150 times within two years.

The Los Angeles Building Trades Council sent down a special committee with authority to investigate and report on conditions in San Diego. Their report was adopted by the Building Trades Council of Los Angeles, on May 16, 1912, and is printed in full in the *Labor Leader* of San Diego, dated May 24. Relating to the causes of the free speech fight, occurs the following paragraphs:

"In all our capitalist and corporation controlled newspapers, the Industrial Workers have been played upon as the cause of all the trouble. We are willing to admit that they have taken a prominent part in the struggle, but this by no means makes it an I. W. W. fight.

"The other side is more than willing to make us believe this for many reasons. First, they know that the policies of the I. W. W., the A. F. of L. and the Socialist party differ in the fight for emancipation; second, that these differences, when agitated and played upon, cause personal prejudices and feeling; third, personal prejudice many times causes a split upon an issue, and fourth, it is easier to crush the working class when it is divided.

"After a very careful study, we are now willing to state that we believe this is a class

struggle, and that there is nothing involved but class issues."

Nor is this all. Governor Johnson sent a special commissioner, Harris Weinstock, to San Diego, to investigate conditions. His report, which can be had from the state printer, does not contain one word concerning any "foul-mouthed and vile" language of the I. W. W. as a reason for the enactment of the ordinance.

Regarding the information that Kaspar Bauer gave to the police against us all, the fact that he was acquitted, while asserting his equal guilt, may be dismissed with any charitable construction. The terms, "police informer," and "selling out," employed in this connection, have come only from the lips of his defenders. We have not used these terms. If our interpretation were asked, we would say he went into the fight over-confident; that he weakened under fire, and in his excitement, omitted to warn his co-defendants of what he had told the police.

Since his acquittal, Bauer has several times attacked that portion of the workers who united under the name of I. W. W. His charges as quoted in the Korngold article are in harmony with the policy of the capitalistic authorities. Weakness or thoughtlessness can and should be overlooked and forgotten, but joining hands with the enemy against the workers, however deplorable their tactics, this is conduct not lightly to be dismissed. When a Socialist does this, he should not only expect criticism, but should receive it and make the best of it. Socialists should be willing to excuse the mistakes of others of the working class, but they should never play into the hands of the enemy by attacking their own class. Such methods only serve to keep the ranks of labor divided, and our motto is "Workers of the World, United."

HARRY M. MCKEE.

E. E. KIRK.

County Jail, San Diego, Calif.

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**COPY OF RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY
THE SOCIALIST PARTY, FEDERATED
TRADES AND OTHER ORGANIZA-
TIONS, SAN DIEGO, CALIF.**

Whereas, On January 8, 1912, an ordinance was enacted by the city council of San Diego forbidding street speaking in an uncongested portion of the city which had been used as a place of public assembly for the past twenty years, and,

Whereas, Local San Diego of the Socialist party consistently opposed the passage of said ordinance as an abridgement of our constitutional rights and unanimously adopted resolutions condemning same, and

Whereas, Several of our comrades individually attempted to test the constitutionality of said ordinance by violating its provisions for the purpose of bringing the question before the highest courts of the state, and

Whereas, The authorities by connivance and conspiracy among themselves and with the vigilantes, ignored the *petty offense* of violating the ordinance and charged our comrades with the *major offense of criminal conspiracy to violate a law*, the trials resulting in the conviction and sentence of the so-called leaders, and

Whereas, The bitterness with which the cases against our comrades have been prosecuted, the large sums of money expended, and the severity of the sentences imposed, proves conclusively that this trial was solely an effort on the part of the courts and other interested persons to establish a precedent by which the labor movement may be the more effectively crushed in its struggle for better conditions; this prosecution for the alleged crime of conspiracy being merely an attempt to revive an outworn theory of law first invoked against the workers when they attempted to organize in England five hundred years ago, and subsequently in this country early in the last century when organized labor was struggling for recognition, and

Whereas, The affirmation of this decision by the higher courts will make serious crime out of any attempt on the part of the workers to protest against, or to test any law, however absurd or obnoxious, and subject those who even discuss such a law, or who desire to test its legality, to a fine of \$1,000 and to one year's imprisonment, thus wiping out all minor penalties and fixing the foregoing punishment to any infraction of the local ordinance however *petty or unjust*, therefore be it

Resolved, That we reaffirm our endorsement of the actions taken by our comrades in their efforts to test the legality of the anti-free speech ordinance, and heartily commend their

individual attitudes during this prosecution, and further, that we enter our most earnest protest against such an undemocratic definition of conspiracy and call attention to the fact that the industrial evolution of the past century has rendered the legal customs of the barbarous ages incompatible with present day conditions, and that the injustices of today cannot be remedied by inflicting rigorous personal punishments for psychological and social offenses.

Despotism in the A. F. of L.

We the officers and members of Barbers Local Union No. 295, affiliated with American Federation of Labor of Los Angeles, Cal., do hereby prefer charges against J. F. O'Brien and M. L. Crow.

The charges are preferred owing to the fact that the evidence is conclusive beyond a doubt that they are members of the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World.

The above named organization is a dual organization to the A. F. of L., therefore members of that organization cannot belong to the J. B. I. U. of A.

This official ruling having been given to Local No. 295 by the general president of the J. B. I. U. of A. and in accordance with his ruling we the undersigned officers and members of Local No. 295 do recommend that the above named members (J. F. O'Brien and M. L. Crow) be fined one hundred dollars (\$100.00) and suspended and expelled from membership in Barbers' Local Union until such time that said fine is paid, and they furnish to this organization conclusive evidence that they have withdrawn in good intent all allegiance with the above named organization.

Signed, J. L. Nicodemus,

Secy. of Local 295.

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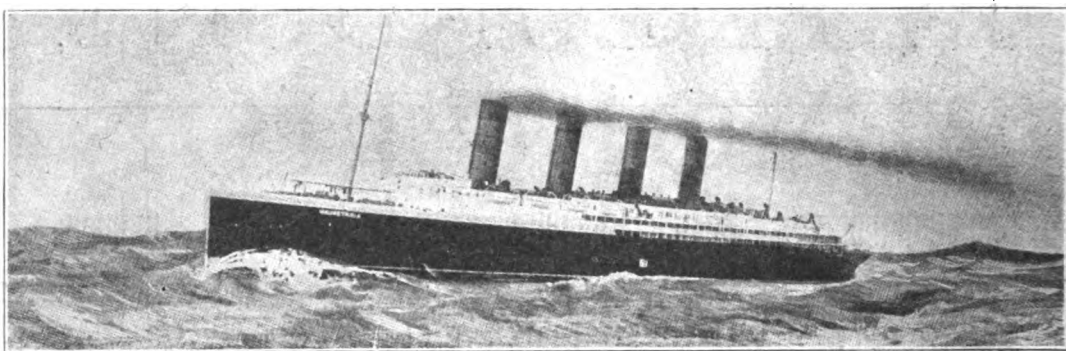
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It will be impossible for the Socialist party to send more than the usual number of delegates. Very few Socialist party members can afford to pay their own expenses on the long trip, but our plan will enable every large local in the United States to so co-operate that at least one of their members can be sent by the REVIEW.

Hitherto we have been obliged to take our reports of the great congress from those sent by the Socialist party. Few of us were able to report back out of our own experiences. But if the congresses are worth anything at all, they are of most value to the rank and file of the Socialist movement. We have heard, again and again, what prominent or well known Socialists have had to say about these conventions of Socialists from every corner of the globe.

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DEEP BREATHING

By D. O. Harrell, M.D.

I BELIEVE we must all admit that deep breathing is a very desirable practice. Furthermore, we know it to be a fact that not one person in twenty, or perhaps one person in a hundred, really breathes deeply. Every physician can verify the statement that we are daily called upon to prescribe drugs for ailments that owe their cause directly to insufficient and improper breathing—Oxygen Starvation.

Breathing is the Vital Force of Life. Every muscle, nerve cell, in fact every fibre of our body, is directly dependent upon the air we breathe. Health, Strength and Endurance are impossible without well-oxygenated blood. The food we eat must combine with abundant oxygen before it can become of any value to the body. Breathing is to the body what free draught is to the steam boiler. Shut off the draught, and you will kill your fire, no matter how excellent coal you use. Similarly, if you breathe shallowly, you must become anæmic, weak and thin, no matter how carefully you may select your diet.

I might continue indefinitely to cite examples of the great physiological value of deep breathing. For instance, it is a well-known fact that worry, fear, and intense mental concentration practically paralyze the breathing muscles. This depressing condition can be entirely overcome through conscious deep breathing.

The main benefit of physical exercise lies in the activity it gives the lungs. What we term "lack of healthful exercise" in reality means insufficient lung action. Exercise that does not compel vigorous deep breathing is of little real value. Unfortunately, few persons have the strength and endurance to exercise violently enough to stir the lungs into rapid action. This is especially true of women and also of men who have permitted their muscles to become weak. Common sense, therefore, dictates that the lungs should be exercised independently through deep breathing gymnastics.

Unfortunately, few persons have the slightest conception of what is really meant by deep breathing. In fact, few physicians thoroughly understand the act. Ask a dozen different physical instructors to define deep breathing, and you will receive a dozen different answers. One tells you it means the full expansion of the chest, another tells you it means abdominal breathing, the third declares it means diaphragmatic breathing, and so on.

Recently there has been brought to my notice a brochure on this important subject of respiration, that to my knowledge for the first time really treats the subject in a thoroughly scientific and practical manner. I refer to the booklet entitled "Deep Breathing," by Paul von Boeckmann, R.S. In this treatise, the author describes proper breathing, so that even the most uninformed layman can get a correct idea of the act. The booklet contains a mass of common sense teachings on the subject of Deep Breathing, and "Internal Exercise." The author has had the courage to think for himself, and to expose the weaknesses in our modern systems of physical culture.

I believe this booklet gives us the real key to constitutional strength. It shows us plainly the danger of excessive exercise, that is, the danger of developing the external body at the expense of the internal body. The author's arguments are so logical it is self-evident that his theories must be based upon vast experience. Personally, I know that his teachings are most profoundly scientific and thoroughly practical, for I have had occasion to see them tested with a number of my patients.

The booklet to which I refer can be obtained upon payment of ten cents in coin or stamps by addressing Dr. von Boeckmann directly at 2645 Tower Bldg., 110 W. 40th St., New York. The simple exercises he describes therein are in themselves well worth ten times the small price demanded.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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THE SOCIALIST VICTORIES

and gains in so many cities were won because the comrades there have been studying all sides of economics and government—or to put it in plain words—Socialism. Then when the election fights were on they were able to show the rest of the people just what Socialism is and the reason for it. Men will vote right, you know, when they know what right is. They have not been satisfied with the government of greed, privilege and plunder—they have been merely kept in the dark, but now when the comrades open their eyes, they VOTE RIGHT.

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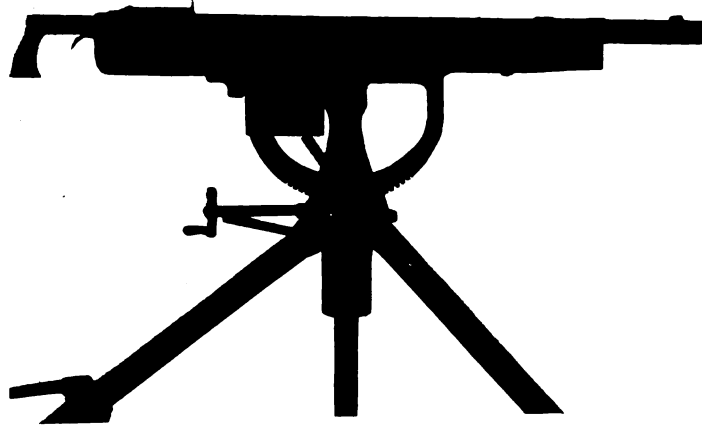
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

DECEMBER, 1913

No. 6



ONE OF THE COLORADO MINE OWNERS' FAVORITE TOOLS—A GATLING GUN. THEY ARE BEING USED BY BALDWIN GUARDS TO SHOOT DOWN STRIKING MINERS. ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-SEVEN BULLET HOLES WERE COUNTED IN THE TENT OF ONE MINER. SOME BALDWIN THUGS WEAR THE UNIFORM OF THE STATE MILITIA.

MACHINE GUNS AND COAL MINERS

By George N. Falconer

MILITARISM is the heavy fist of the Capitalist class to beat the worker into abject submission.

So well do they know the value of machine guns and soldiers that the utmost endeavor is constantly put forth by the Government—the ever-ready Servant of Vested interests, to seduce boys into the ranks of patriotic hirelings. Militiamen and soldiers are working men, hired for a consideration, to shoot and kill other workmen in the name of "law and order."

Brute force, it is evident, is never entirely discarded by the capitalist robber class in their self-assumed right to exploit the worker of the product of his toil. Behind the courts, judges and injunctions, political machinery, class education and superstition, there always lurks the

shadow of the big mit and the heavy club—the Military.

The velvet glove only covers the mailed hand.

Where the barons of the middle ages hired his knights and handmen to prey upon and keep in suppression the serfs of the surrounding territory, the coal barons of Colorado, New York and West Virginia maintain their teachers and editors, their preachers and professors, their lawyers, judges and political heelers for the same identical purpose—the robbing of the working class. When these forces fail to work expeditiously then—the honorable Governor is beseeched to call out the National Guard to preserve "law and order."

The difference between the first exploiter of labor—the man with the knot-

ted club—and John D. Rockefeller the holy, oily Christian philanthropist, is one of degree only. The robbery of the worker is equally complete. The spoils of the idle robber of today is greater than ever. Only the methods have changed.

Why the Soldier Fights the Worker

We were asked by a strike miner the other day why were troops always called during a strike of workingmen; why were machine guns always turned on the toilers and never on the financiers, the exploiters of labor?

Why is Government ever ready to protect the interests of the strong, so seldom on the side of the weak? The answer was (quoting Marx): "Political Power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." The political power of Colorado is today where it has been the past twenty years—in the hands of the mine owners and other capitalists. The difference between Peabody and the Republican party, eight years ago, and Amons (the present Governor) and the Democratic party, is hardly discernible. Both administrations prove the capitalist government is nothing but a business man's committee.

Quida, somewhere, remarks that a king is a fat man who bows well, and a President of a Republic is a fat or thin man who bows badly. The essential point is that they each bow equally to the dominant capitalist class, the class that owns and controls the mines, fields, factories and workshops. This fact is being demonstrated just now in Colorado, the land of big mountains and puny statesmen; a land possessing an invigorating climate, and as ugly a bunch of raw, crude, insincere, brutal political huxters as ever crawled from some dark corner to cut down their unsuspecting prey, and lots of them attend church regularly. Governor Amons is a pious man. All Colorado politicians pray and—prey!

Why does the soldier fight the worker? Because, comrade workingman, the soldier is a man with a wooden head, who is used as a club to secure "concessions," "promote trade interests," preserve "law and order" and make himself generally useful. So the interests of a horde of parasites of the Guggenheim and Rockefeller type be protected.

One of these days soldiers will refuse

to shoot their fellow workers; they will use their weapons against those who put them into their hands for murderous purposes. When workingmen absolutely refuse to shoot at the bidding of a monkey captain—that day the war game shall stop.

Machine Gun—A Fine Exhibit

June last there was exhibited in front of one of Denver's popular theatres a machine gun. A boy dressed in khaki stood by enlightening the curious. A sign in front of the big piece read: "U. S. Field Gun. Latest model. Hurls a 15-lb. shell or shrapnel over four miles. This is one of eight guns issued to the Colorado Militia. The two batteries cost the U. S. \$170,000. WE WANT MEN TO MAN THEM." In times of peace prepare for machine guns. A single one of these guns planted on the sidewalk of any big city, we were informed, would command a mob (workers, of course) from three lines of approach, and rake the streets from end to end.

Machine Guns—latest product of Christian Civilization—an argument which American capitalists are preparing in answer to the demands of Trades Unionism and—Socialism!

We can hear the roar, the groans of the dying, the silence of the dead. Right and left a frightened populace yelp and drop and tumble. Down! Rapid fire! Night! Stillness! The troopers, as they boarded the train at Denver the other day for Trinidad, amid the plaudits of ladies fair, caressed the muzzles of the machine guns, to be used, if necessary, against the coal miners.

Machine Guns in Trinidad

The coal operators were already supplied with gunmen and machine guns. Over eight hundred thugs, from the various detective agencies, now becoming so popular; about 200 desperadoes were recruited in Denver at \$3.50 per day, all expenses paid. Several shootings have taken place, both thugs and strikers biting the dust. The operators' machine gun was used on a miner's tent, now an exhibit in Denver, in which can be seen about 30 holes made by the grapeshot. Cooking utensils were riddled. Fortunately the inmates of the tent squatted on the floor and thus escaped the deadly shot—much to the surprise of the gun-

men who confessed their wonder at no one being hurt.

They have mounted several machine guns on automobiles. The operators have also what is called a "Steel Battleship." This automobile has a high body of solid sheet steel, built up so as to conceal the guards inside. The steel furnishes resistance to bullets and is so arranged that the assassins on the inside may shoot their rifles in perfect safety. What think you, my brave American patriots, of such a Coward's Castle? It carries a rapid-fire machine gun and can shoot 250 shots a minute. This machine has been paraded on Trinidad's main street several times, with the avowed object of over-awing the striking miners. The miners, however, are laughing and keeping watch—they are game and are prepared to fight and die if necessary. Death at the hands of an assassin above ground is no worse than death by starvation or gas explosion underground—so many of them declare.

The Dear, Good Public

And the public, the dear pee-pul here in Denver, over whom so many newspaper tears are shed—what of them? Poor political and economic runts that they are; slaves of the pay envelope and Mother Grundy; job worshippers, cringing servile defenders of their equally servile bosses, white-collared sissies, failing to understand the position of the miners, snivel and grunt about the high cost of living and the steady increase in the price of coal. Damn them, for a measly pack of would-be's, may the price of coal, beef, soup, pudding and salvation continue to soar. These human July bugs, impotently buzzing against the strong wall of capitalism, are getting that for which they vote from year to year—the private ownership of a public necessity—coal. The newspapers are stupidly, brutally indifferent to the miners' cause. The churches, as usual, are silent. Big business is tearful over the loss of capital, due to the strike. The bankers, alone, seem happy; they urged the calling out of the troops and are advancing a million-dollar loan to finance the expedition; money to be returned, plus interest, in due time. Happy, blessed bankers!

The coal miners are going to win in this strike. The union, international in scope, has a membership of 45,000. Every army, said Napoleon, crawls on its belly. The commissariat of the miners' union is healthy. The treasury is good—nearly one million dollars on hand. The physical needs of the strikers and their families are being attended to. They are prepared to hold out for a year, if necessary. They are willing that bankers, lawyers, preachers, prominent business men, and mine owners dig coal; THEY won't until THEIR demands are granted which are:

Recognition of the union.

A 10 per cent advance in wages on tonnage rates and a daily wage scale on the same basis as that of the state of Wyoming.

Ten per cent advance on the wages paid coke oven workers.

An eight-hour day for all classes of labor in the coal mines and coke ovens.

Pay for all narrow work and dead work which includes brushing, timbering, removing falls, handling impurities, etc.

Check weighmen at all mines to be elected by the miners without any interference by company officials.

Right to trade in any store that mine workers please, and the right to choose their own boarding place and their own physician.

Enforcement of the Colorado mining laws.

Abolition of the notorious and criminal guard system which has prevailed in the mining camps of Colorado for many years.

Too modest, say you, and we are all with you. But organization must precede the carrying out of any program, revolutionary, or otherwise, and organization is the big thing aimed at among the striking miners. Organization is Power. Power! 'Tis a kingly word. Given the power, through industrial organization, it is only a little time, when miners and workers the world over shall inscribe on their banners, "Abolish the Wage and Profit System." In the accomplishment of this grand and holy task we, the Socialists of Colorado, stand ready to help them agitate, educate and organize themselves, industrially and politically, to the end that they may become the masters of themselves, with the power to rule their own destinies.



MOTHER JONES "AT WORK" IN TRINIDAD.

FIGHTING TO WIN IN COLORADO

By Robert M. Knight

"**T**HE fight is on. We would have avoided it; we still stand ready at any time to meet representatives of the other side with hopes of effecting a settlement. We hold out the olive branch continually. But because we wish for peace must not be construed as a sign that we are not able to fight. Our past record should dispel such idle dreams. We will aid our brothers in the Colorado fields with all of our resources; with the advice of men of experience; with the hearty good will and sympathy of the vast army of sturdy workers that make up our membership. And these will give a good account of themselves against all the powers of darkness the operators may bring against us."—*Mine Workers Journal*.

For months the leading newspapers (?) of Denver and all the capitalist sheets throughout the state, both daily and weekly,

have been repeating the same rigmarole in regard to the coal strike. While they insult the union men, they anxiously defend themselves against any suspicion of sympathy with the Standard Oil crowd. Their excuses are: A strike is an industrial war for more wages and not one of principle, it does not in their opinion affect the question of morality; finally, even if right and justice is on the side of the miner it is a vain attempt to subjugate by force of a strike, the peaceful relations of No. 26 Broadway. Would not open shop conditions free the miner of all his trouble? Therefore, should not the miners welcome the open shop as a happy event instead of seeking a recognition of the union through a "bloody and ruinous strike"?

Let us look a little into the real cause of this strike that dates, back to April 1, 1910, a time when there were not over three

thousand organized miners in the state. Our contract expired then and the operators knew we would never be any weaker and perhaps they never more powerful. Therefore they sought to force an open shop by refusing to recognize the miner's right to organize and sell his labor-power collectively. A strike resulted, one that history will perhaps record as the hardest fought mile of the miner's road to industrial freedom.

There were but few of us and after several months the busy world outside forgot all about the strike in northern Colorado. Strikes were fought and won in various parts of the country; all the while the miners stood firm, fighting injunctions, suffering jail sentences and other hardships without complaining, yet knowing all the time our only hope for victory was an organized strike in the southern part of the state, as we were unable to seriously affect the market. National organizers were sent south and at once began the task of secretly organizing the slaves in John D.'s hell-holes of Colorado. This work was slow and dangerous requiring three and one-half years' time (and "God knows" how much cash).

When the civil war was ended in West Virginia the militant workers of the union, including Frank J. Hayes and "Mother Jones" were sent to Colorado to assist in the organization work and with their arrival things began to move apace. Hayes soon asked the operators for a conference and demanded recognition of the union in the name of 15,000 newly organized slaves. The operators ignored all invitations to arbitrate boasting they had five millions of dollars for defense. They began preparing for a strike by importing gun men and thugs from West Virginia through the Baldwin Feltz detective agency. W. H. Reno, chief detective for C. F. & I., also opened a recruiting station in the Dover Hotel, 1744 Glenarm place, and succeeded in sending out of Denver some of the most notorious characters from the red light district and barrel house bums. Upon the arrival of these criminals in the strike zone Sheriffs Gresham and Farr (appointed by the coal companies), gave them deputy sheriff commissions.

The State Federation of Labor held its annual convention at Trinidad August 18 and when the U. M. W. of A. delegates began to arrive in town late Saturday after-

noon G. W. Beltcher and Walter Belk, two Baldwin-Beltz heroes, shot and instantly killed Gerald Lippiatt, a district organizer on the main street of Trinidad. A coroner's jury, composed of "good" business men, rendered a verdict of "justifiable homicide"; District Attorney Hendricks later preferred a charge of murder against them but the courts of Colorado do not value a coal miner's life very high and Lippiatt's murderers were promptly released on bond because such human hyenas are needed by the operators to maintain law and order during a strike.

The Federation convention at Trinidad pledged the support of all organized labor in the state to the miners if they were forced to strike. A policy committee composed of district and national officials issued an ultimatum to all operators and call to all coal miners of the state to meet in Trinidad September 16 and consider the question of a strike. Conditions were exposed in this convention that would have caused the feudal lords of the Middle Ages to blush with shame. A more complete system of slavery cannot be conceived than was maintained in southern Colorado. Out of 15,864 coal miners employed in 1910, 323 were killed, a greater percentage than in any state in the union. A state law grants check weighmen. And miners were discharged for asking to see their coal weighed. They were compelled to trade at a company store and pay 25 to 50 per cent more than other merchants charged; to live in a company shack called a house; buy company coal and pay a company doctor, and last, but not least, they checked off a school tax that was never turned over to the state, and about all the miner was permitted to draw on payday was a statement of how much he owed the company. All this happened in "free America" under both Democratic and Republican administrations without a single protest from any public official, county, state or national. This state of affairs is the result of "REWARDING OUR FRIENDS AND PUNISHING OUR ENEMIES."

Fully realizing that the Standard Oil people in league with the Guggenheim crowd control the state politically, a strike would have been called at once but time was needed for a consignment of tents that was being delayed en route from West Virginia, to arrive and the date was postponed till September 23. Wholesale evictions followed, "poor wretched souls, men, women,

husbands, wives, fatherless children" of the men killed in the mines, "widows, woeful mothers with young babes" and all their household things, small in substance, but great in number, were thrown into the street. All the tents had not yet arrived and the elements seemed to be in league with the operators, for two days it rained and snowed. There never was a more pitiful sight than the exodus of those miners fortunate enough to get wagons for their household goods. It rained all day Tuesday and there streamed into Trinidad from every road, miners with their wives and kids, crowded up on top of pitifully few household things they were huddling together in a vain effort to protect each other from the storm.

When all the tents did arrive the mine guards refused to allow any evicted miner to move his household goods off the property of the coal company without an order signed by Sheriff Gresham (a C. F. & I. lickspittle). Mother Jones said, "Tell the sheriff if he don't come up here and make them let us have our own property, we'll go and get it ourselves, gun men or no gun men."

Some one has said, "A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than a learned philosopher apologizing for his chains." Believing this, fully 95 per cent of the miners answered the call to strike. Men with families within three days of starvation and without clothes enough to protect their frail bodies from the biting winds of mountain winters came out fully determined to win or die in the attempt. And who will blame them? Work such as the miner does is no longer honorable but has come to mean "drunkenness, vice and superstition." It makes men and women unscrupulous, hard and restless. It destroys for others the treasure of life—a home. All the noble sentiments of liberty and the joy of labor mean in reality to the miner slavery of the worst type.

With thoughtless hymns of praise of this massacreing of labor, society allows one wholesale slaughter after another without a protest. While I am writing this the news arrived of the Dawson, New Mexico, disaster, in which the lives of 261 miners were lost and the operators refused to allow Secretary Doyle of the miners' union to give the widows and orphans \$1,000 donated by the union because the camp was non-union. And just as certain as that nothing becomes better without the desire to improve it so it

is a healthy sign of the times that starvation wages for conscientious drudgery no longer fills the miner with heartfelt gratitude toward the master class.

The mine slaves were so cowed that the operators were sure that not more than 25 per cent would quit and when practically every miner laid down his tools, completely tying up the coal industry of Colorado, the wrath of the masters knew no bounds. They immediately got busy and sent a deputation of their lackeys, consisting of a lawyer, banker and a Catholic priest (Father Malone), to Washington to repeat the lies of the operators that the miners were satisfied with conditions but forced to strike by eastern agitators like Frank Hayes and Mother Jones. Their thugs began to terrorize the country, shoot up the tented camps of the strikers, insult the women and abuse the children and the operators began to call for the militia that the state might pay the cost of breaking the strike and thus save John D. a few paltry dollars with which to build a few more churches and start more Sunday schools where they sing and PREY—"servants obey your masters."

Failing to get the militia as soon as they called, the operators had to content themselves with filling the jails of Colorado with strikers who dared to exercise their constitutional rights of peacefully asking imported strikebreakers to not work. In the city of Boulder and within the shadow of Colorado's greatest educational institution, the state university, thirty-six were confined in the county jail until the court permitted the prisoners to bail each other out. Forty-nine others were arrested in Las Animas county and marched seven miles to the Trinidad jail between two rows of armed guards with Belk and Beltcher (out on bond for murder of Lippiatt), following up the rear with a Gatling gun mounted on an armored automobile. Frank Hayes says, "The operators have several machine guns mounted on autos. They also have what is known as the 'steel battle ship.' This is an automobile with a high body of solid sheet steel built up so as to almost conceal the guard inside. The steel furnishes resistance to the bullets and is so arranged that the assassins on the inside may shoot their rifles in perfect safety. It is a splendid refuge for a coward. The body of the machine is shaped like a torpedo and was designed and built for mine guards. It carried a rapid fire machine gun with a range



PART OF THE MINERS' PARADE AT TRINIDAD.

of more than two miles. As bad as West Virginia was there was nothing down there to compare with this latest instrument of murder that the operators of Colorado are using."

As this procession neared town, G. E. Jones, a member of Western Federation of Miners, attempted to get a picture of the armored car. A. C. Felt beat him insensible and destroyed his camera and had him arrested for disturbing the peace.

Gun men patrol the public roads in armored autos, shooting up first one camp and then another. The first resistance the strikers offered was at Forbes, October 17, one striker was killed, two wounded and a deputy shot in the hip. One hundred and forty-seven bullets from a machine gun passed through a tent occupied by an aged Scotchman, who saved his life by lying flat on the floor. After this battle the miners made preparations to defend themselves from further attacks of the guards.

The miners hold the strategic point at Ludow, where the guards made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them in a battle that lasted from Friday night till Monday morning in which forty Baldwin guards were reported killed. This was too much for the operators, they could not stand to see the miners so successfully defending

their homes, so they pulled the right string and the governor sent 1,000 militiamen under General Chase with orders to protect the property of the coal company and the lives of the guards. Governor Ammons promised to be neutral, something absolutely impossible. When the question of right and justice is at stake there is no neutral ground and I anxiously await the developments of the next few days. The militia has made a bluff at disarming the guards but never took away any machine guns. They have given the strikers forty-eight hours to surrender their arms and ammunition or submit to search and seizure. Martial law was declared October 28 and since then everything has been quiet, such a quiet as precedes a storm. One thousand militiamen and 15,000 strikers face each other in southern Colorado and the miners haven't forgotten Cripple Creek, and the yellow legs had better be good.

The class war that is now raging in the coal fields of Colorado is but the continuance of the age-long struggle that began when one class of people began living off the toil of another class, but not since the revolting slaves followed Spartacus in ancient Rome have the working class defended themselves and families against the mas-

ter's attacks as the coal miners of southern Colorado.

Strikes are the most antique weapon in the miner's arsenal. Three and a half years of strike in northern Colorado cost \$1,022,000 before the south was called out. But the educational value of a strike cannot be too highly estimated, "it implants that feeling of solidarity." By completely tying up a coal industry which represents thirty different crafts, it has been shown that industrial unionism is indispensable to the welfare of labor.

The war of the classes is not confined to any particular place or any one craft. In every country where capitalism is developed, regardless of governments, races or religions, there the militiamen's ready rifle cracks and the corporation judge binds and

gags the workers with injunctions and opens the prison doors to all that hold such actions in contempt.

In Lafayette, where Greely W. Whitford imprisoned sixteen miners who held his contemptible court in contempt at the beginning of the northern strike, is a red revolutionary socialist city administration backed up by one of the strongest socialist locals of the state.

Slowly but surely the Samson, labor, is finding his strength. He is no longer blind. Over all the earth sweeps the spirit of revolt. Beneath the blood red flag of brotherhood rally the disinherited of the world with a feeling that "an injury to one is the concern of all." The workers of the world are uniting. They have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to gain.

THE MINERS OF LUDLOW

THE men of Ludlow, the largest of the tent colonies, decided that there was but one way to defend themselves from illegal force. They in turn were compelled to arm themselves and we are proud of their splendid courage, their daring achievements.

The men of Ludlow have shown how readily the bold, blustering gunmen will turn tail when confronted by men armed and ready to use their arms in defense of their tent homes; their women and children.

The swaggering, loud talking mercenaries developed another quality. Sprinting and marathon records were made by the brave guards in their anxiety to make safe getaways.

And then, the armored train, with machine guns mounted to sweep the camp.

All praise to our railroad men brothers. They one and all refused to man this death-dealing engine. But, among the Baldwins there was one who could run an engine, in a way.

And the "under-sheriff" of Las Animas county fired the engine.

An epitome of the whole situation, "the Baldwin at the throttle, the sheriff's office firing the engine."

It seemed hopeless; but not to the men of southern Colorado.

They went forward to meet the "death special" ere it reached the tent town which they claimed as their homes.

They met the steel-clad train, manned by one hundred and ninety guards, armed with machine guns and modern rifles.

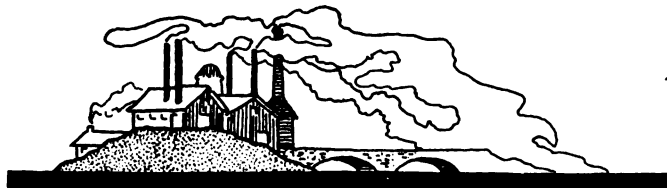
They engaged them; they forced them to slack down; to stop; to beat a hasty retreat; to back up, with more speed than dignity.

All hail to you men of southern Colorado!

When "justice" turned prostitute you defended your homes, your rights, as men should.

To Thermopylae; to Lexington; to the battle on the bridge across the Tiber, add "Ludlow," where the embattled miners proved themselves able and willing to defend their homes and their loved ones.—

United Mine Workers' Journal.





JIM LARKIN ADDRESSING STRIKERS.

JIM LARKIN

By Caroline Nelson

A SPECTRE is haunting all Europe! Parliaments are debating on how to fight it. Kings and emperors are concerned with its menacing significance. The capitalist class is arming to protect itself against it. The spectre is what the daily newspapers call fearfully "Larkinism."

For a good many years the labor leader

in Europe has been a worse parasite than his prototype in America. Here he is an autocratic little king drawing an enormous salary. It is harder for the workers to dislodge him because he has come from the working class himself and is thoroughly entrenched in his soft job through years of faithful service to those in authority in the unions. Greed for power on the part of

union officials and pressure from the capitalist class has finally put most of the power of the trade unions into the hands of a very few conservative officials who protect the bosses better than they could protect themselves.

This sort of Labor Leader will probably be lost in the rush and hum of things. He will be unable to readjust himself to the new spirit of democracy and rebellion that is taking possession of the workers everywhere. This spirit produces men of a fire and self-abandonment that astonishes the world. They spring up unannounced and unheralded. Having been "nobody's good dog," they spurn all the old rules and tactics and phrases carefully preserved by the sleek, smooth-tongued, conservative labor leader. They serve no apprenticeship in the politics of unionism and spring into the forefront during a time of strife to fling defiance into the teeth of the master class and accomplish marvels of educational and organization work everywhere. Their stirring militancy finds an echo in the hearts of the rebellious workers and gives voice to those who have been mute.

Such a figure is Jim Larkin. Five years ago he landed in Dublin, a penniless tramp, looking for a job. He has been working here ever since. Today his name spreads terror throughout all Europe. The papers are wailing over the dangers of "Larkinism."

Larkin employed the industrial union tactics calling for a general strike. Gravely this morning a Berlin paper regrets that Jim Larkin has taught the Irish workers the "sympathy strike," claiming that the Dublin strike is so utterly different from what one might be led to expect from the British workers, that the workers have changed so rapidly from their old attitude of thoughtful consideration for the bosses, that nobody knows how to handle the situation. This is not to be wondered at when the German capitalists see their own labor leaders denying strike benefits to the workers who wanted to go out in sympathy with the Dublin strikers, in this way forcing them back to work.

The Dublin strike has lasted two months now. It started with the street car workers and the dockers and has spread to nearly all other trades like wild fire. The bosses denied the workers the right to organize.

Naturally the bosses in Dublin blame all the trouble on Jim Larkin. But the trouble

lies in the system that exploits the working class. Jim Larkin is merely the militant voice of the workers. Larkin says:

"It will not take the working class long to tip over this damnable system when it becomes conscious of its power."

Thanks to his splendid influence, the strikers have decided to drink no alcoholic beverages. Larkin has shown them how the man with a "booze" soaked brain makes a poor fighter and the strikers want to continue the battle, clear-headed and clear-eyed.

And Jim Larkin is here, there and everywhere. One day he was arrested and the officials sent out word that he would be held so that he could not address the strikers. The meeting was called for 3:00 p. m. Jim sent word to the strikers that he would be on hand AND WOULD speak though the heavens fell. Great crowds gathered together to hear Jim that afternoon. Slowly a great mass of over 20,000 wage workers surged toward the place of meeting. By 2 o'clock the crowd was packed tight making a solid wall about the speaker's platform. Gleefully the police and the soldiers declared they would never let Larkin enter the crowd. They thought no man could make his way through it.

The crowd waited patiently and anxiously. The same difficulties that had occurred to the police, they saw. But at the stroke of 3 o'clock an old man, in the front of the solid mass pressed about the lecture platform, leaped lightly upon the stage, pulled a false gray wig and beard from his head and—behold! It was the beloved Jim, for whom the great heaving mass set the earth trembling in its mighty cheers. And Jim talked as he had never talked before. The police were unable to make any way through the crowd. Nothing could stop him.

Larkin took a lesson from the Lawrence strikers and the strike committee planned to send the children of Dublin strikers to their comrades in England to be cared for till the battle was won. Again the Catholic Church stepped in prohibiting the mothers from separating from their children. And thousands of the workers began to see just WHOM the Catholic Church serves in any crisis. Such events are a blessing in disguise. They show the workers their true friends—and ENEMIES. Our old friend, Mrs. Montefiore, was arrested with

other socialists on a faked-up charge of kidnapping the children.

The Copenhagen newspapers rejoice that Jim Larkin is not an anti-parliamentarian. When the long fight comes to an end and home rule for Ireland becomes an established fact, they believe Larkin will enter the Irish Parliament. They hint plainly that a little capitalist flattery may draw the teeth of the firebrand. Everywhere it seems to be the consensus of opinion that Jim Larkin must be fixed—either by imprisonment or by a high position that will tend to conservatism. They don't know Jim.

In the meantime Jim Larkins are springing up all over Europe. The crop is growing bigger and better every year because the European worker is being pushed nearer and nearer the abyss of despair.

In Berlin, Germany, 10,000 workers live in damp cellars and thousands upon thousands live in one room that never sees a streak of sunlight. The comrades took me through forests of those tall yard-buildings that are reached only through narrow alleys. Here is carried on much of the sweat-shop manufacturing. We have been told in America that Berlin has abolished the slum. No, she has only hidden them—sometimes behind plate glass windows.

But the workers are growing more intelligent all the time. The women are refusing to bring large families into the world and one does not see either in Berlin or Paris those crowds of miserable, hungry children that we see in London. This is partly because the English working class still holds to capitalist ideas on religion and morality.

Just now there is a noticeable period of reaction in Europe, caused by the Balkan war. The capitalist class in every country used this war to stir up the dead corpse of patriotism. It was during this campaign of military propaganda that the French ruling class was able to put through the bill for increasing military service to three years. But the protest and rebellion at once assumed threatening proportions. The

public officials then granted the soldiers a four months' leave of absence every summer which made their "victory" a barren one after all. The workers in France are not very respectful of the law nor are they very law-abiding.

When the old-age pension system was put through, which was to compel the workers to carry a card to be stamped with due stamps paid for by himself and his employer, the workers tore up the cards and ignored the law. They demanded a no-tributary system of no less than two francs a day at the age of fifty-five years.

The French working class deliberately violated the laws. What did the government do about it? What COULD the government do about it? Obviously it could not imprison the whole working class. So the matter rests. And the government has lowered the age for pensions five years.

This period of reaction cannot last long. Doubtless it will give the capitalist class a new breathing spell some places and enable them to draw the cords a little tighter around the workers. But the workers will rebel in a hundred places at once next year, or the year after and a thousand Jim Larkins will arise.

The New Unionism is making inroads in every land. It is spreading like a tidal wave, gathering power and momentum all the time. Its watchword is CLASS SOLIDARITY and it keeps the power of all decisions in the hands of the rank and file.

* * * * *

As I write word comes through the comrades that Jim Larkin has been arrested. Magistrate Swift, who caused his arrest, had issued a proclamation declaring the strike mass meetings illegal. Comrade Larkin burned the magistrate's papers in the public square and joined the strikers in their own proclamation, which consisted of the following pledge:

"I will pay no rent until the tramway men have got the conditions they demand."

Larkin was sentenced to serve seven months on a charge of "sedition and inciting to riot."



A PATHETIC SCENE NEAR THE UNIVERSAL COLLIERY—WIVES AND CHILDREN OF ENTOMBED MINERS WAITING FOR NEWS.

THE GREATEST MINE

Photographs by

FIFTEEN hundred women and children were robbed of their breadwinners this month when in Senghenydd, England, 435 miners were killed in a mine explosion. Five hundred miners escaped through what looks like a miracle. In commenting upon the disaster, *London Justice* says:

"A matter which illustrates the mine owners' utter disregard for the safety of the miner is the fact that while millions of tons of coal are extracted from the mines annually, these huge gaps in Mother Earth are allowed to accumulate a great volume of inflammable gas. One spark of fire is likely to mean an explosion like the one that has just occurred,

and the death of a thousand men." If these precautions were taken," *Justice* continues:

"The mine output would, of course, be reduced. But what of that if life were made more secure? Life is surely more sacred than profits. How the miners themselves are placed in regard to their conditions of labor can be judged from the following incident:

"The men employed at the pits of the Cambrian combine protested in general meeting against the conditions of their servitude by leaving work in a body. The sequel to their action is that several hundreds of them are to be proceeded against in the court for ABSENTING



MINERS CARRYING THE BODIES OF THEIR DEAD COMRADES FROM THE COMPANY'S OFFICES TO THE HOMES.

DISASTER IN WALES

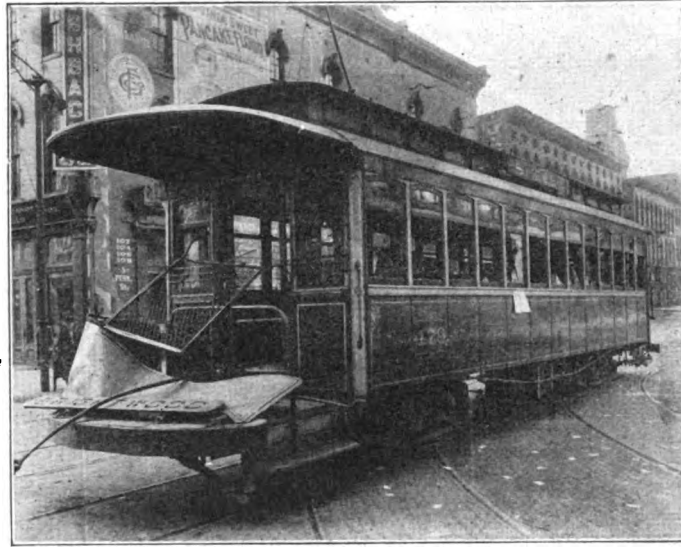
Paul Thompson, New York.

THEMSELVES FROM WORK WITHOUT PERMISSION. In most cases sums amounting to 30s are claimed by the company to recoup them for their alleged losses. If these men go to work they run the risk of losing their lives, if they stay at home they must pay the company heavy damages for daring to exercise their vaunted liberty."

In the organization of a coal mine there are officials known as firemen whose duty, in theory, is to look to the safe condition of the mine. In actual practice, however, these officials act as overseers of the men working in their districts, rushing the men to get the coal out. They look to the safety of the men by acting as slave drivers. Their

relation to the colliery company is of a cordial nature, so long as their districts are worked cheaply. Conditions will change when the firemen become class conscious or the miners are organized to enforce their safety demands. They will have to force the bosses.

And again we want to voice the old, old refrain: The troubles of the poor, the industrial deaths of workingmen and women, poverty, itself, are all the fruits of PRODUCTION for PROFITS instead of production to feed, clothe, house and make happy and comfortable the whole world. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.



A POPULAR WRECK.

THE STREET CAR WAR AT INDIANAPOLIS

By Bruce Rogers

Photos by Losey.

AFTER three days of hostilities, on this November 4th, election day in what promises to be one of the bloodiest and most beastly traction strikes in the history of class wars, the situation is completely in the hands of the so far victorious strikers.

The conflict is between the Indianapolis Terminal and Traction Company and its operating slaves, lately organized with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and has developed with a suddenness amounting to spontaneous action.

And this is Indianapolis, a city contemptuously known far and wide as a "scab farm," and is the labor-hating David M. Parry's very own.

In August the men on the Interurban lines made a pitiful effort which aborted in forty-eight hours—lost for lack of organization. The company grew more arrogant upon so readily whipping the men, back to work and its president, one Robert T. Todd, proudly boasted that the men could not be organized. But he had not counted upon the Indianapolis Socialists, who, at this juncture, lent their aid most efficiently to Organizer and Vice-President John J. Thorpe, by singling out individual motormen and conductors with whom they were acquainted and visiting with them.

By the last week in August things were in shape and a committee was sent to the com-

pany offices. Upon stating their business and that the men had sent them, the superintendent exploded:

"So the men sent you, did they? Well, you get to hell out o' here." They then returned to the car barns and reported for their "runs," but found their time checks and "never again" slips awaiting them.

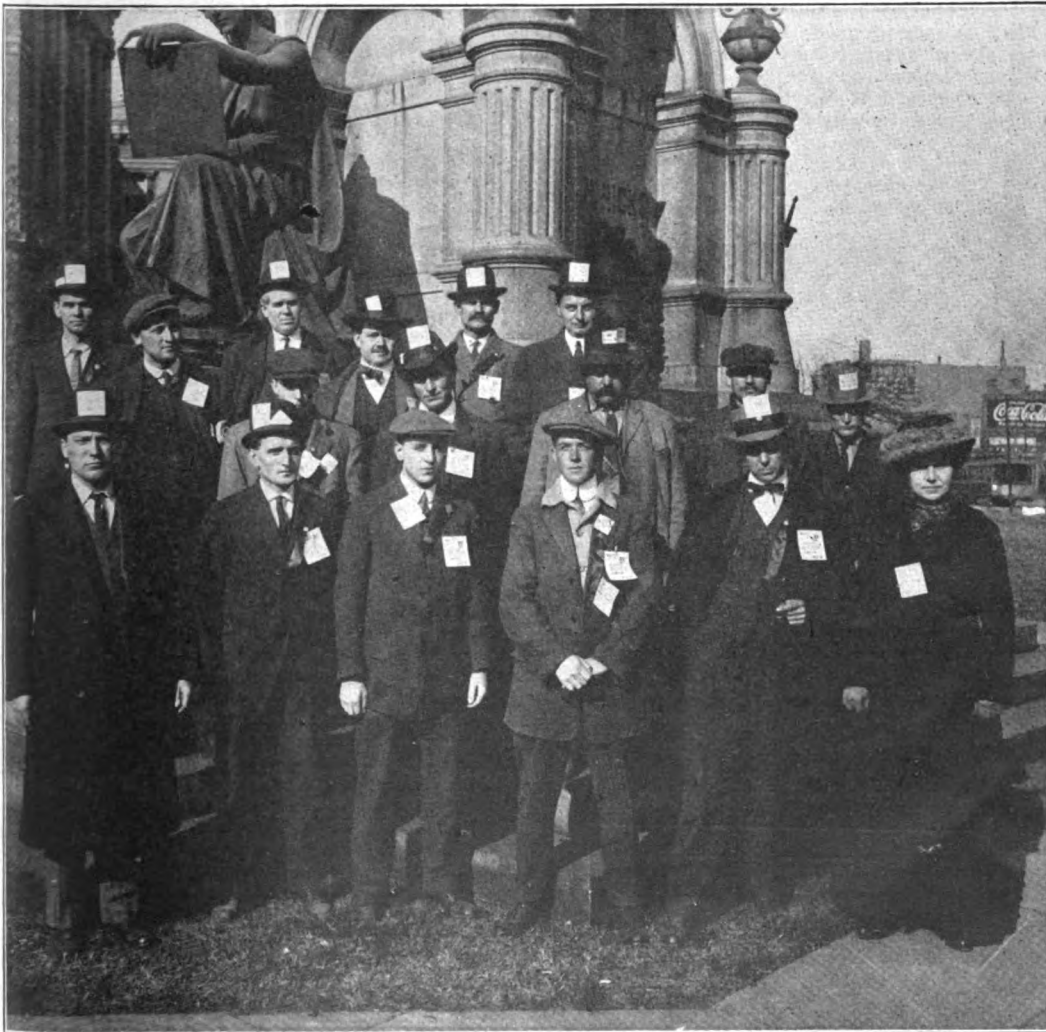
The strike was called at eleven o'clock p. m., Friday, October 31st, and promptly at that hour the cars were run into the barns and abandoned. The attempt of the company to resume service next morning with thugs and strikebreakers imported as usual for the purpose, made it suddenly realize that the "men" had been organized. The cars reached the streets, were demolished by crowds, and there they stand on the fourth day of the strike. The unladylike strikers will not even allow them to be moved back to the barns. The strikebreakers were driven back to the company barns, where they remain, fed by the company, armed to the teeth and firing at any crowd that approaches. The fatalities resulting so far are one strikebreaker shot in the back of the head by a fellow thug firing at strikers, and John Brogan, a non-combatant, who was shot by a notorious local scab by the name of James Gorman.

A street railway strike must always be swift and furious, carried on amid scenes of vio-

lence. Attempts to operate the cars of a struck service brings the hated scabs within close view of the strikers and their sympathizers, acting upon them as an insult and a slap in the face. In this one, just as in the great Columbus strike of Street Railway Employees, the policemen are refusing to ride with scabs and protect the cars, many of them resigning outright and others simply refusing to obey orders. Although it may be admitted that the people in sympathy with the strikers are making it dangerous to do so, still I think it wrong to assume that the police take this course out of cowardice.

They are not unlike other "bulls" on that score, and I believe in this instance, are actuated by at least a feeling of class sympathy.

At one of the many Socialist meetings being held, Comrade Zimmerman made a stirring appeal for class solidarity and two policemen who were present tore off their badges on the spot. So far the Governor has refused the corporation the use of troops to win the strike for them, probably for reasons that will be removed by the election, which, with the course the police are taking, leaves the company hog-tied by the strikers, with, on every hand, the sympathy and co-operation of other workers. This is especially true of the Indianapolis Socialists who, locally at least, are redeeming that portion of the party platform pledging it to organization on the economic field. The State Secretary, Comrade William Henry, his comrade wife and many active So-



GROUP OF INDIANAPOLIS SOCIALISTS WHO WERE ON THE JOB.

FIRST ROW—JOHN JOKOLY, F. SIGWORTH, L. RAGSDALE, W. H. HENRY, MRS. HENRY. SECOND ROW—M. L. PARKER, JOHN MOULAR, MAC KRUCK. THIRD ROW—WILLIAM JACKMAN, BRUCE RODGERS, MARION WILEY. FOURTH ROW—JAMES CRAIG, R. ROCH.

cialists are to be seen among the strikers and in attendance at demonstration meetings. Hat cards and other devices bearing the legend, "We Walk," are everywhere in evidence.

The Socialists having a special one:

**WE WALK
VOTE FOR SOCIALISM
AND
RIDE YOUR OWN CARS**

In fact, the Socialists originated the "We Walk" card plan and are giving the strikers many valuable suggestions beside aid of a substantial character.

If comedy is ever wrung out of a tense crisis such as this, it is to be found in the consternation of prominent citizens and business men when they were summoned by the sheriff to act as deputies in suppressing the "disorders." They had denounced the civil authorities and the sheriff retaliated by giving them the job. It scared them out of their boots when they were expected to do their own fighting and they are righteously outraged.

The militia will undoubtedly be forthcoming with the passing of the election and this story would not be worth the writing if we did not point out the elements of failure and betrayal already appearing in this magnificent rebellion of the workers.

At the great demonstration held on the Court House lawn this afternoon, they suffered themselves to be addressed by their attorneys, a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and one plain parson. It was sickening to the heart of a revolutionist to note how the platitudes of this parasitic gentry were cheered to the echo by the rebelling slaves. Already their magnificent militant spirit has been denatured into a mere plea for arbitration and already their very leaders are taking up the coward refrain. It is simply appalling to see that arbitration is the most that is hoped for even at a moment when the slaves are completely victorious, and which, of course, means that in the end, the settlement will be made by their enemies and essentially barren of any substantial fruit to them.



ANNIE CLEMENC.

"BIG ANNIE"

IN the Calumet strike region they are calling Annie Clemenc the American Joan of Arc. Annie Clemenc is a miner's wife. A Croatian, she was born in this country and educated in the school at Calumet. "If she were dressed in fashion people would turn to look at her

if she walked down State street or Fifth avenue. Even in her plain dress she is a striking figure. Strong, with firm but supple muscles, fearless, ready to die for a cause, this woman is the kind all red-blooded men could take off their hats to.

I suppose Annie Clemenc knows what it is to go hungry, but I don't believe all the millions of dividends ever taken out of the Calumet & Hecla mine could buy her.

The day when the soldiers rode down the flag Annie Clemenc stood holding the staff of that big flag in front of her, horizontally. She faced cavalymen with drawn sabers, infantrymen with bayoneted guns. They ordered her back. She didn't move an inch. She defied the soldiers. She was struck on her right wrist with a bayonet, and over the right bosom and shoulder with a deputy's club.

"Kill me," she said. "Run your bayonets and sabers through this flag and kill me, but I won't go back. If this flag will not protect me, then I will die with it."

And she didn't go back. Miners rushed up, took the flag and got her back for fear she might be killed.

After the parade one morning Annie Clemenc came up to the curb where President Moyer was standing. I was there.

Looking up at him she said:

"It's hard to keep one's hands off the scabs."—From the *Miners' Bulletin*.

"Big Annie" has been leading the parades of the striking miners to which she walked early every morning from seven to ten miles. The women have been especially brave and class consciousness in this copper war. And the Finns, who have been educated in the principles of Socialism, are lending a militant character to the struggle that helps much to developing the staying powers of the men.

Victory for Seattle



BRUCE ROGERS.

[T] begins to look as though the bill proposed by President Wilson at the insistence of Bruce Rogers will be enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives during the December term, and the Socialist party of Seattle and the I. W. W. will be fully reimbursed for the damages sustained by their local headquarters by a band of drunken marines and rowdies in the name of Patriotism.

The fight put up by our Seattle Comrades has aroused politicians all over the country.

Just now the thing they desire most is that the whole affair and the Judge Humphries comedies be relegated to the ash heap and forgotten.

Comrade Bruce Rogers set out on his quest for damages, for the two locals a little over a month ago. He went entirely on his own expense and has made his way largely through speaking for various locals on his journeyings.

Friend Bruce took the locals' claims for damages straight up to President Wilson. He claimed that the pernicious activities of Col. Alden J. Blethen, editor of the *Seattle Times*, which urged the drunken sailors to attack the Socialist and I. W. W. headquarters, were a menace to the community. Comrade Rogers found President Wilson ignorant of the true facts of the outrages. Secretary of the Navy Daniels, whose speech at the Mount Rainier Club was garbled by Blethen and made the excuse for the attack by the sailors, agreed that an injury had been done the Socialists and members of the I. W. W.

The Seattle comrades could not have chosen a better man to represent them. Franz Bostrom, state secretary of Washington, and the secretaries of other states routed Comrade Rogers for dates through their territory and lent a hand to the Seattle cause in this way. But it is very doubtful if any other man could so soon have placed the facts before the president in so satisfactory a manner as Bruce Rogers has done.

The following is a copy of the bill which we hope will become a law by the time this number of the REVIEW is in the hands of our readers:

Providing for the reimbursement of certain persons and organizations for damage to and destruction of their property in a riot in the city of Seattle, Washington.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby appropriated, out of any available funds in the Treasury, for the purpose of reimbursing the

following-named parties in the several amounts set opposite their names, respectively, for loss by destruction of and damage to their property in a riot led and actively participated in by sailors and marines of the United States Navy in the city of Seattle, State of Washington, on or about the nineteenth day of July, nineteen hundred and thirteen, at which time the rooms occupied by the persons and organizations hereinafter named were sacked and the personal property of the said persons and organizations was burned and otherwise injured and destroyed, to wit: To Millard Price, \$148.80; to the secretary-treasurer of the fifth ward local of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$1,423.50; to the secretary-treasurer of the third ward local of the Socialist Party of Seattle, Washington, \$200; to the secretary-treasurer of the King County local of the Socialist Party of King County, Washington, \$470; to the secretary-treasurer of local unions numbered one hundred and seventy-eight and one hundred and ninety-four, Industrial Workers of the World, of Seattle, Washington, \$596; to the secretary-treasurer of local unions numbered three hundred and eighty-two, two hundred and fifty-two, and four hundred and thirty-two, Industrial Workers of the World, of Seattle, Washington, \$1,043.50. And the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to pay the said several amounts to the said parties, respectively, as indicated above, and take their receipts therefor.

Governor Hatfield Wins

On a technicality the suit of the Socialist Printing Company against H. D. Hatfield, governor of West Virginia, and several other military officers, for responsibility in wrecking the printing plant of the Huntington Socialist and Labor Star, a weekly paper, during the recent big miners' strike, was dismissed "without prejudice" by Judge Graham in the Circuit Court. New papers were immediately prepared and the case will be re-entered.

When common ordinary mortals wish to recover legally for damages inflicted upon them by the high and mighty militia force of the barons, according to West Virginia law, the plaintiff must bet the militia at odds of three to one that he wins the suit.

The question of whether or not the commander in chief of the militia can send a detail of his yellow boys anywhere in the state and under cover of darkness break into citizens' houses, smash up and destroy their property, simply because these citizens criticize his official acts, and not be amenable to the laws he is supposed to execute and uphold, is going to be determined before this case is over with.

To Review Readers

All combination book offers made by the publishing house during the past year in connection with securing subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will positively expire on December 31st this year.

BEHIND THE SCENES IN MEXICO

By Guy A. Aldred, Editor Herald of Revolt

(The following article printed in an English newspaper throws so much light on the Big Interests behind the Mexican revolution that we reprint it here for the benefit of Review readers.)

WOODROW WILSON is just the puppet of the Rockefeller interests. His opposition to the Huerta-Diaz regime in Mexico is dictated by the needs of the Standard Oil trust and other big American interests in the Spanish-American republic. Annexation is unwise for the moment. But as soon as the time is commercially ripe, annexation will be the policy pursued. The American eagle is just biding its time—and acting the hypocrite.

Oil controls, or is about to control, the commerce of the world. We are at the beginning of the oil age, and the Mexican oil fields are richer than all the other oil fields of the world combined. In this fact is to be explained recent events in Mexico and the opposing policies of Great Britain and America. The British lion stands for the Rothschild interests, and the American eagle for the Rockefeller ones.

Rockefeller is an old man. He is seventy-three, to be exact; and reputedly the richest man in the world. He began life as a book-keeper, and then started an oil factory, absorbed rivals, and created the Standard Oil trust, one of the greatest financial combinations in existence. A few years ago the leaders of this concern entered into a secret contract with Russia by which they gained control of the Caspian oil fields in return for certain legislation respecting the residence of foreign anarchists in the United States.

We instance this fact to show how absurd is the Declaration of Independence and of rights, how idle it is for the common people to repose faith either in written or unwritten constitutions. "What's the Constitution as between friends," said the Standard Oil trust to the Russian Czar, in imitation of Congressman Timothy Campbell's urge to President Cleveland. We should like to know what it is really worth in such a case.

Diaz clambered to power in Mexico in 1876. He constructed great engineering works, and developed the country with the

aid of foreign capital. At the instigation of the latter, and in face of the growing unrest of the people, he was obliged to wield despotic power. This gave birth, as readers of this journal know, to the Mexican Liberal party and its official organ "Regeneracion," which was founded in Mexico City in 1900. Uprisings occurred along the American border and Francisco Madero acquired some prominence for his activity in connection with this movement.

This continued down to 1910, when the great Tampico oil fields were discovered and grabbed by the Rothschild interests. This was a natural result of Diaz having put through his schemes with Rothschild money, the go-between being the celebrated English engineer, Weetman Pearsons, now Lord Cowdray, for many years Rothschild's right-hand man. This gentleman is president of S. Pearsons & Sons, Ltd., London, and one of the directors of the Mexican Eagle Oil Co., which exists to carry on the business of oil producers, distillers and refiners. The total property held by the company in Mexico was returned on December 31st last at £7,337,179 13s. 5d., of which £380,220 11s. 3d. represents investments in allied companies. It must also be borne in mind that Pearsons & Sons, Ltd., and the Shell Trading and Transportation Co., headed by Sir Marcus Samuels, also represent Rothschild interests in Mexico.

How the Mexican Eagle Oil Co. menaces the Standard Oil monopoly will appear from the following facts:

(1) The production of oil in Mexico has increased from about 1,000,000 barrels in 1907 to 15,695,000 barrels in 1912. This year it is expected to equal 20,000,000 barrels. Of this output, the Eagle Oil Co., produces over 50 per cent.

(2) This company owns seven of the fourteen fields from which the whole Mexican production is now being obtained.

(3) Its total holding of over 800,000 acres of selected freehold oil lands and sub-soil rights represents more than 1½ times the total area held as oil land in the state of California, the greatest oil-producing state in the United

States, and is equal to 10 per cent of the entire area held as oil land in that country.

(4) The company's federal and state concessions cover a very large additional area, and its total equipment will enable it to establish and maintain for, at least 25 to 30 years, a total productive capacity of 120,000 barrels per day, so that an output of 60,000 barrels per day can be assured, still leaving in reserve a further 60,000 barrels per day of developed production.

That this great oil struggle is not confined to Mexico, but extends to the whole of South America is evident from the recent remarkable concessions which the Master of Elibank has secured for Pearsons & Sons in Ecuador and Colombia, two other South American republics. We have the Filipinos and Cuba also in secret revolt against United States dominations, and their movement is allied closely with the Mexican struggle. In fact, this Mexican question has immense ramifications, and is of immediate wide-world importance.

By securing the Tampico oil belt, the Rothschild interests ousted the Standard Oil from its practical control of the world's oil supply. Diaz represented the Rothschild interests on Rockefeller's native heath; so Diaz had to go. To complete the ruin of the House of Rothschild, it was necessary to find a popular leader. The latter was found in Francisco Madero, whom the Junta of the Mexican Liberal party denounced for treachery, but whose promises the Mexican people believed. The Standard Oil inspired a newspaper campaign against President Diaz and furnished Madero with the means to win. Suddenly he became the leader of a movement, well financed, armed and officered. That movement made him president, and its success caused Rockefeller to breathe more freely. America at once recognized Madero's régime, although he practised all the corruption that Diaz had practised, and played the despot as well as his predecessor. But Madero hypothecated the stock of the nationally-owned Mexican railroads to Wall-street usurers, and saddled the Mexican exchequer with an additional foreign debt, including unpaid interest, of nearly £25,000,000, due to the American interests. He had carried on the war against Diaz with American money, knowing that his success meant the bankruptcy of the Mexican government. This meant that American finance could take the 11,000 miles of railway from the nation under foreclosure, and would thus be enabled to drive out the British petroleum interests

that controlled the Tampico field, for the majority of bondholders in the national railways are the Standard Oil interests, the largest individual bondholder being Henry Clay Pierce of the Waters-Pierce Oil Co.

Madero, the tool of American capital, dissatisfied the people. The rebellion continued. As the American interests had not acquired complete control of the national railways, the oil fields of the Mexican Gulf and the potash of Lower California, Wall street forbade President Taft to interfere in defense of either American properties or lives. For a similar reason, Woodrow Wilson has not completely broken. But intervention and annexation draws nearer. So satisfied is a syndicate of American multimillionaires that intervention will follow at the proper moment that it has employed lawyers and agents to take options on over £150,000,000 worth of Mexican lands. Lands in the United States which cannot be purchased under £12 are bought in Mexico itself for five shillings, or less. To secure annexation, the authors of this conspiracy will spill the blood of the Mexican peon and the American soldier. Still the American worker will be called upon to respect the yellow streaked flag of American independence! Still the parliamentary Socialist and trade-union faker will proclaim his patriotism. Returning from the blood-washed soil of Mexico, the military will be called upon to murder strikers, anarchists, Socialists and I. W. W. boys in cold blood. For how long will the workers stomach such knavery? That is the question.

Wall street interests at Washington were prepared to stand by Madero to the last ditch. In his rebellious days they had allowed him to marshal his forces in America without the slightest opposition. They consented to the same arrangements in his days of power. All who were opposed to him were punished promptly and severely by the United States authorities.

Such a state of affairs did not suit the Rothschild interests. So they found a tool in the former penniless peon and insurrecto, Orozco. He became a leader of 12,000 men equipped with rifles of the latest type, long range artillery, and ample ammunition drawn from the Rothschild war chest. Torreon was at his mercy and Mexico City was within easy striking distance. Suddenly it became known that Wall street demanded intervention, and as this would not have

served the Rothschild interests, Orozco, without abandoning his ambitions, was denied the realization of his plans.

The crisis was thus avoided a year before Madero's murder. No sooner had the Huerta-Diaz insurrection proved successful than the British government hastened to recognize it. It did so as early as March 11th, last, while the American government still refuses to do so. Rockefeller has not the same interests as Rothschild, except against the common enemy, the worker. Whereas inspired articles in the American press are opposed to Huerta, inspired articles in the *Daily Telegraph* here for June 26th and 30th and July 2d, 5th and 7th of the present year favored his administration. These articles denounce Madero and eulogize Felix Diaz as the coming president. They insist that the choice is between the Huerta-Diaz government and anarchy, and denounce the ulterior designs of America. At the same time, they admit that the provisional government and its Diaz successor will stand for tyranny, and they rely on this fact to safeguard foreign investments.

Need one add much more to understand how beautifully capital schemes, how the

"interests" benefit humanity? On the strength of the British government's recognition, Huerta had determined to crush the secessionists in power in the state of Sonora. This movement was financed by the United States interests, which Madero had also served well by leaving a weakened exchequer to Huerta. Forced to raise funds, the latter in June attempted to negotiate a loan of £25,000,000 by hypothecating railroad and other national properties to two French syndicates through the New York banks of Speyer & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and J. P. Morgan. American interests would have lost over this what they gained through Madero. So Huerta was not recognized and the loan fell through, owing to the implied antagonism of the American government. Orozco remains a Rothschild tool, allied to Huerta and Diaz, and American plutocracy hungers for Mexico and the untold wealth of which Tampico oil is but a foretaste. Meanwhile the Magon brothers and their comrades, Rivera and Figueroa, remain imprisoned in McNeill's Island, on perjured evidence, in defiance of law, for having championed with their pens the cause of the oppressed peon.

REACTION IN CHINA

By Ajax

DURING the last Ching dynasty the Manchus took care to suppress any society which had any trace of political aspirations or was in any way opposed to the government. But with the Chinese revolution of 1911 this restraint was removed and consequently many new liberal societies have sprung up during the last two years. Most of them however had a very short butterfly existence and simply came into life through some person's influence and energy and when that person was discouraged or removed they ceased to exist. I was very much interested in the growth and development of the socialist and labor societies and collected their various rules and aims and translated them into English. I knew all the leaders. The principle impression produced upon me was that the Chinese socialists and labor men tried to cover too much ground. Often they ex-

pressed their ideas in rather vague or abstract terms. This may have been due to the fact that the leaders had next to no knowledge of the foreign labor movements and consequently many based their socialist plans on the noble sentiments of members of their organizations. The history of these organizations is very interesting although they are now crushed out.

CHINESE REPUBLIC LABOR PARTY.

This party was organized by a man called Wen a mechanic employed in the Chinese government arsenal at Shanghai. Unfortunately he did not read any foreign language and could not gain by outside experience. The objects of the "party" were stated as follows:

"Our party has been formed by the workers of the whole country because of trouble experienced. We must assist each other so that the workers will work and live together

as though born of the same mother and so collectively enjoy our own power, our own profits and our own burdens, which will be equally distributed. . . . Surely everybody is tired, but the tide is rising, and cannot be kept back. . . . We have anxious hopes that when our plans and methods are understood they will be like fire and water (*i. e.* spread quickly and enter every house). . . . Without unity the whole country's working class cannot become a powerful body and without some scheme our influence cannot spread.

"Our general objects are: (A) to stimulate the workers to become more intelligent. (B) To circulate information so that the workers may understand. (C) To raise a leader who will direct operations. (D) To abolish the workers' distress. (E) To get a determined working class to impeach and denounce (the wrong)."

Wen was styled the general-commander and had a staff under him called captains. These captains, by the way, were to be in duplicate, one male and one female, for each trade. This society certainly did some good in helping in a strike of the silver-smiths in Shanghai early this year, when after a three days' strike, without any funds to back them up, they gained a substantial advance in wages. It is said that one of the political spies of the government got Wen to take up a plan for the workers at the arsenal to revolt and capture the arsenal. An attack actually did take place but the authorities had been warned so that Wen was caught red-handed and was sent to Peking for trial and execution. This finished the Chinese labor party.

CHINESE SOCIALIST PARTY.

This society was established by a man named Kiang Kang-hu, just after the revolution of 1911. Although its objects and rules number thirty-seven yet the essential principles of European socialism are not included. They are not so definite, as will be seen from the following objects: 1. To assist the republic and promote the common weal. 2. To help to do away with racial differences. 3. To introduce laws which will ennoble the individual. 4. To abolish the hereditary system of bequeathing property. 5. To organize a general system of education for the common people. 6. To promote productive work for the encouragement of the laboring classes. 7. To levy taxation on land only and eventually abol-

ish all other taxes. 8. To limit armaments and concentrate energy on competition in other matters." The objects of this party are so general and broad as to be almost worthless, but they display very well what the Chinese think socialism is.

Although his attention was repeatedly drawn to the serious omission of the root principle of the nationalization of means of production, distribution and exchange, and Kiang promised to adopt them, this was not done, and there can be no doubt that this ideal was not understood.

In order to try and graft socialist theories on this society it was arranged that fortnightly meetings should be held in Shanghai, where another "foreign" socialist and I should deliver addresses. These had just started when the revolution broke out. At the first meeting there was present the chairman of the Peking branch, Mr. Chen Chi-lung, a youth of 28 years. He appeared to be rather a quiet and well-spoken young man, so that it was very surprising to hear that upon his return to Peking a few days afterwards he was arrested and executed. In the official report of his case it was stated that he was a member of the Chinese socialist society, of objects of which are the same as the Nihilist party of Russia and that Chen was in communication with the foreign anarchists. This, of course, is only abuse and nonsense. However, he was shot.

THE PURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

Another case of a socialist being executed was that of Sha Kan (also known as Fen Fen). This youth was a member of the Chinese socialist party but disagreed with the leader and therefore produced a split and formed the Pure Socialist party and issued a magazine denouncing the parent body. The principle difference appeared to be that he advocated an easy divorce and free love and from a conversation I had with him he said that he had a plan for his society to occupy an island near Hong Kong where they would establish "pure socialist." This society, however, had not much support and soon fell through. As Sha Kan was thus without money, he left the protection of the foreign settlements here and went to his home at Nan Tung Hsien, near the mouth of the Yangtze river to collect funds. Upon arrival there, however, he was arrested and executed, for no other reasons, apparently, than that he was col-

lecting funds for Red Cross work without authority and called himself a socialist.

YUAN.

Although these organization had not taken an active part in the recent rebellion yet President Yuan Shih-kai issued an order that the Chinese socialist party should be disbanded. This brought a protest from Mr. Kiang Kang-hu which is too long for reproduction, but the following sentences give the gist of it:

"So far our society has only studied socialism and has not taken active part in political work. . . . We formed our society because we knew that in China there is a lack of political knowledge and that many mistakes are being made in political affairs. . . . The officials eat the ignorant peasants as though they were fish and flesh and therefore the people are getting angry. . . . It will be a long time before we reach the age of universal unity. Upon thinking about this my heart aches so much and my feelings are in such a state of agitation that I cannot even remember what I have written."

This kind of writing only produces amusement in official circles. However, the society was disbanded. The leader left Shanghai for Singapore. It is said that he will proceed to Europe and America to study socialism. It was well known that he had no money, and as he left Shanghai without informing his friends it has naturally aroused much suspicion that he received money from the government for some consideration. As to whether this is correct or not no one knows. Everybody will be only too pleased if he makes good use of his time abroad in studying economic conditions and getting a sound knowledge of socialism. I consider that good hard manual work and earning his living by the sweat of his brow would give him the best insight into the class struggle and the social revolt. China suffers to a great extent from mere theorists.

KUO MIN TANG AND THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

This party also adopted socialism as one of its objects, and had the best of the reformers in its ranks, including many socialists. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was its president and he is well known as a socialist. It was the strongest of the political parties in China and had a majority in parliament at

Peking. But unfortunately, as everybody knows, this organization was opposed by the president, Yuan Shih-kai, who had the support of all the old officials as well as the foreign financiers and the foreign Christian press on the China coast. Dr. Sun, however, visited Yuan Shih-kai and openly proclaimed the desire of the south to work with the north which is another way of saying the progressive (south) wanted to work with the conservative (north). But the president very unwisely did not accept this splendid offer, and instead a movement was commenced to crush this powerful party.

The first step taken was the assassination of Sung Chiao-jen, one of the leaders of the Kuo Min-tang who would probably have been selected as premier. Then by various means the ordinary course of justice was obstructed so that a proper trial never took place although there was little doubt that some government officials were implicated. This naturally created a great deal of anger in the country. Things were, however, brought to a crisis by the foreign financiers advancing £25,000,000 to the government against the protests of members of parliament and also many provincial tutuhs or governors. This gave the government the opportunity of dismissing some of these more advanced tutuhs, and also other officials, so that it became clear that the government intended to remove all those officials who were opposed to the unconstitutional methods of Yuan Shih-kai. The south was, therefore, forced to take up arms against the government, but there can be little doubt that this was expected and desired by the government, who wished to have some excuse for wiping out the reform party.

The result of the rebellion is well known. The southern forces put up a very poor fight, due probably to the fact that they were short of money, whereas the government troops were well supplied and had so much foreign money that they could offer substantial bribes to the officers in the opposing army. The result was a collapse of the rebellion. I saw the principle engagements near Shanghai, and was very much disappointed at the poor display of the southern forces. The importance of leaders was shown at Nanking, where Ho Hai-ming, a journalist without military experience, held about 50,000 northern

troops at bay for over a week with only about 2,000 soldiers of the eighth division. The brave defence of Nanking was the one bright spot in the whole campaign.

As a result of this collapse all those belonging to the Kuo Min Tang went into retirement. The head office of the party at Shanghai was closed and the party is extinct to all outward appearances. Nothing is now heard of them and it is in fact impossible for any criticism of the government to be expressed without great risk of life. Many executions have taken place all over the country of men whom political spies claim were against the government.

Reaction.

The result of this is that the forces of reaction are now in full power with President Yuan Shih-kai at the head, supported by the old gang of corrupt officials, and the foreign money-lenders.

Everybody expects now that the officials will bleed the people as before and then obtain foreign loans to cover the deficits in the treasury. They will "feather their nests" before the national unrest again grows too strong for them.

The position occupied by the foreign Christian powers in this movement is highly discreditable. They support President Yuan Shih-kai and his conservative party, and are only too willing to advance loans and harry the country into the direction of bankruptcy. As long as the Chinese government can obtain foreign loans it is hardly to be expected that any real reforms will be attempted. It is only when the "financial" shoe begins to

pinch that matters are seriously considered and then the foreign money lenders relieve the pressure by offering another loan. If the foreign "Christian" powers would adopt the policy of supporting parliament in Peking and a democratic form of government instead of backing the autocratic regime of Yuan Shih-kai and his gang it would save China from further disaster. The most effective step would be to insist that all further loans, whether provincial or state, should be passed and approved by a parliament at Peking. This is, perhaps, too much to expect from the European Christian powers, who are influenced so much by the banks. The foreign money lenders exert a great influence in China just now as they hold the purse, and it is probable that future developments in China will be entirely and solely in their interests.

The forces of reaction are again in power and will blunder forward in somewhat similar style of the old mandarinism. Watching and assisting them are the foreign money lenders, who hope in the near future to so embarrass China financially as to be able to force their governments to step in and take control of the finances of the country. Hidden away underground is the secret propaganda of the reform party, who could solve the problem but who are not even allowed to express their opinions. It is very probable therefore that before very long, perhaps when the nation is once again in disgrace, these chained forces will be released and will free the national life for its natural expansion and growth.—Shanghai, China, Oct. 7, 1913.





HELEN KELLER'S NEW BOOK

MARK TWAIN once said the two most interesting characters of the nineteenth century are Napoleon and Helen Keller. But so familiar to our own day is Miss Keller that the marvel of her is not yet fully realized. Her education, her literary achievements, and all the unselfish work she has done for her fellow deaf and blind are well known. Now she has developed into an enthusiastic socialist. Her social vision is evident in her new book and, under all circumstances, seems almost as much of a miracle as any of the wonderful physical achievements which are recorded of her.

Miss Keller has come to the conclusion that the unemployment of the blind is only part of a greater social problem. "It is not physical blindness, but social blindness, which cheats our hands of their right to toil," she declares.

"It is no easy and rapid thing to absorb through one's fingers a book of 50,000 words on economics." Nevertheless, Miss Keller expects to become acquainted in this manner with all the "classic socialist au-

thors." Her socialism, however, is not confined to reading and theorizing. She takes a lively interest in public events. The red flag which hangs in her study, is a call to action.

In an eloquent chapter entitled *The Hand of the World*, which might well inspire a Rodin, Helen Keller tells how, step by step, she has been led out of her isolation into full social consciousness—how at last she has come to "touch hands with the world."—*Current Opinion*.

She writes, "What is the hand which shelters me? In vain the winds buffet my house and hurl the biting cold against my windows. That hand still keeps me warm. What is it that I may lean upon it at every step I take in the dark, and it fails me not? I give wondering praise to the beneficent hand that ministers to my joy and comfort, that toils for the daily bread of all. I would gratefully acknowledge my debt to its capability and kindness. I pray that some hearts may heed my words about the hand of the world, that they may believe in that commonwealth in which the gyves shall be struck from the wrist of Labor and the pulse of Production shall be strong with joy."

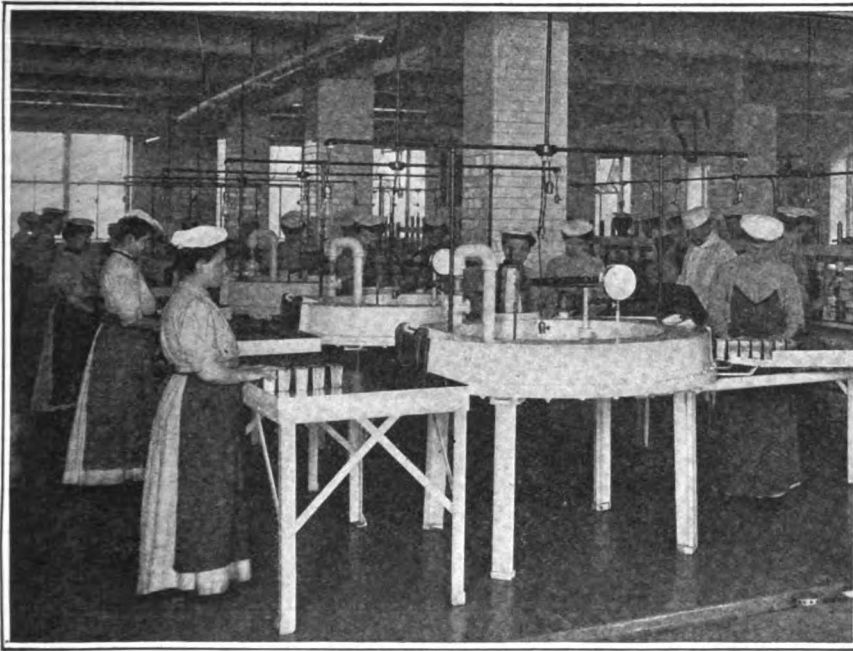
All our earthly well-being hangs upon the living hand of the world. Society is founded upon it. Its lifebeats throb in our institutions. Every industry, every process, is wrought by a hand, or by a superhand—a machine whose mighty arm and cunning fingers the human hand invents and wields."

OUR CHRISTMAS OFFER.

In order to enable every reader of the *REVIEW* to secure a copy of Miss Keller's "Out of the Dark," we will send a copy of the book and a yearly subscription to the *REVIEW* to one name upon receipt of \$1.50. This book is a most winsome argument for Socialism. It will appeal to every woman, old or young. It will find a place in the heart of every man.

We cannot sell copies of this book. Our arrangement with the publishers was only for handling a limited supply to be used exclusively as Christmas premiums with *REVIEW* subscriptions.

In order, therefore, to get copies for all your friends for Christmas, and a year's subscription to the *REVIEW* at the same time, order three or four of these combinations at once. For \$6.50, we will send you five copies of "Out of the Dark" and the *REVIEW* to five names for one year each.—Charles H. Kerr & Co., 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago.



IN WHITE ENAMEL KITCHENS FOODS ARE COOKED IN ENAMEL STERILIZED RETORTS.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE CANNING INDUSTRY

By Mary E. Marcy

Photographs by courtesy of *Scientific American*.

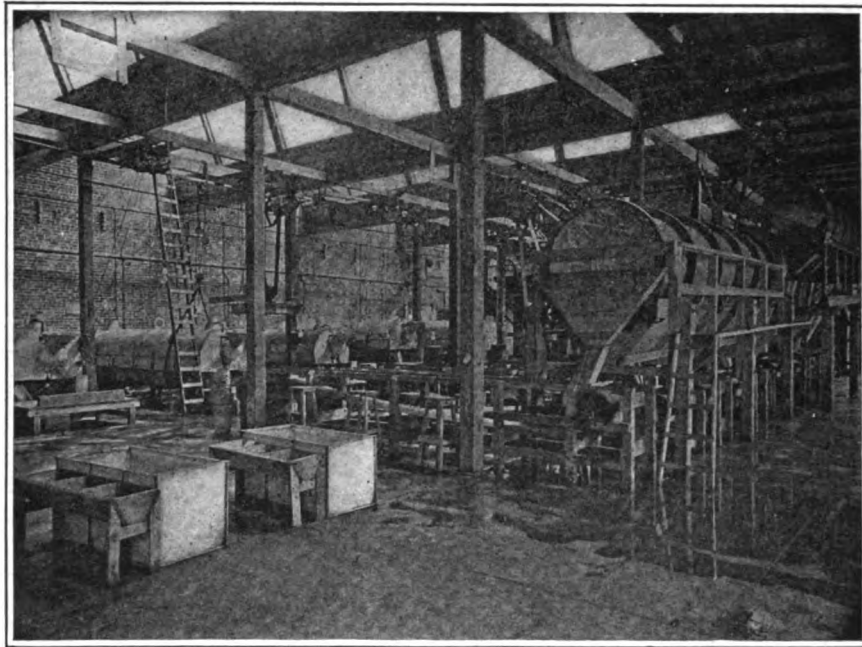
VERILY the age of Specialization is upon us! First it was the woollen mills that began to weave cloth and deprive woman of one of her old prerogatives in the Home. Before long we had advanced a step in specialization and boasted of butchers and packing companies. Followed bakers, restaurants, rooming-houses, laundries. Steam-heated, electrically lighted flats appeared and came the day of ready-to-wear clothing.

And the canning of food products has kept step with the march of Specialization. No modern woman thinks about Monday as being Washday; Tuesday as Ironing day; Wednesday as Mending day, any more. Friday and Saturday have come to mean something besides Cleaning and Baking. The old Gods are dead! Home isn't what it used to be; no matter what you say. If things keep on it will be clean

"busted up" with all these new-fangled notions taking hold so fast.

The laundries can "do up" clothes better than Mother did, with less time and labor, and the packing companies certainly can put up a much better steak than Uncle Ezra, who lives out at the end of nowhere and is the last and only man left on earth to do his own butchering. When I spent a week with him last January I changed my mind about steam-heated flats being enervating and water half thawed from the pitcher proving invigorating for a morning wash.

I have always wanted to run one of those shuttles and work a loom and weave my own clothes, too. When Henrietta Crosman used to come out in the first act with her hair all done in little ringlets and play with a loom, at least they SAID it was a loom, I used to think they would look very



REVOLVING SIEVES SIFT THE PEAS AUTOMATICALLY ACCORDING TO SIZE.

pretty to have around the house. (The loom, I mean.) But when I saw some of the cloth our revered ancestors had woven on their very own, I decided it would not do at all for a dinner gown or an opera frock—if I ever was fortunate enough to have one.

I wearied of candles the night one melted all over the library table and ran down onto the rug, that belongs to our landlady. You'll have to admit that in **SOME** ways things have improved a great deal.

But you see as soon people began to **SPECIALIZE** in one thing or another and to make just one commodity, they did it better and cheaper than other folks. By and by they used machines and hired helpers and when bigger and better machines were invented that could be operated by steam—they kept making clothes and shoes and building houses so much cheaper than anybody who was a Jack-of-all trades and Master-of-none—that men, women and even very young girls began to follow their old work into the factories and mills in order to do it in the easier way, the modern or machine way.

The Canning Industry has progressed and taken another large slice out of the old-time Woman's Sphere. And we have to grant that things can be accomplished, food

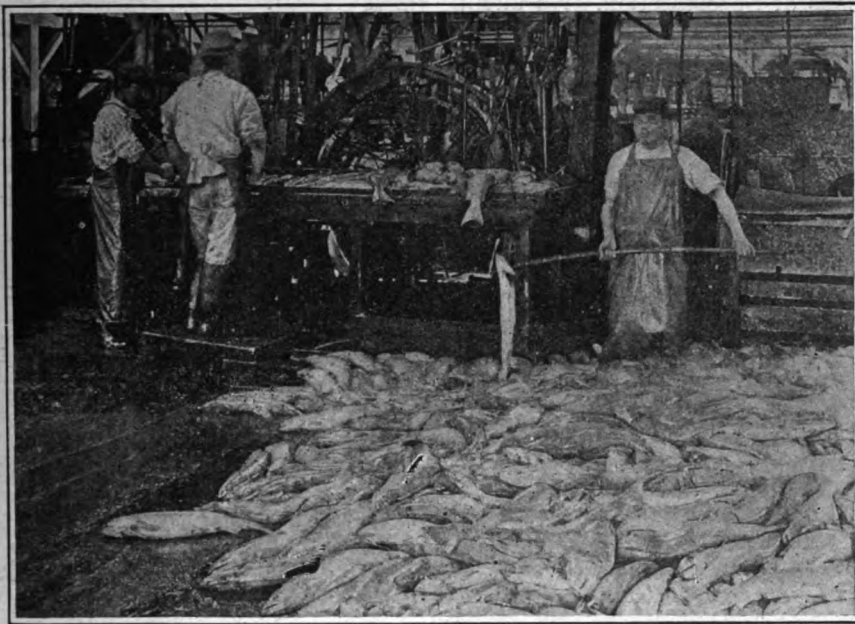
can be cooked, bread baked, cloth woven, with less human labor-power under the specialized, machine method than the individual could do in the old haphazard way. We can get better clothes, better food, better homes—better everything today—or rather we can if we have money enough. Some day things will be different, but that's another story.

The scientific preserving of food has its basis in the work of Pasteur, but even in 1819 an Englishman had a canning factory in New York City for packing lobsters, salmon and oysters, and in 1825 fruits and vegetables were canned. Glass jars were used in the early days, but excessive breakage led to the use of tin cans. At first the edges of the cans were butted and the ends soldered.

Gradually, however, machinery was developed for can making and today the production of tin cans from tin plates is automatic and continuous and most canning companies have their own can-making plants.

The old vacuum theory which held that it was only necessary to exclude the air to prevent the spoiling of food has long been exploded, except in preserving jams, meats, salt, etc.

Pasteur was the first man to associate



FISH ARE SKINNED, CLEANED AND CANNED BY ONE MACHINE OPERATION.

spoilage with organisms and, in time, canners began to understand that these bacteria could be killed off at a certain high or low temperature, and new ideas on scientific canning soon prevailed.

In modern canning factories the heat or cold used to preserve foods is regulated automatically by clocks that shut off steam or cool air when the necessary temperature has been attained. Last year 168 million cans of peas were packed by automatic machinery; 336 million cans of tomatoes and 312 million cans of corn.

Modern pea harvesting is now done entirely by machinery, the vines being cut about the same way as hay. Special machines called viners handle the cuts, removing the peas from the pods by beaters. The peas fall through perforations in a cylinder large enough to allow them to pass through but which retain the vines, pods, etc. Then the peas are washed in cold water in a revolving squirrel cage. These cages are perforated in sections with different sized holes, varying from nine thirty-seconds to twelve thirty-seconds of an inch, the latter being called "early June peas."

Other packers grade peas by their density, skimming off the different grades each of which will float in a certain solution of specific gravity. When the peas are washed

and blanched they go to the filling machines where they are automatically filled into cans, salt and sugar being added at the same time.

The cans are capped by machinery, heated in retorts to kill off all bacteria, cooled and sent to market.

Canned and preserved food will be one of the staples of the new century. We are becoming more and more crowded in our economic functions. The time has long since passed when each family can rely on its own food resources. Canned food will become the great food reserve fund of the nation, the necessary national storage for facilitating supply to demand.

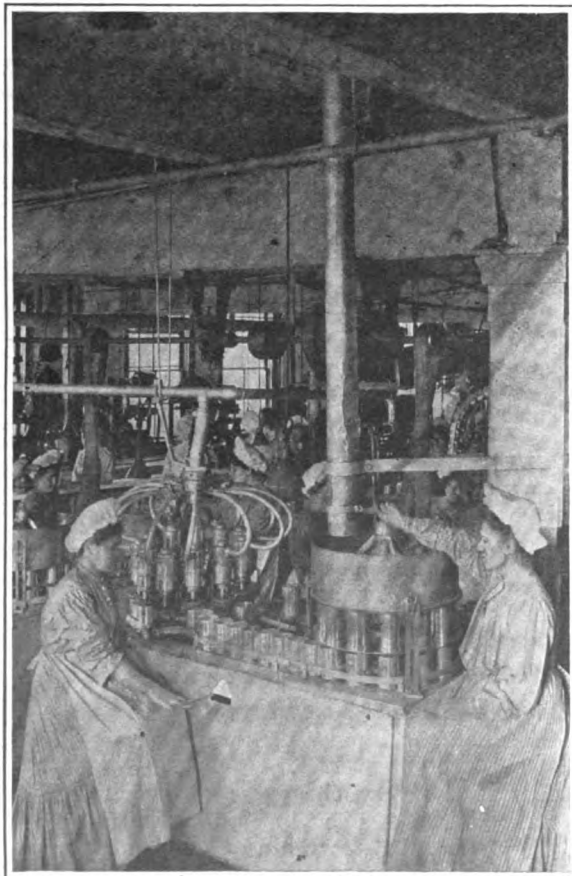
The demand for canned food is a natural one. Canning has left the home and gone into public life quite for the same reasons that boot-making and weaving and other fine old "home activities" have become public utilities. Canning is no longer a "domestic industry" but it is one of the industries that is making women wage-earners instead of home-makers.

It is the very cheapness of production in foods and "style" in clothing, added to low prices, that have always sold the new machine-made products. Women have followed their old labors into the factories and mills. There is nothing to regret in the

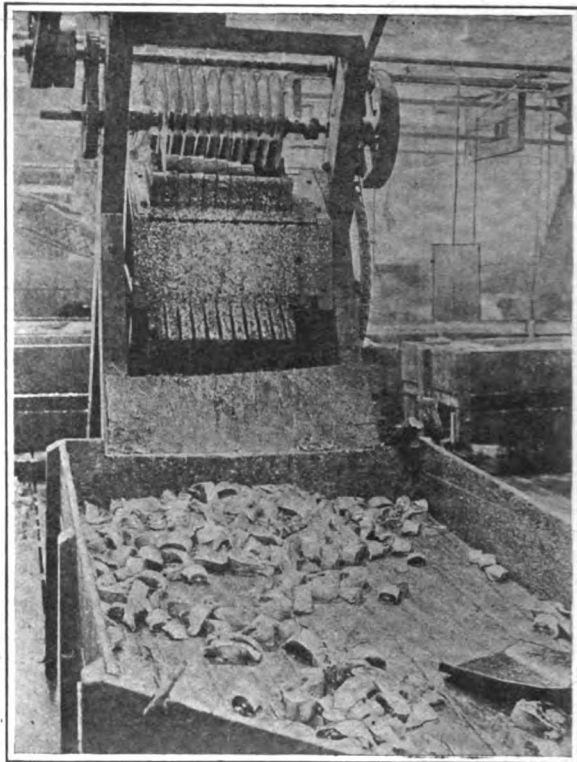
new methods of Specialization. No intelligent human being wants to return to candles or home dyeing and weaving; to the splitting and sawing of wood for the daily breakfast; to home butchering, lard rendering, candle-making that made the old "free days" continuous arduous toil from three or four in the morning till late at night three hundred and sixty-five days in a year.

We want to make use of all modern machinery and modern methods of production for the benefit of the human race. We want to plan so that the Machines will do ALL the disagreeable and heavy work. Division of labor is making wonderful changes in the old-time home, relieving, as it does, our women from the burden of domestic hand labor.

In the new and modern canning factories all retorts are made of copper, brass, enamel or silver. Floors are of concrete and tables have glass or snowy enamel tops. In



CANNING BEANS BY MACHINE.



FISH ARE AUTOMATICALLY CUT THE RIGHT SIZE TO FIT IN CANS AND PACKED AWAY.

twenty minutes entire floors may be cleaned by turning on the hose. These great canneries resemble nothing so much as a surgeon's operating table.

The juice is extracted from trimmings not used in canning and used for fountain syrups. Apple cores and peelings are sold for wine and vinegar, sometimes for cider. Fruit parings or peelings often make a cheap grade of jellies and apple "waste" is the basis for the compound jams.

Corn silk is saved and used for medical purposes. Seeds from tomatoes, and pumpkins, stones from cherries, plums and peaches are used for oil. Nothing is wasted any more.

Most of us look with horror on any but a new-laid egg with an unbroken shell, and a guaranteed date thereon. The phrase, canned eggs, brings to our minds a horrid picture of a yellow, evil-smelling mess used by some of the most profit-mad bakers. Yet the time is coming, we are advised by the U. S. Bureau of Chemistry, when the canned egg will be with us as familiarly as the

storage egg and far more acceptably. To can the eggs in times and localities of plenty while they are strictly fresh is the big thing. According to the Department: "In a sterilized room we will have the canners dressed in white, their hands made surgical-

ly clean. Before each girl will be a tray of eggs at exactly the right temperature for canning. Perfect eggs will be dropped into sterilized jars which will be sealed." Yes, strictly "fresh, canned eggs" will be next, they tell us.



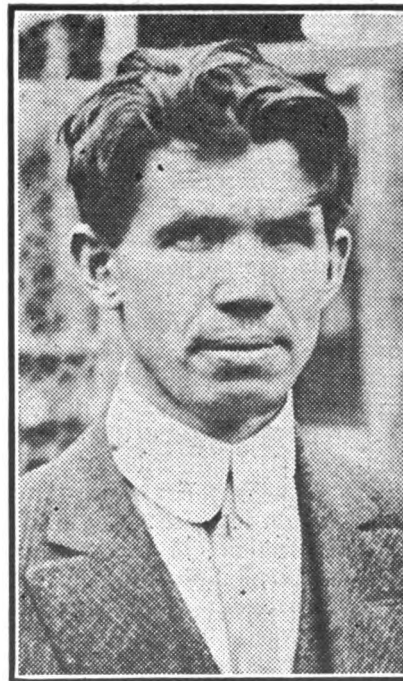
GLORIOUS PATERSON

By Patrick Quinlan

(Comrade Quinlan is out on \$5,000 bail, pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. He also was compelled to give bail on four other indictments, amounting to an additional \$7,500. Quinlan was one of the best fighters during the long strike of the silk workers.)

THERE has just been concluded in the silk city the most remarkable, the most unique and the most significant electoral battle ever waged in the annals of American municipal politics. The story of the great industrial battle that was fought last spring and summer in Paterson has been told in the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, and indeed in nearly every Socialist periodical in America, and is now a part of the industrial and labor history of this country. Our readers will easily recall the dramatic incidents of that historic struggle with its dynamic energy and electric enthusiasm. Well, that great industrial fight was transferred completely into the political arena, and this political contest had all the elements of the former, minus the tragedies that put a shadow over it. There was no gloom to darken the community, no tragedy to bring sorrow to the proletarian firesides.

The strike of the 22,000 silk workers of Haledon, Prospect Park, Clifton, Lakeview and the city of Paterson was scarcely ended—the wounds were not healed—when the Socialist party began its campaign. Local



PAT QUINLAN.

and imported speakers began to arouse interest in the campaign and made things hum.

But, like all street campaigns, the impression made was hardly noticeable for a time. Then came the railroading of the writer to state's prison on the historic Third of July. This stirred the fires of class hatred that were beginning to decline to new life. A demand for political action that was almost volcanic was made all over the city. And the climax was reached when I was released from Trenton on the 29th of July, when I attended a reception of organized men under the auspices of the party a night or two after. Fully 15,000 men and women attended the meeting and the demand for political power was made in clear and forcible language.

From then on to the 30th of October large and small meetings were held all over town, the slogans at every one of them being, "Carry your industrial solidarity to the ballot box." "Control the city hall and the police stations." "Use both arms in the fight this time and we'll win future battles with less suffering and sacrifice." Questions of municipal ownership, political graft and the maladministration of the MacBride executive were mentioned as a matter of course in the printed platform.

They were not accentuated on the soap box or the forum. These were left to Blauvelt, the progressive candidate.

It was the class struggle in all its industrial bitterness and fierceness elevated to the high plane of social warfare. No attempt was made to conciliate the business element, big or little, nor was there any attempt to hide our purpose by speaking of taxes or efficiency.

It was war to the knife on the capitalists all along the line. We asked no quarter; made no deals. Yet the bourgeoisie were not frightened. They thought the workers would continue in the same old way, voting like sheep or cattle, and I am sorry to state many, indeed, the majority of our own party members thought likewise. Not until a few days before election did they wake up to the splendid possibilities at hand. (They are more surprised than the capitalists at the vote that was polled in spite of them.) Only a few of us had the vision. But it was a prize we could not capture for lack of confidence at home and lack of support

abroad. The German sick and death benefit societies contributed to our appeal for funds \$500; the national office \$50; Local New York City \$5. Money from the people of Paterson came in very small quantities, naturally. They are still financially crippled since the strike. But despite all these great handicaps we made things hum. The politicians and their wooden-headed followers were thrown into fits—consternation was in the air all round them—when the climax of all our agitation was reached on the night of October 31, when the most spacious auditorium in the city, the High School, was packed to its limit and as many as twenty-five hundred persons attended the overflow meeting outside, braving the bitter cold and sharp, cutting wind to hear speeches delivered by the writer, James M. Reilly, candidate for governor, and Gordon Demarest, candidate for mayor.

Next day, Nov. 1, the capitalist press was panic stricken and a demand was made on the Democrats to vote for Fordyce, the Republican-Fusion conservative Progressive candidate, in order to beat the Socialists. The betting was between Demarest and the banker, Fordyce. All the evening papers, the one Sunday paper, all Monday morning and evening papers had full page advertisements in which they stated that "If Demarest is elected Quinlan will be the mayor. A vote for the Democratic candidate Robert Roe is half a vote for Quinlan and his I. W. W. gang."

On election morning there was no mistaking how the workers were voting. Strong Democratic districts were going over to the Socialists, and big raids were made in the Republican bailiwicks by Demarest. At noon the word went out to all the dyed-in-the-wool organization Democrats to vote for Fordyce, and beat the Socialists. The *Evening Press* got out a special extra every hour up to the time Fordyce's election was safe. By 11:30 we knew that Demarest was second in the race over a thousand ahead of the Democrats. Blauvelt, an honest Progressive, deserved better, but was deserted by his party for the banker. He only polled 880 votes, the head of the ticket getting 2,000 more. The other candidates trailed behind out of sight. Fordyce had 7,300, Demarest 5,160, with

about 500 Socialist ballots rejected on technicalities.

* * *

The smoke of the battle has blown away, the din and noise of the conflict has ceased. Only the echo remains; we have now time to analyze the vote, to see who supported the ticket, and look for those who did not help the political fight of the working class.

First, the vote was as class-conscious and as determined as was ever cast in a municipal election. Second, it came principally from the silk workers. Third, it can hardly be called a protest vote, it was an honest attempt to capture the political power of the city so that it could be used for defensive or offensive purposes in the future industrial battles. Now it remains as we conclude, to ask: Who did not vote the ticket? Why was not Gordon Demarest, the Socialist, elected? The answer is simple. The

craft union men did not vote for him. Though a machinist by trade, and affiliated with the A. F. of L., the majority of the crafts affiliated with local trades council, the building trades, the musicians, the bartenders, the brewery workers, and others, voted for the old party machines. Because four or five of their members were given places on the Democratic and Republican ballots, they sold their birthright and betrayed their class in the hour of need. (With a few honorable exceptions, especially the cigar-makers.) One can not help recalling the words of the national poet of Ireland, Thomas Moore, when Irish traitors sold their country and blasted its hopes for more than a hundred years. Moore said: "Oh, for a tongue to curse the slave
Whose treason and whose cowardly
blight

Comes o'er the councils of the brave,
And blasts them in their hour of might."

Christmas Suggestions

FOR EVERYBODY: Helen Keller's Book and the Review 1 year	\$1.50
For Men: Myers' History of the Great American Fortunes, \$1.50 a vol.; all 3 volumes and 4 yearly Review Subscription Cards for	4.50
For Men: Chas. Edward Russell's Stories of the Great Railroads	1.00
For Young Men or Women: Love's Coming of Age	1.00
For the Agnostic: God and My Neighbor	1.00
For the Novel Reader: Prince Hagen	1.00
For the Wit: The Right to be Lazy50
For Women: Woman and Socialism	1.50

WHAT WE WANT IN OUR STOCKING

We want you to add 50 cents to the price of any of the six last mentioned books and have the REVIEW sent to one NEW name for a year.
Or send \$1.00 for a new Review sub. and a pack of our Socialist Playing Cards, originally illustrated, with humorous verses on every card.
Or \$6.50 for FIVE copies of Helen Keller's book (while it lasts) and FIVE Review sub. cards.
If Mr. Santa Claus should ask you—we are hoping that our office STOCKING will be running over with REVIEW subs. all through December.

MERRY CHRISTMAS!

STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Lesson I

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

By J. E. Sinclair



J. E. SINCLAIR.

IN every stage of social evolution when men have stopped to examine critically the conditions around them there have been those who turned hopelessly away from the social tangle which they could not unravel to wander off into some fairyland beyond the pale of reality and there construct a new society in which pain, misery, and oppression were no more. Plato, Thomas More, Saint Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen, and Edward Bellamy, are only a few of the great Utopians who, failing to grasp the significant facts of social development, thought to trick humanity into paradise by some happy accidental short cut, by painting in vivid colors the beauty and peace and quiet that shimmered in dreamland, or by passing some law that would change the world by magic.

Far be it from revolutionists to sneer at the endeavors of these master minds. Their mighty adumbrations have caused rulers to tremble, although there was little danger. The sluggish hearts of millions of workers have been stirred to a divine passion for better things by the powerful pleadings of these romantic dreamers. They have had their place. These were the first to catch faint

glimpses of the great Tomorrow through the distance and the gloom of time. Rather than mock at the ruins of the fair Arcadias which they built let us study with scientific sincerity the conditions that produced them and their theories, and weigh them in the light today.

Engels, in his masterful little book, "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," deals with the three great Utopians, Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen, so ably that the student is here urged to read again the preface and parts I and II. He will not be long in coming to the conclusion that the Utopians of the first years of the last century did the best that they could with the materials at hand; that they attempted the impossible, and dashed themselves to pieces on the hard rocks of economic conditions that were as yet uncharted and until then unknown. The student will find that before the working class can be free there must be a degree of industrial development that did not then exist and that out of this industrial development intellectual weapons must be created with which to win the goal of our desire.

Utopian Socialism

In fact the more we study the more reasons we dig up to show how utterly

impossible is any Utopia even today with all the industrial and intellectual machinery at hand for the task of building them. But the historical significance of the work done by Saint Simon, Fourier and Owen is too great to be passed over in silence. Besides, are not many of us still fond Utopians expecting a Co-operative Commonwealth to be created for the working class outside the self-activity of the working class and by institutions and forces foreign to and antagonistic to the working class? As we study the historical conditions that produced the nineteenth century Utopias we shall see that they were the creatures of bourgeois idealism, the dreams of a disgusted and disappointed section of the new master class, a section that had not lost all its manhood in the mad rush for gold but that still retained ideals that were strikingly at swords' points with the brute facts of life.

In order that the bourgeoisie, that is the capitalist class, should overthrow the centralized feudalism that restrained its business activity in a thousand ways, it was necessary that an atmosphere of political democracy should be created. It was also necessary that all the traditional nonsense pertaining to the feudal church and state should be consumed in an intellectual blaze kindled by the torch of "reason." Amid the wreckage of ancient institutions and with pure reason, the rights of man, liberty, equality, and fraternity as its watchwords, the capitalist class reared their new society. With much strong talk about eternal truth and justice this new ruling class proceeded to fasten upon the very workers who had fought for them the invisible chains of a new slavery more terrible than the cold iron links that had been melted in the social cauldron of the Revolution. Millions of these workers, lured on by the golden vision of liberty, had sacrificed magnificently in the glorious hour of their awakening from centuries of benumbing pain and unrequited toil.

But with the dawning of the year 1800 the scales of bourgeoisie idealism began to fall from many eyes. It was soon seen that bourgeois freedom was freedom for the bourgeoisie alone, that equality was a sham, and that liberty was a snare. The sublime thrill of the Marseillaise or the

ponderous platitudes of the politicians could not feed starving babies nor break the bars that confined thousands in debtors' prisons.

All over the civilized world hand and foot power machinery had been used for some time in production. These simple looms and spindles and dyeing apparatuses were being grouped into factories where social production was in embryo. Then in England there was invented the spinning jenny and then the power loom. Beside every waterfall in western England there rose a factory. Steam engines shaped themselves like magic out of scrap iron. Power production began its meteoric career of marvelous achievement. Coal and iron mining, transportation, science, and intensive exploration received tremendous impetus. Although by 1800 machinery driven by power other than human had not yet invaded continental Europe its presence in England and its rising murmur in America profoundly affected the workers of the entire world. Employers who were not fortunate enough to have steam engines or water falls were compelled to compete with those who had. The result was a lengthening of hours and a speeding-up heretofore unknown in industry.

The peaceful pastoral world, sad and somber enough in the dim light of labor history, was now turned into an inferno of toil with death and loathsome disease the reward of those who worked. Little children flogged to their tasks, women perishing by the crashing looms, men broken by poverty and drifting like derelicts from shore to shore, hopeless, homeless, crushed—what a picture even capitalist historians are compelled to paint on New Year's morning one hundred and thirteen years ago!

There had been famines before, but they had been because enough had not been produced. Now for the first time famine was made perpetual because too much was being produced.

In the throes of this great industrial revolution brought about by the beginning of power production, Utopian Socialism was born. It was not the child of hope and cheer but the daughter of despair. Its founders were not working men filled with the fine spirit of revolt and determined to carve for themselves

a new freedom in the face of fearful odds. They were disappointed members of the bourgeoisie. They were filled with the fine democratic ideals of Rousseau, Paine and Jefferson. They had taken the mottoes and slogans of the French Revolution seriously in their youth. They had pictured a paradise to be attained through political freedom; they found an industrial hell. Liberty's sweet dream had been transformed by victory into a nightmare of bourgeois brutality in which the sacred rights of men, eternal justice and the much-talked-of fraternity were nothing but memories. Fourier found that "the most pitiful reality" corresponded with "the most high-sounding phrases."

Viewed even in the tri-colored light of bourgeois idealism, things were very wrong indeed. "Under civilization poverty is born of superabundance itself!" says Fourier with a sad sarcasm that was characteristic of his genius. But it could be fixed. Fourier himself would show them how to fix it. By applying the principles of eternal truth and justice to society and planning things accordingly all this misery would be abolished. The task thrilled the great Utopians.

Each for himself and not for the other, these sincere men fell to work. "The solution of the social problem, which as yet lay hidden in undeveloped economic conditions, the Utopians attempted to evolve out of the human brain. Society presented nothing but wrongs; to remove these was the task of reason. It was necessary, then, to discover a new and more perfect system of social order and impose this upon society from without by propaganda, and, wherever, possible, by example of model experiments," says Engels.

It looked easy. All that was needed according to this conception was a sort of working drawing of a society that had all the bad features removed. "Pure reason" was all that was needed for the task. Surely nobody would be so rude as not to accept the work when it was done. The trouble was that the "pure reason" of one thinker was very unreasonable and impure in the eyes of the others and when the books and pamphlets freighted with new heavens and new earths got out among the people there was some amusement among the upper classes where they

were first read. There was some excitement here and there, but the world did not change. Thereupon the Utopians proceeded to put their plans into tangible form. The plans just had to work they thought. Model colonies, model factory cities, and all sorts of little Utopias sparkled and fluttered here and there all over the civilized world. Then the lights faded away and the dark night of capitalist exploitation settled down to its weary grind. Before the onward rush of capitalist development pure reason was helpless and the noblest plans of the noblest men were wrecked by ruthless economic forces impossible of being understood until the very idealism that had furnished the intellectual tools for the construction of these Utopias should be rendered obsolete by the mental progress of the race.

The fragile creations of the human mind cannot endure the stress and strain of economic forces that operate with relentless power to crush without pity and without "reason" every obstacle placed in their path. If we wish a new society it must come as a result of these economic forces and a clear understanding of the laws that govern their motion.

Socialism can only come as the result of a historical process. The industrial evolution that this implies carries with it a mental development that becomes an important subject for study. It thus becomes necessary for the student of social evolution to study the great successive industrial changes and at the same time study the development of human thought that accompanies these changes. The close relations that exist between the successive stages of industry and the successive stages of philosophy were pointed out for the first time by Marx and Engels. They were driven to this discovery by a study of the failures of the Utopians and by the study of industry itself.

The brief history of human thought given in Part II by Engels should be mastered by every student. The Utopians believed in eternal right, absolute justice, pure reason, etc. Yet in trying to apply these to society they failed miserably. Engels shows us why they failed in their reasoning and failing in that they failed in everything. There are two methods

of reasoning he shows—the metaphysical and the dialectic. The metaphysical thinker considers “that things and their mental reflexes, ideas, are isolated, are to be considered one after the other and apart from each other, are objects of investigation fixed, rigid, given once for all.” To the metaphysician things stay put. Right was always right, wrong was always wrong. Society, life, and truth are static and eternal. Everything was but the embodiment of some “idea” that had existed somewhere in time and space since before either time or space were. Among the metaphysicians everything was either the child of an eternal idea or, as with the metaphysical materialists, a detached and independent creation without definite relationships.

To the metaphysical idealist it was a very easy matter to create an ideal society, as a separate and distinct whole, and superimpose it upon the life of mankind at any time or place chosen by the creating genius. The Utopias created by the metaphysical idealists proved in their multitudinous failures the impossibility of progress along such lines.

Engels traces the rise of the dialectic processes and modes of thought. Space does not permit anything but a brief statement here. In contrast with metaphysics, dialectics “comprehends things and their representations, ideas, in their essential connection, concatenation, motion, origin, and ending.” Instead of statics we have dynamics. The whole world becomes a process. Everything is in motion. Everywhere there is change, new relationships, evolution. Nothing remains; all is mutation. Nature is itself the proof of dialectics and modern science has established this method of reasoning upon a sound basis. Darwin’s monumental work shattered forever metaphysical philosophy.

As we proceed with our study we shall return to this. We shall learn how Scientific Socialism on its theoretical side is the offspring of dialectic reasoning. We shall see the great advantage of clear thinking, and we shall see that clear thinking is impossible without scientific method and precision. We shall see how Socialism, taking advantage of the scientific needs of the bourgeoisie, has seized the intellectual weapons for its achievement in the very arsenal of its enemies.

Among these weapons historical materialism, which is nothing but the application of dialectics to history, is the most powerful. The materialistic interpretation of history and the Marxian discovery of surplus value made Socialism a science. He who does not fully understand these does not understand Socialism. Engels, on pages 90 to 93, states these two great discoveries briefly and the statement is worth memorizing. Henceforth Utopian dreams can find no place in the equipment of a revolutionist.

With this let us bid farewell to the great Utopians. In spite of their inspiring endeavors they got us nowhere. In fact, Utopia means nowhere. Utopian Socialism is a phantom ship without a rudder. The misfortunes of this ship have furnished countless texts for the enemies of human progress, and yet we must heed these misfortunes. For we still have with us belated Utopians who pester us with petty political reforms born of an idealism that has long since perished in its conflict with modern science. These ghostly creatures of the mind are not of the working class.

Study Notes.

You will notice in the above article that we have taken just to page 93 in Engels’ *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*. Last month you were asked to read the entire book. This was to give you perspective. It is to be hoped that many locals have formed study clubs by this time. I shall try to outline the work so that it will help these clubs and at the same time be of use to the thousands of workingmen who will study these lessons in chilly lodging house rooms by the lonely light of flickering lamps. Patronize the public library frequently and for this purpose keep making lists of names and events that you wish to look up in encyclopedias and other reference books. Never be satisfied until you have learned all that can be learned concerning each topic.

The following outlines may be divided up among the club members in any way desired as the basis for addresses, essays, or round table talks.

I. History of English Thought.

(1) Duns Scotus and his question. (2) The philosophy of Bacon. (3) The ma-

terialism of Hobbes. (4) Science and Genesis. (5) The agnostics. (6) Why the struggle between the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie assumed a religious guise. (7) Science and the Church. (8) The religion of the bourgeoisie. Give economic reasons for creed and form of organization. (9) How the bourgeoisie made use of its religion on the workers. (10) Why the deistic materialism of Shaftesbury was obnoxious to the bourgeoisie. (11) The British bourgeoisie and the French Revolution. (12) The industrial revolution in England. (13) The revolt of the workers. (14) The reason for revivalism. (15) Economic reasons for the spread of piety from England to the ruling classes on the continent.

II. The Great Utopians.

(1) Influence of the idealistic materialism of the French philosophers on the early Socialists. (2) Early Utopias. (3) Social conditions that existed at the close of the French Revolution. (4) Saint Simon—His conception of the class war—His New Christianity—Position of the bankers and bourgeoisie in his Utopia—His idea concerning politics and economics. (5) Fourier—His criticism of bourgeois pretense—His ideas on woman and marriage—His conception of history. (6) Robert Owen—Social conditions as he saw them—His character—Idea as to character formation—New Lanark—Owen's communism—Obstacles as he saw them—His misfortunes—Later efforts on behalf of the workers. (7) Why all Utopias must fail.

Note: For the complete story of the work of these Utopians do not fail to consult the New International Encyclopedia or some other that gives a list of the books to read. Then get the librarian to get them if possible. Do not take the capitalist criticism of the works of these men. Get at the sources.

III. Evolution of the Materialist Conception of History.

(1) Greek philosophy—Its conception of nature—Its short comings. (2) Beginning of natural science. (3) The met-

aphysical method of thinking—Its fixity and rigidity—Its weakness. (4) The dialectic method of thinking—Its conception of life and nature—Relation to the work of Darwin. (5) Kant's great contribution. (6) Hegel—His philosophical discovery—The problem he propounded—His idealism—His incurable contradiction. (7) Modern materialism—Contrasted with the old materialism—Its dialecticism. (8) The class struggle between workers and capitalists—The first outbreaks—the effect on the conception of history. (9) The new conception of history—the class struggle a product of economic conditions—The economic basis of all institutions—Effect of the new conception on Socialism.

Questions for Review.

1. What solution did the Utopians offer for the social problems that confronted them?

2. Why did the hundreds of experiments made by them fail?

3. Were they right in making their appeal to all classes? Compare the proletariat of 1800 with that of today.

4. What does Saint Simon's idea of the complete absorption of politics by economics imply?

5. Give briefly the results of the industrial revolution in England? In America? Is this industrial revolution complete?

6. Compare the metaphysical and the dialectical methods of reasoning. How did the progress of natural science affect the development of our reasoning powers?

7. Compare the old materialism with the new.

8. State briefly what you understand by the materialistic conception of history. What has it got to do with Socialism?

When writing the answers to these questions it is not imperative that books be closed; but it is important that the answers be written out and that carefully. These answers can then form the basis for discussion since there will probably be many different answers. And discussion is the life of study.

VOTING, FIGHTING, EDUCATING

By Frank Bohn

IN New Jersey and Ohio the Socialist vote was generally less than in the presidential election a year ago. But in both Paterson and Akron the vote increased. In these cities the Socialist party came within a very narrow margin of victory. The truth would seem obvious that if a big vote is really desired by the Socialist party membership, the surest way to it is to help along the fight on the industrial field. Wherever a great strike has been fought out the Socialist vote has mounted—at Lawrence and Columbus, at New Castle and in West Virginia. On the other hand, it is just as evident that the class conscious workers, whether broken by defeat or cheered by victory, whether advised (by their strike leaders) to vote the Socialist ticket or back the old parties, or told to “strike at the ballot box with an ax,” line up to a man at the next election and vote the Socialist ticket.

Of course, this is a very natural result. It was foreseen by careful observers of the labor movement, who were blinded neither on the one side nor on the other, long before the Socialist propaganda was important enough to make it a fact. The Socialist agitator tells the worker that when he strikes the capitalist policeman and soldier club and shoot him, and that therefore he ought to seize the powers of government. Whereupon two per cent of the workers believe the agitator and vote the Socialist ticket. Then comes an industrial conflict that ties up the town. The agitator's humble words, which hitherto were all weakness, are then verified by the bitter facts of the class struggle. The seat of this struggle is in the industries. The workers are locked out, starved, clubbed, ridden down by cavalry and some of them killed. At the funeral the agitator again appears, his whole speech simplified into “I told you so.”

Members of the I. W. W. voted in Butte and the State of Washington. They would have elected our entire city ticket if they had received proper support in Paterson.

THE DEFEAT OF TAMMANY HALL

New York has always been known as a “wicked city.” The corruption of Tammany Hall has been so well advertised because the professional writers of books and magazine stories live in New York. The influence of the sporting fraternity and the underworld in New York City never could compare with that wielded by the Barbary Coast outfit in San Francisco before the cleanup. In fact, professional sports and crooks used to go from San Francisco to New York and complain that it was like New Haven, Connecticut, or Peru, Indiana. New York has always had the best municipal government in the United States, from the viewpoint of efficiency. It will probably take Chicago and Philadelphia twenty years to establish as sound an administration as Tammany Hall conducted at its worst. But had the professional writers admitted this, country people would not have found their articles interesting.

Tammany Hall represents, primarily, the great elevated, surface and subway traction interests. The reform movements have always represented the middle class taxpayers. Since the Civil war the reformers have been victorious about once in ten years. This year the fusionists not only scored a remarkable triumph in the balloting, but their movement meant much more than formerly. Their candidate, John Purroy Mitchell, is a Hearst Independence Leaguer, an advocate of the municipal ownership and operation of the new subways. However, his support is too incoherent for him to make much progress. Yet his election proves that New York City was ready to go far beyond mere reform and into the field of social progressivism. A diseased limb of the Wilson Democratic regime has been removed, and the Socialists, who wish to fight capitalism, not at its worst, but at its best, have every reason to rejoice.

DIRECT ACTION IN THREE STATES

In the northern peninsula of Michigan, in Indiana and in Colorado, the workers have been receiving valuable lessons in un-

ionism, politics and government. Both the copper miners in Michigan and the coal miners in Colorado have now been through the four normal stages of a mine strike. In the first stage the miners stay quietly in their homes or conduct peaceful, law-abiding parades in the public streets. In the second stage privately organized and armed gunmen of the corporations fall upon the workers, break up their parades and meetings, attack them in their homes and naturally drive them to retaliate. In the third stage the miners appear, rifles in hand, defending their homes and their constitutional rights against the plug-uglies. Then comes the militia, in Colorado 1,500, in Michigan 3,000 strong—in each case the whole armed force of the state. Strike picketing has been stopped, meetings and parades have been forbidden and broken up, if held. The homes of the strikers are entered on the plea of seizing arms, in fact to break, utterly, their power of resistance.

In Indianapolis the physical conditions of the strike were quite different than among the miners. No industry is so vulnerable to physical attack as a street car system. Everybody hates a street car magnate. The working people vent their bitterness spontaneously. There has never been a street car men's strike in the United States but that the working class of the whole city acted as one man, doing in every case exactly the same thing. And this is what they do—pile the street car tracks with debris, hurl bricks and boulders from the tops of houses upon the cars in the street below, attack and sometimes kill the scabs. The fierceness of their hatred drives the policemen of proletarian instincts to resign their jobs rather than protect the company's property and professional strike breakers. In Indianapolis three hundred working women marched to the office of the governor of the state, their leader declaring to the astonished dignitary that they were ready to bear arms in defense of the rights of the street car operatives. To claim, under such circumstances, that the working class is law abiding is to act the fool. The working class on strike is just as law abiding as it has to be and no more. None is deceived by claiming anything else. The growing limbs of the working class smash through the rotten shell of the law at the first provocation. Instinctively it feels that it is engaged in a social war. In such a place and

at such a time even the most weak-kneed Socialist does not make excuses for the workers' actions. He accepts them, understands them, and defends them. A great strike drives the mass of the workers to Socialism, and Socialists to a deeper understanding of the class struggle.

WHERE SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION IS HARDEST

Often, indeed, do the old party organizers discuss a seemingly curious feature of our work. Why does the Socialist party fail in the greater cities? That we have made so little progress in country districts and villages is easily explained by reference to economic and social conditions. But why should we go on so slowly in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and St. Louis, the five greatest cities in the land? In the municipal elections two years ago we carried at least thirty smaller cities and towns. All but two of these contained less than forty thousand people. So far, only one city with over a hundred thousand people has been won, and only two with over fifty thousand. Of course, there are fundamental reasons for this, and before making suggestions as regards the work of organization in the larger cities, we shall search for and examine the causes of success as well as failure. It is evident, of course, that the Socialist party will fail in its ultimate mission until it succeeds in carrying the greater cities.

Certain large considerations distinguish the work of organization in the larger cities from that conducted in towns of under fifty thousand people. First of all, there are certain physical aspects to be mentioned. The first of these is the matter of relative size. In a town of ten thousand in Ohio practically everybody knows everybody else. A man is not only familiar with the population in general, but he is well acquainted with his neighbors in particular. Many of them have been his boyhood friends. This bond of neighborliness is a very large asset in propaganda work. When a man becomes a Socialist, scores of his fellow citizens ask the reason why and immediately proceed to examine the subject. Seeing his neighbors every day—meeting the same persons every evening in the barber shop, the cigar store or saloon—the individual agitator works upon them until they accept his views. Similarly, a single successful Socialist meeting

in such a town is much more likely to have lasting effects than in a greater city. If a Socialist agitator talks to five hundred and makes a good impression, his speech will be the subject for discussion by the whole working class of that town the next day. Likewise, in the small cities there are few intellectual and social attractions to take up the time of the working people. A Socialist lecturer who would not think of speaking for more than an hour in New York City may without danger to his reputation continue for two hours or more in the town up state. In the small city the workers have time to read, time to think, time to go to meetings, and time to talk to their friends.

In a city with more than a million people every one of these conditions are reversed. A speaker talks to a thousand people in New York or Chicago, all the while realizing that however much he may impress his audience, nine-tenths of them will forget all he said immediately they get outside the door. One does not know personally the people who live in the same apartment house. The population in a work-class district rapidly changes. Many languages act as barriers to the spread of thought. Few strong friendships of long duration are developed among the workers. These conditions make local organizations hard to develop and harder to maintain.

There are other and weighty reasons why the Socialist party does not quickly succeed in the great city. The economic interests affected by the municipal government increase not in arithmetical but in geometrical proportion. That is, in a city of a hundred thousand people the public utilities deeply affected by politics are not ten times greater, but perhaps a hundred times greater than in a town of ten thousand people. The crop of graft reaped by the local politicians is, therefore, likely to be a hundred times as great. It follows that the capitalists with a stake in the city government will fight the Socialist party that much harder. In the great cities the capitalist politicians are the bitterest enemies of the Socialist movement.

Then, again, in the small town there is no well-defined labor movement. In the large cities there is usually a reactionary labor union machine working hand in glove with this or that capitalist political crowd. When patronage is dispensed the labor politicians are not forgotten. Until the labor

unions become revolutionary in character they must ordinarily be reckoned among the enemies of the Socialist party.

Finally, the development of a coherent and efficient Socialist political organization in our half dozen greatest cities calls for a degree of organizing power, of intellectual force and personal character, if you will, which our party has not yet been fortunate enough to draw into its service. For this problem there is no definite solution. But we ought to do much more to hold the virile and intellectual young people we get in our organization through both inspiration and education. The vitally important subject of the social and educational centers to be conducted by our party, through its local branches in our cities, we shall treat in a future article. We must eventually be in a position to do at least as much for our young people as the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. do for the young of the middle class. In the cities we do not now hold more than one-fifth of our new members. If we are to expect service from these young workers, we must first render service to them.

THE VILLAGES AND RURAL DISTRICTS

The small town of from ten thousand to thirty thousand people, as we have already said, is unified by a common language and type of mind. It is easily accessible by reason of its physical conditions and numbers, and is quickly captured because it contains no great economic forces opposed to the Socialist party.

At the other end of the gamut, at the base of the nation's life, lie the spreading rural districts with their innumerable villages. In this connection census statistics are always interesting. We are so much in the habit of giving attention to the number and size of our rapidly growing cities that the census figures for the rural districts are at first amazing. The United States is still a rural nation. In 1910 the country population, by which is meant all persons living in the country or in villages of less than 2,500 people, numbered 53.7 per cent of the whole. In Ohio, where the Socialist movement is more advanced than in any state east of the Rocky Mountains, and which will probably be the first state we shall carry, the rural population numbered 44.1 per cent of the whole. In Wisconsin it numbered 57 per cent. In North Dakota

where we are in sight of a victory in the state election, there are almost no cities, the rural population numbering 87.7 per cent. As has been repeatedly pointed out in the columns of the *REVIEW*, little can be done, either of a legislative or administrative character, by the Socialist party until it controls state governments. It is, therefore, perfectly evident that the matter of advancing our movement among our country people is one of vital importance.

Let me say here that I have during the past three years somewhat changed my view concerning the value of our propaganda among farmers. I have done so, both because of greater familiarity with our western farming people and a more careful examination of census and other statistics concerning rural population and wealth. In the decade ending 1910 the number of farm owners increased $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while the number of farm tenants increased $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Meanwhile, the number of mortgaged farms increased 18 per cent. While it is perfectly true that a section of our farming population, specifically those owning good land within easy transporting distance of adequate markets, are earning money, it is equally true that the great mass of our farmers are in a stationary or receding position economically. It is not our purpose here to explain or elucidate this point. We shall take it for granted.

In the country districts of the Middle West, the Southwest and the far West the Socialist party has made encouraging progress. Hundreds of locals have been developed wholly among farmers. In the far West tens of thousand of these farmers are ex-wage workers who have run away from the tyranny of the shift boss to place themselves under the bondage of the railroads and the ten-per-cent-mortgage holder. The number of actual wage workers on these farms is now colossal and is growing annually. Everywhere west of the Allegheny Mountains real capitalist farming is becoming the order of things. As the gasoline engine displaces the horse, the mule and the hired hand, a great army of tenant farmers, mortgage-ridden farmers and small farmers generally, will be crushed down into the ranks of the wage workers or turned into a serf class that will rent its machines as well as its farms. In the South and Southwest this is already largely the case.

Meanwhile, the country village, that wearisome, petrifying community of from 200 to 2,500 people, is understood by few Socialists in the larger cities. These villages have lost their little, old-fashioned factories and are rapidly losing their stores. They are filled with large families of children, for whom there are no jobs, no cheap entertainment, no outlook. The annual wages of the second-hands, the casual farm laborers, the few store clerks, the left-over carpenters and bricklayers is pitifully small. Here is material for the Socialist party propaganda which can be reached before it enters the industrial field in our large cities.

THE SOCIALIST STATE OFFICE AND THE RURAL DISTRICT

In all matters pertaining to organization the large city takes care of itself. The small city books its speakers through the state office, but otherwise it is self-directing. Socialist farmers dwelling in and about the country villages are dependent upon our state offices in a peculiar way. More or less desultory propaganda is likely to develop in every rural community. But without help from without no organization is launched, no real educational work developed. Socialist and socialistic farmers purchase almost no Socialist books. Quite likely they read a single Socialist paper and think that they are performing their whole duty when they vote the Socialist ticket on election day. With a little effort they can be educated at least as easily as the city wage worker. We need more literature specifically for the farmer. Yet the farmer's greatest need is our time-proven classic Socialist literature. The danger of the Socialist movement in the country is that it remains purely a populist political movement. The farmer must be led to understand the industrial conflict from the wage earner's point of view. An educational movement that will, during the five years to come, develop thirty per cent of the rural population of a state into sound revolutionists is, of course, infinitely better than a sentimental propaganda which will enlist but not train seventy per cent of them.

ORGANIZING IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS

A single meeting with an effective public address may build up the movement in a town. In a country district an organizer should remain at least several days, calling

on the sympathizers in their homes, canvassing for literature and subscriptions, and teaching them the methods and purposes of organization. During the autumn and winter months every rural county should try to have a salaried organizer for as many weeks as possible. It should be the main business of the state office in agricultural states to study local conditions and direct this work.

The rural organizer should be perfectly familiar with the farming industry in general and with the peculiar conditions of the people among whom he works. He must be willing to work eight hours a day, meanwhile living in the homes of the people among whom he is organizing. As our country population is almost wholly American born, the organizer should use the English language without difficulty.

In this work of organization it is necessary to discover a local secretary who will collect the dues, canvass for Socialist papers and literature and keep in touch with the state office. Propaganda meetings had best be held only during the autumn and winter months. Much depends upon the advertising. Where social and intellectual attractions are few, people are considerably impressed by any distinction which attaches to the name and personality of a speaker. Hence, all the favorable qualities and the interesting experiences of the organizer should be dwelt upon in the advertising. With schoolhouses free and entertainment furnished by members and sympathizers, it ought now to be easy indeed for the state office in any agricultural state to keep several rural organizers routed from November

1st to May 1st. The additional dues from these rural districts will pay for these organizers if they are properly selected and managed. No better policy can be developed in the agricultural states than to expend nearly all of the surplus funds of the state office in this form of work. Rural America has been profoundly affected by the social crisis. In the cities of over 100,000 people only one-sixth inherit directly the mighty traditions of Jefferson and Jackson and of the Civil war. Millions of young men and women growing up in the country will find their way to the cities in the coming ten years. In an address before the summer session of the State Teachers' College at Greeley, Colo., July 18, Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States commissioner of education, said:

"More than 65 per cent of our children are educated in the rural schools, and they form a large part of our population in the cities. Probably no city produces as many citizens as it kills, and the modern civilization with its complex problems and its nerve strain really eats children in the city."

Again and again let it be pointed out to the farmer and his wife that, even though they own a little land and have enough to eat, their many children will be forced into wage slavery and destroyed by the conditions which that slavery implies. In the twentieth century this is, to parents, the greatest material consideration of life. To-day the American farmer, born a fighter, is "agin the government" and at war with the great corporations. Let us bring them into the Socialist party, not as progressives, but as social revolutionists.





BOUND FOR VIENNA

OVER twenty socialist comrades have entered the race for the REVIEW trip to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Vienna Austria, next summer. Every mail is bringing letters from new enthusiasts who want to know how to secure this free trip and those who have already started toward winning it ask us to tell our friends that the work is easy and that they are not only making the climb toward three hundred REVIEW subscriptions steadily and surely, but are winning dozens of new people to an interest in socialism.

Comrade Rush, of Cedar Rapids, writes: "Getting subs. gives folks an opportunity to ask about socialism. The work grows pleasanter all the time."

The Central Socialist Club of Haverhill has chosen Miss Olive Sophia Leavitt, a seventeen-year-old member of the Local, to represent them on the REVIEW plan, promising to give her all the support possible. It makes the work doubly pleasant and easy to have the united co-operation and support of your Local in this way. It will also give the Local comrades an opportunity to get their report on the Congress first hand.

Our old friends, Comrades T. F. Lockwood, of Cleveland, and Floyd Ramp, of Oregon, are going to be sure winners. Comrade Seward enters for Spokane and Eckard, Ruth, Potts, Dinlocker and Rittenberg from Pennsylvania.

Comrade Spinney hopes to be the second REVIEW delegate from Massachusetts and Oscar Helm was the first to get started in Arkansas. Shubert Sebree was the first man under the wire from Indiana, and S. E. Thompson, from Illinois, and C. S. Crain, noteworthy for his fine work on the Emancipator, is going to put Oklahoma on the delegation map.

John Henderson, the youngest member of Local Puyallup, made his start a running jump with twenty-five yearlies. Harry Sib-

ble is one you can bank on going from Vancouver.

DON'T YOU WANT TO GO ALONG?

Those who have already started want to make the party across as large a one as possible. Every State in the Union should have at least two delegates. We would like to send ten. The REVIEW offer is one you cannot afford to miss. Secure credentials from your Local and start in taking subs. there. Then visit the neighboring locals and get them to back you up.

We would like to send every socialist editor in the country. If they would explain our plans through the columns of their various papers, scores of friends who would like to see new delegates attending the greatest gathering of socialists the world has ever seen would be glad to send subscriptions to the paper.

OUR PLAN.

Our offer is the greatest one ever made by any magazine. We will send every socialist comrade to the International Congress at Vienna next summer who will send us three hundred yearly subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW before June first. Where you cannot secure a yearly subscription, we will accept two six month subs. to be applied as one yearly. These subscriptions must be paid for at the regular rate of \$1.00 a year; 50 cents for six months.

For every one sending in the required number, the REVIEW will pay railroad fare from any point east of Chicago and back, steamship fare across and back, railroad fare to and from Vienna and allow \$25.00 for hotel bills in Europe.

DON'T YOU WANT TO GO ALONG?

We would like to send a party of at least fifty REVIEW delegates.

EDITORIAL

Co-operation in Italy—From the viewpoint of a revolutionary Socialist, the fatal weakness of co-operation as usually practiced in England and Belgium, and on a smaller scale in other countries, is that it enables the more thrifty portion of the working class to make individual savings. These individuals thereupon begin to think and feel like petty capitalists, becoming more concerned about their little savings than their wages or working conditions, and often forgetting altogether the struggle of the wage-workers against the capitalists. This stupifying effect of the usual type of co-operatives has proved a serious offset to their undeniable advantages. REVIEW readers will therefore be glad to hear of a new type of co-operative which thus far at least, seems free from this serious objection. In *Harper's Magazine* for November, John L. Mathews describes "the art of mutual aid," as practiced by the farm laborers of Italy. These laborers until very lately, have been but a step removed from chattel slavery. The land of Italy is for the most part held in large estates, and either not for sale at all or offered at a figure so high that the ownership of a farm is beyond the wildest dreams of the farm laborers. These laborers have thus found that they can not hope to escape slavery by rising individually into the owning class, and they have come to realize in a thoroughly practical way that their only hope is to unite. A series of energetic strikes a few years ago secured a general raise of wages in northeast Italy amounting to fifteen million dollars a year, divided among hundreds of thousands of laborers. But even after the raise the wages of an Italian farm laborer rarely exceed sixty cents a day.

Getting Rid of the Boss—Too many men were looking for work at these wages to leave much prospect for successful strikes, and the rebels turned their attention to the new method of getting

rid of the boss through co-operation. One group of 450 families pooled their savings, pledged their credit, and leased a large estate with a magnificent but deserted palace, which had belonged to one of the high officials of the Roman Catholic church. These families of laborers are today living in the episcopal palace, doubtless overcrowded, but at least far more comfortably quartered than ever before. They are operating the big farm co-operatively, raising their standard of living a little, and adding improvements in the way of modern machinery, blooded stock, commercial fertilizers, etc., which will surely increase their earnings in future. And observe that this capital which these workers are gradually acquiring is not being "divided up," it is being kept together and used to improve the future living conditions of all the workers alike. The group just described is only one of many groups who are becoming their own employers. Many others are operating large rented farms. Still others are taking contracts for railroad construction and other rough outdoor work, the organized group taking the place of the private contractor, and making its collective bargain with the government or the corporation which has the work to give out. In this way, by doing away with the contractor, the workers are able to get better wages. This movement is as yet only in embryo, and big developments may be looked for soon.

Modern Cities—Under this title two workers for "municipal betterment," Horatio M. Pollock and William S. Morgan, have prepared a book lately published by the Funk & Wagnalls Company of New York, which is full of the news of recent progress toward some of our Socialist ideals, which deserves careful consideration on the part of Socialists. The book contains chapters on city planning, on the housing problem, on the paving and cleaning of streets, on the water supply, the milk supply, the dis-

posal of sewage and garbage and the other problems of sanitation, on the conservation of human life, and the development of municipal home rule. Along all these lines and more, the authors, drawing their facts from hundreds of cities in America and Europe, report a degree of progress that twenty or thirty years ago would have seemed beyond belief. A resistless tide has set in the direction of these reforms. The only opposition to them comes from petty grafters and hopeless fossils who are being swept out of the way as the movement progresses. But note two things. One is that in nearly every case these reforms are the work of capitalist parties, not of the Socialists. The other is that while they are a very real benefit to the wage-workers, they are even more beneficial to the capitalists. The young people who grow up in these modernized cities are more efficient than their parents, and the capitalists make bigger profits on their labor.

The Socialist Party and the City—Our party confronts here a situation that calls for clear thinking and straightforward tactics. If we were to forget the class

struggle and make our campaign on these popular reforms we might "capture" a few extra offices. But the offices and votes would be won at the price of all that makes the Socialist Party worth working for. These reforms are coming whether we lift our hands for them or not. If we divert the energies of our most active members into a campaign for these reforms to the neglect of Socialist education and of the class war against the capitalist, we are digging the grave of our party most effectually; such tactics will turn it into a cheap imitation of the capitalist reform parties; it will be unable to compete with them and will languish. Yet we must not make the opposite mistake of antagonizing the reform measures. Nearly all of them are on the whole good for the working class, and the sooner they are adopted, the sooner the workers will find that they leave the gulf between capitalist and laborer still unbridged. Good luck to the reformers. They are doing many little necessary things and doing them well. Let us Socialists keep our energy for the big things.

Why War With Mexico?

Because the Mexican oil fields are richer than all the other oil fields in the world combined and Wall Street Capitalists want to grab them?

We Workers Should Worry!

General Sherman said, "War is Hell!" If Capitalist Rockefeller and his Standard Oil crowd want to fight Capitalist Rothschild and the English Capitalists for these oil fields, let them go there! But every red-blooded Socialist should protest against workers being sent to Mexico to murder Mexican workers. In order to protest intelligently you must read John Kenneth Turner's great book entitled, "Barbarous Mexico". It will show you behind the scenes in Mexico. Comrade Turner secured seventeen photographs showing the unimagined horrors practiced over the border. They appear in this book. No capitalist publishing house in this country DARED publish this exposure. Turner's book is bound in blue silk cloth, gold stamped, and contains 360 pages. Until December 31st, we will send you, upon receipt of \$1.50, a copy of this book, postpaid, and the International Socialist Review for one year. ***This offer will not appear again.***

Charles H. Kerr & Company, 118 West Kinzie St. **Chicago**

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Two Internationals.—"There are two internationals," said my witty friend, "one of them has abundance of ideas, but no members; the other has 7,500,000 members, but not an idea." Of course I told him he is a liar, and he is. But there is enough of truth in his epigram to make it worth passing on.

In the month of October both internationals held congresses, so the comparison of them is inevitable. The syndicalist congress met in London; the International Trades Union Secretariat met at Zurich. The London gathering is said to have represented a membership of 250,000; that held at Zurich represented the imposing number mentioned above. Those who gathered in London drew up a "program," which was, in fact, nothing but a statement of very general principles; those who assembled at Zurich talked of such practical matters as mutual support in time of strike, and the establishment of bureaus of information. In London they discussed the overthrow of capitalism, those valiant representatives of 250,000, and at Zurich the representatives of the 7,500,000 discussed the things done last year and those to be done this year.

The International Syndicalist Congress.—As I write I have before me the more or less official reports of these two congresses, published in the Bulletin International and the International News Letter. The syndicalist congress, we are told, consisted of 33 delegates. The French Confederation General and the American I. W. W. were not officially represented. The abstention of the great French organization, in fact, is one of the most significant facts about the congress. The French have, in effect, proclaimed to the world that they believe in syndicalism, but not in dual unionism. They belong, of course, to the International Secretariat, or the International Federation, as it is now to be called, and they refused to leave the great conservative organization for a small revolution-

ary one. Incidentally, it may be recorded here that there is much talk of a change of spirit in the C. G. T. Joseph Steiner in a recent article in *Neue Zeit*, shows that the French unionists are gradually returning to a faith in the usefulness of political action. His general theory is that anti-political unions gain importance only in countries where the Socialist Party fails to represent the working class. The anti-political movement in France, he says, was the direct result of Millerandism in the Socialist Party. Of late, especially during the great fight about the new military law, the French Socialists have fought the fight of the working class magnificently. Partly on this account, partly for other reasons, the C. G. T. has gradually changed its attitude toward political action. It is perfectly natural, therefore, that the French unionists should remain with Socialist workers of Germany rather than to ally themselves with more or less anti-political organizations which were represented at London.

The ten countries represented were: Argentina, Brazil, Holland, Spain, Belgium, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and France. Of course the organizations represented are for the most part small, some of them are local trade unions; others are national propaganda organizations. But excepting in the cases of Italy and the South American countries only numerically unimportant organizations were represented.

The most practical organization work accomplished was the adoption of a plan for an international bureau of information. This organization is to have its seat in Holland and is to consist of five members named by the Dutch organizations, and one corresponding member in each country. Its work will be the publication of a weekly bulletin and the supervision in general of international propaganda.

But the chief work was the drawing up of a statement of principles. In view

of all the hit-or-miss discussion which we have had, an authoritative statement like this should be of general interest. Here it is: "This congress, recognizing that the working class of every country suffers from capitalist slavery and state oppression, declares for the class struggle and international solidarity, and for the organization of the workers into autonomous industrial unions on the basis of free association; strives for the immediate uplifting of the material and intellectual interests of the working class, and for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the state.

"This congress declares that the class struggle is a necessary result of private property in the means of production and distribution, and therefore declares for socialization of such property by constructing and developing our trade unions

in such a way as to fit them for the administration of these means in the interest of the entire community.

"This congress recognizes that, internationally, trade unions will only succeed when they cease to be divided by political and religious differences; declares that their fight is an economic fight, meaning thereby that they do not intend to reach their goal by trusting their cause to governing bodies of their members, but by using direct action; by the workers themselves relying on the strength of their economic organizations.

"And in consequence of these resolutions and declarations, the congress appeals to the workers in all countries to organize in autonomous industrial unions, and to unite on the basis of international solidarity, in order finally to obtain their emancipation from capitalism and the state."

The most striking thing about this document is the fact that it is a proclamation of anarchism rather than of industrial unionism. We have here no analysis of modern industry, no explanation of the advantages of industrialism over craft unionism. What we have is a declaration of war on capitalism and the state, as though they were two separate things and equally and eternally twin enemies of the working class.

The International Federation of Trade Unions.—Those who met at Zurich did at least one good deed. On the motion of Mr. Perkins, who represented the American Federation of Labor, the name International Secretariat was changed to International Federation of Trade Unions.

In 1911 the editor of this department took occasion to remark that the meetings of the Secretariat were made as stupid and unimportant as possible. Perhaps this statement is still applicable; but with tremendous upward rush of the labor movement the world over, it is now impossible to make them as stupid and unimportant as they used to be. Vital organizations are bound to grow in size and spirit, whether their leaders desire it or not. In spite of all efforts to the contrary, these meetings are coming more and more to take on the character

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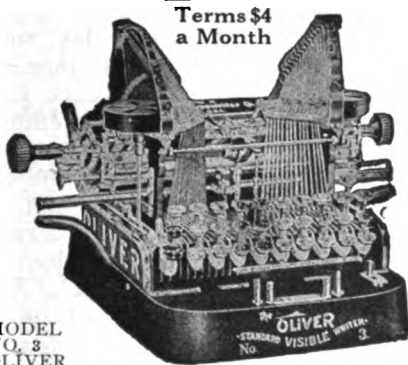
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of real international congresses of labor. This year 25 international trade union secretaries were present at the sessions, though they had no votes. The change of name was another sign of progress. But the most significant fact was the character of the renewed discussion of the proposition to call really representative international congresses. The French and American delegates have in previous years advocated the formation of an "International Federation of Labor," which would mean, of course, the holding of great international labor congresses comparable to the triennial meetings of the Socialist movement. On a resolution introduced by Mr. Perkins, this matter came up again. This American proposal was vigorously opposed by Legien. He said, in effect, that great international gatherings would be certain to develop differences of opinion, and therefore it is wiser to stick to the present organization and gatherings, which discuss only minor matters of detail. To the present writer this argument sounds downright frivolous. Coming from a German who is accustomed to see passionate discussion of fundamental problems cement the wings of the labor movement into deep and permanent unity, it is totally unintelligible. Legien was, however, able to postpone a final consideration of this matter until next year. In the meantime it is to be referred back to the various national federations for consideration and report. There is good reason to hope that the change will be voted next year. And then we shall have for the first time a real international of the forces fighting for the working class on the economic field.

In the way of practical business, three things were done. (1) It was decided to put the International News Letter on a permanent basis. To this end the dues to be contributed toward the support of

this publication were raised to a dollar a year for each thousand members. Hereafter the Letter is to be published in English, French and German. (2) It was decided to hold a special conference at Vienna in October to determine the best way of helping the Balkan workers to reorganize. At present the unions of the Balkan countries have been kept absolutely crushed by the war. There are already some \$20,000 in the international treasury to be used in assisting these organizations to regain their former position. It is proposed to make use of the present occasion to bring about working class unity in this harassed and disorganized region. (3) On the motion of the Swedish delegates it voted to ask the organizations of all countries to introduce into legislative assemblies laws providing for the eight-hour day and the abolition of night work, and then report back to the international office the degree of success attending this effort.

According to one French spectator the only enthusiasm exhibited in the course of the sessions came at the end, when it was decided to meet at San Francisco in 1915. The cautious Legien really warmed up for a moment. "At San Francisco," he said, "there will be an international exposition to celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal. Bourgeois congresses of all sorts will be held there. The capitalists, the militarists, will claim this great work as their own. And then the workers must be there to say: 'This is our achievement.'"

No, my friend was not quite right when he said one international has the ideas and the other the members. And after all, the important thing is the tendency, the possibility. I am not at all sure that the syndicalists will gain members, but I feel morally certain that the International federation will some time be dominated by ideas.



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"I Used to be Like Him."

A Great Victory in Italy.—It is not merely that the Socialist vote was increased, or that the Socialist group in parliament was more than doubled. We have better reason for being deeply gratified at the results of the elections held in Italy on October 26 and November 27. At the last election the Socialists elected 42 deputies; a few of the districts represented by these they subsequently lost at by-elections. Just about a year ago the party was torn by the struggle over the Turkish war. The Reformist group refused to oppose the war; the majority of the party members took the regular Socialist position and fought bitterly against the war at every point. As a result of this state of affairs there was a split in the party. Or rather, when the party convention at Reggio Emilia voted to expel a group of Reformist leaders all the Reformists withdrew in a body and formed a new party. They took with them 15 members of parliament. By this action the Socialist group was cut down to 25 and the party lost several thousand members. In the political campaign which has just ended the Reformists opposed the Socialists in 50 districts. This naturally increased the difficulties of the situation.

But the chief circumstance which made the outcome doubtful is the fact that under the new electoral law Italy for the first time enjoys full manhood suffrage. This measure has more than doubled the number of voters. And the new electors are nearly all illiterates or men of very little education. To be sure these are members of the working class, but of the lower sections of the working class. The church would be expected to wield a strong influence over them, and one would not expect their intelligence with regard to class interests to be high.

The Socialists put up candidates in 300 districts. Their campaign was absolutely uncompromising. And the result has magnificently attested both the rightness of the Socialist philosophy and the intelligence of the workers. Full details are not at hand as the REVIEW goes to press, but it is reported that the Socialist group will number at least 53. The Reformists have 19 seats. The ministry

of Gioletti will remain in power, but with much reduced majority. It has no program, and faces the necessity of issuing bonds to keep the government afloat. More and more the people are awakening to the fact that the war was a terrible mistake. With a strong group in parliament and a united, revolutionary membership, our Italian comrades are magnificently situated to make a great fight.

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NEWS AND VIEWS



Woodrow's Dancing Academy.—On the 21st of August the United States Government took over the Big Casino Dance Hall and Saloon at Tonopah, Nevada. Judge Morrow, of the Federal Court in California, sitting at Carson City, Nev., appointed a receiver. Tonopah is one of the few remaining genuine mining towns. The Dance Hall is one of the finest in the country. Most of the time, there are employed in it from twenty-five to thirty girls, who dance and sell drinks on a percentage basis. Uncle Sam has been raking in the money over sixty days now. On being asked how she liked her new boss, one of the dancers replied, "I should worry! I am working for the GOVERNMENT." When the boys go down to the Casino of an evening they call it Woodrow Wilson's Dancing Academy, or "Bryan's Tango Class." As the Review correspondent arrived in Tonopah she heard it remarked that Frank Bomreau, the receiver, had arrived on the same train with "three new chickens for the dance hall." The Government pays the girls 40 per cent on all bottled goods they dispose of and 50 per cent on the receipts for dances.

From Way Up North.—A comrade writing from Dawson, Y. T., says: "I thank you for the magazine of the last mail. The slaves on this big river are always on the move, chasing the meal ticket, but I am trying my best to get subscriptions, as I recognize the fact that the REVIEW peddles the right 'dope.' It is so clear and simple that even the humblest of scissor-bills understands what he reads. It is worth the REVIEW's weight in gold to see their faces light up and shine after reading a copy." —Gottfried Sandberg.

From a Frisco Red.—Just returned from a trip to Mexico on the United States transport Buford. I passed "Tom Mann's Speech to the Soldiers" around on the transport. It certainly made a hit with them. I clipped it from the REVIEW. Went to see my dentist and got one "bone" out of him for a year's subscription to the REVIEW, which I herewith enclose. Yours for the REVIEW, first, last and always, as long as it's revolutionary. Your comrade, M. Merit.

The Civil Service Socialist Society, London, England, orders a bundle of November RE-

views and is also becoming a stockholder of the publishing house.

From a Red Revolutionist.—"I am glad that I can send in ten subscriptions to the *Review* and will send more the next time. I am only 17 years old, but I feel like I can do as much work in the *Review* line as a man can. I am a red-headed red revolutionist.—Walter S. Smoot. (More power to you young comrade. When we get 100,000 revolutionists, the capitalist class will be going south—for life.)

From the "Live Ones."—The following comrades have sent in ten or more subscriptions to the *Review* during the past month: Price, Kerman, Cal.; Geyer, Pine Bluff, Ark.; Yeager, Thompson, Nev.; Burke, Lewiston, Maine; Weaver, Adron, Ohio; McIntosh, Leavenworth, Kansas; Hay, Bozeman, Montana; Tillison, Dayton, Texas; Fearing, Decatur, Ill.; (25) Hathorne, Beverly, Mass.; (30) Johnson, Daly City, Cal.; Herron, Tipton, Ind.; Weiss, New York; Horverton, Paril, Ill.; Joseph List, J. Plain, Massachusetts; Olson, Twin Falls, Idaho; Daverkosen, Nevada City, Cal.; Nef, Bozeman, Mont.; Falk, Halleck, Cal.; Woolver, Yuma, Ariz.; Cammack, Paso Robles, Cal.; Beaty, Utica, Kansas; Anderson, Jamestown, N. Y.; Hall, Terre Haute, Ind.; Bartel, Peoria, Ill.; Curry, Peoria, Ill.; Herron, Tipton, Ind.; Butler, Kennewick, Wash.; McLain, Atlanta, La.; Wray, Terre Haute, Ind.; Smoot, Paris, Ill.; Clemens, Oak Creek, Colo.; Tittel, Stockton, Cal.; (24) Kendall, Mountain View, Cal.; Charnetzsky, Baltimore, Md.; Sand, Bay City, Mich.; Noble, Berkeley, Cal.; Allison, Petaluma, Cal.; Stange, Yates Center, Kansas; Bartelney, Centralia, Ill.; Petermair, Dubuque, Iowa; Hynes, Minneapolis, Minn.; Denison, New Philadelphia, Ohio (20).

Going Fine.—The demand for our new pamphlet on "The Catholic Church and Socialism" is steadily increasing and we are receiving many splendid letters. Comrade Kules of New Mexico writes: "Sold 40 copies inside of 20 minutes tonight. It is a wonderful book and sells on sight." The national office orders 500; International Publishing Company, Cleveland, 500; Social Dem. Pub. Co., Milwaukee, 200. Get busy in your local and order a bunch.

Free Speech on Trial.—On October fourth, Frederick Sumner Boyd, who was indicted

during the Paterson strike for advocating sabotage, was sentenced to serve from one to seven years in Trenton Prison, and to pay a fine of five hundred dollars. The court which convicted Boyd had already sentenced Alexander Scott, an editor, to fifteen years, because he dared to criticize the Paterson police for clubbing men and women on strike. Five other I. W. W. organizers are awaiting trial for exercising their Constitutional rights of free assembly and free speech. They are: William D. Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca, Patrick L. Quinlan and Adolph Lessig.

As Boyd is the first labor organizer to be convicted of advocating sabotage, it is vitally important for all labor organizations that his case be taken through the courts. As this number goes to press, there is not enough money collected to permit Boyd to appeal his case. Are the workers going to let Boyd go to jail like Ben Legere and his comrades in Little Falls, or will they free him as they freed Ettor and Giovannitti in Lawrence? Money is needed, and it must come from the workers. Upon Boyd's acquittal or conviction depends the acquittal or conviction of every future strike-leader. **YOU ARE ON TRIAL.** Send all contributions for the Boyd Defense Fund to Miss Jessie Ashley, 27 Cedar street, New York City.

Vancouver Strike

Comrade Rayson writes from Vancouver: "The strike situation on Vancouver Island, looks better every day. The coal companies, assisted in their dirty work by the McBride and Bowser government, hired assassins and capitalist papers, have failed to break the ranks of the strikers in their fight for better working conditions, higher wages and union recognition. Two hundred of our brothers have been railroaded to jail on the evidence of those paid to give such evidence—without the option of having a trial till December. Two comrades were sent to jail for two years for "unlawful assemblage." Comrade Jack Place, M. P. P., is among those awaiting trial under this great and glorious fake of British Justice. It looks like we were living in Mexico or Russia. But we will win!"

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Election Report.—The REVIEW goes to press too early to give much news on the election, but from reports sent to us it looks as though Ohio were still the Red Banner State. Coshocton, Canal Dover, Martin's Ferry, Shelby and Conneaut, elected mayors. Conneaut in the face of the combined opposition of the old parties. Akron, the scene of the big rubber strike, came near to electing the Socialist candidate.

Comrade Charles Edward Russell polled the biggest vote ever cast for a Socialist mayor in the face of the whirlwind campaign carried on by the reform fusionists. Comrade Lurio was the first Socialist alderman to be elected in New York City.

Mayor Lunn increased his vote 1,000 in Schenectady, but was defeated by the united opposition of the old parties. Five members of the Common Council were elected and five supervisors.

In Massachusetts the Socialists returned Charles H. Morrill to the House of Representatives for the fifth time. The New York Call reports the Connecticut vote dropped fifty per cent.

New Jersey will probably loom large on the map hereafter. The Patterson silk workers almost succeeded in electing the Socialist mayoralty candidate. Mayor Brueckman, who rendered such effective service to the Paterson strikers, was re-elected with a majority of the town council.

Erie, Pennsylvania, reports an almost doubled vote. The South Connellsville administration was returned to office with five councilmen out of six. At Allentown, our old friend, Robert Johnstone Wheeler is to be the entering wedge, having been elected councilman. West Brownsville reports four victorious councilmen against the combined forces of the two old Fossils.

Local Goldfield Demands Referendum.—On October 13 Local Goldfield, Nevada, adopted a motion demanding a referendum by the party on the selection of the National Executive Committee and other national officers, and ordering a copy of the motion sent to the REVIEW and other Socialist papers. We believe this motion fairly represents the wishes of a majority of the membership. The present constitution puts the control of the party organization into the hands of officials who for the most part get their living from the dues paid by members. Some method should be devised for bringing the officers and committees more directly under the control of the rank and file. The necessary amendment to the constitution should receive careful consideration, and several plans along this line ought to be ready for discussion by the National Committee when it meets next May. Meanwhile the party members of every State should make sure that they have a representative on that committee who will support the measure they want.

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From Leavenworth.—Albert McIntosh, our old friend at Leavenworth, sent in eleven new subscriptions this month. We think we are going to grow in that part of Kansas from now on.

For the Teachers.—*The Normal Instructor*, a magazine published by the F. A. Owen Publishing Company at Dansville, N. Y., is one of the periodicals our new socialist teachers will find full of lively and practical suggestions for the school room. *THE REVIEW* is indebted to this magazine for the half tone engravings used in our article on a Cup of Tea, which appeared in the November Review. *The Normal Instructor* makes many points in geography both interesting and instructive to the children through the aid of photographs. Send 10 cents for one or two sample copies.

Katterfield Lectures.—L. H. Katterfield, who was for two years manager of the National Lyceum Department of the Socialist Party, is now out with a lecture of his own, "HOW TO GET WHAT YOU WANT." For particulars regarding dates, etc., address him, care of *Workers' World*, 536 Wells street, Chicago.

Australia and Free Speech

The Socialist party of Australia has sent out an Appeal to Reason circular declaring that they mean to fight for free speech until it becomes a fact in that country. Comrade Gordon Brown writes: "The American comrades must know that here in Democratic Australia, the land with the most 'advanced legislation,' where every person over twenty-one is entitled to vote, we are compelled to fight for the right to hold meetings on Sunday on the public streets. Eight of the boys are already serving various terms of imprisonment for trying to speak on the streets. Every Sunday evening, after the Salvation Army has taken up its usual collection, one of our boys steps out onto the roadway and begins to speak. Immediately a host of police, pimps and detectives gather around. They permit a crowd to collect and then, when our comrade says he has no permit, he is marched off to the watch-house. The last two weeks we have varied the procedure by performing a peripatetic stunt—much to the discomfiture of the police. In this way more time has elapsed before the arrest. Next Sunday we propose to chain our speaker to the post. It will be considerable time before the police will be able to release him and—meanwhile—some good propaganda work can be done.

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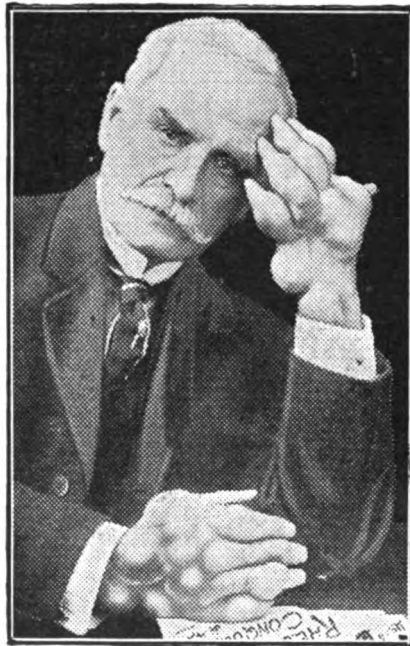
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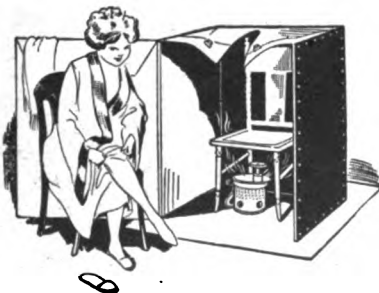
Local Tonopah has taken in over 500 new members since the last election. And the Police Judge, elected last spring, is on the job 365 days a year. Comrade Minnie Abbot, who visited Chicago and made a hit with everybody in the Review and National office this month, reports that the political experiences of Local Tonopah would make a big volume. She says they have only started in winning offices and mean to grab everything in sight within the next few years.

Worth \$5.00.—Comrade Rocker, of Bellows Falls, writes: "I could not get along without the REVIEW. The September issue alone was worth \$5.00 to me." Every time we get a letter like that, we roll up our sleeves and work a little harder.

I. W. W. to Help.—The Press Committee of the I. W. W. at Vancouver has sent out a letter demanding the co-operation of all organized and unorganized workers in securing the release of the miners awaiting sentence. Address I. W. W., 34 Cordova street, Vancouver, B. C., and send donations from your union to the same place.

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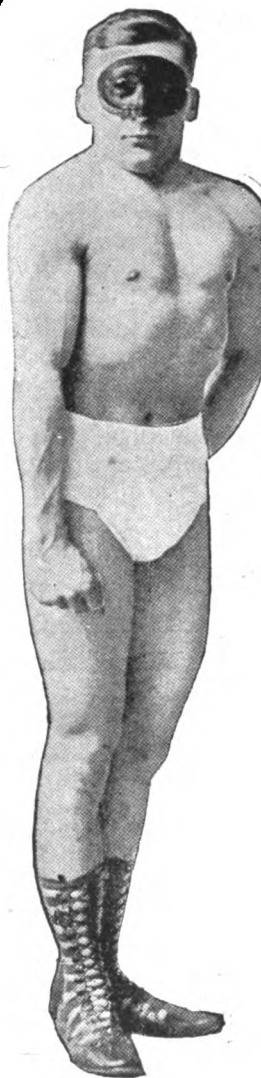
Hadn't you better look into it, just as thousands of others have done? Many thin folks say: "I'd give most anything to put on a little extra weight, but when someone suggests a way they exclaim, 'Not a chance. Nothing will make me plump. I'm built to stay thin.'" Until you have tried Sargol, you do not and cannot know that this is true.

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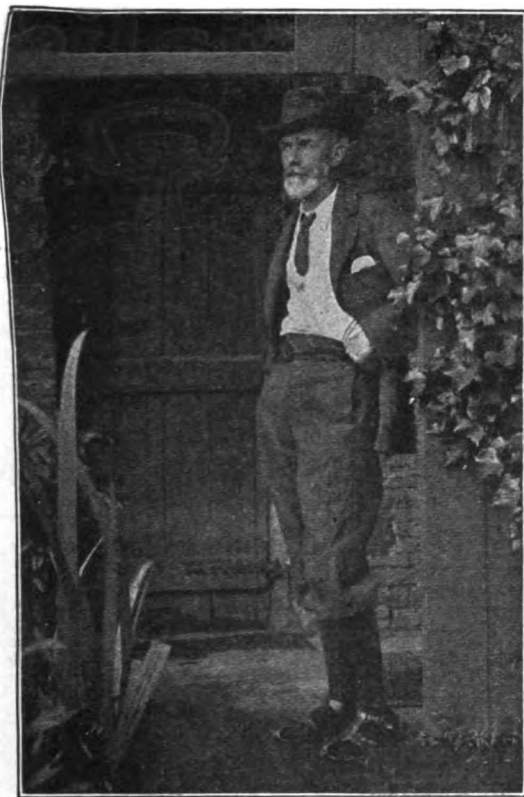
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AMERICAN CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF LAW
Dept. 5931 Manhattan Building, CHICAGO

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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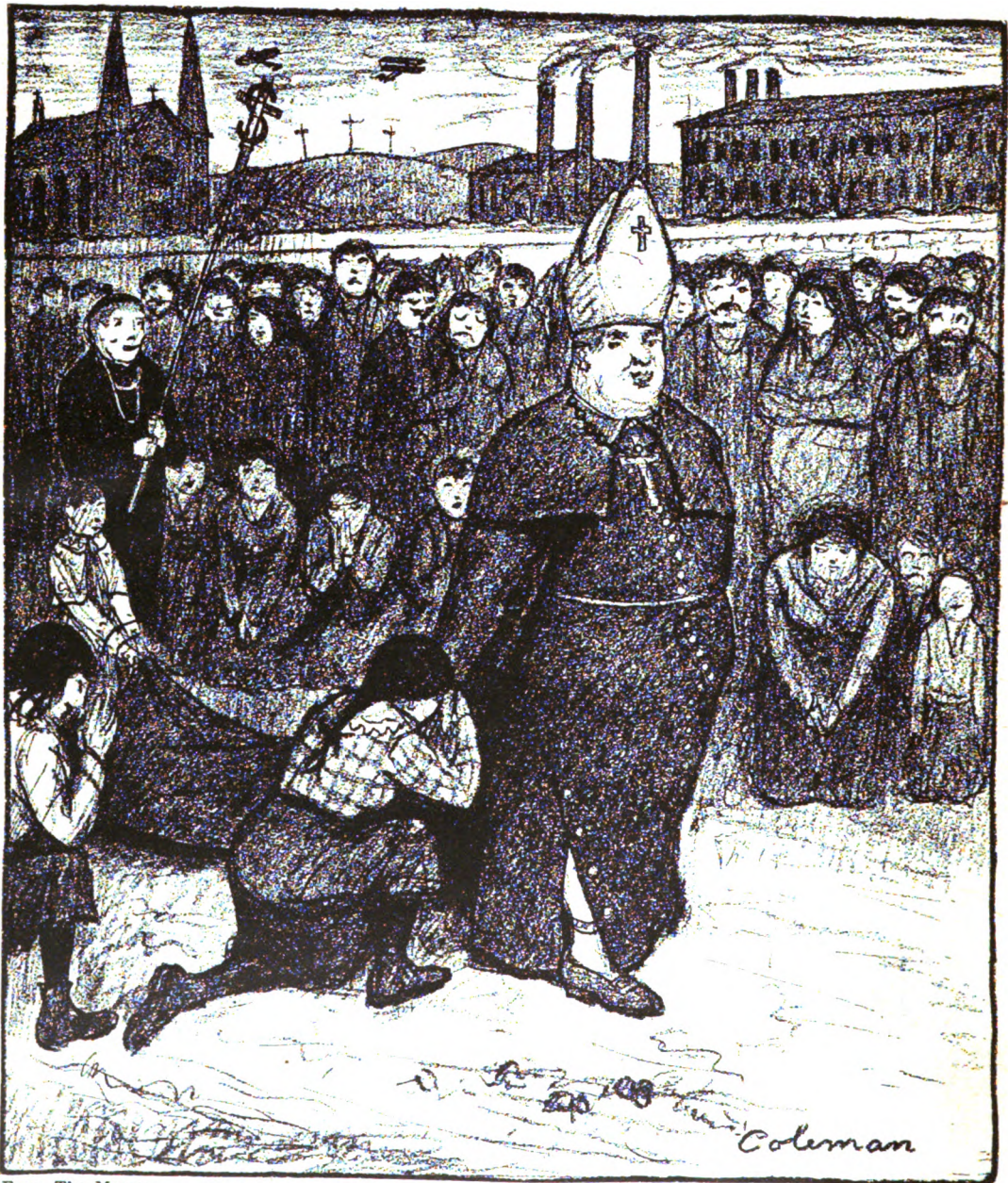
Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, Canada \$1.20, other countries \$1.50

Bundle Rates—20 Copies, \$1.00; 50 Copies, \$2.50; 100 Copies, \$5.00.
5 Copies 4 Months, \$1.00; 10 Copies 4 Months, \$2.00.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.





From The Masses.

"FOREVER AND EVER, AMEN."

In Good Old Ireland.

The
INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

JANUARY, 1914

No. 7

The Fiery Cross in Ireland and England

By WILLIAM E. BOHN

FOR centuries the rulers of England have oppressed the Irish; and now the fiery cross of Irish revolt has crossed the channel, and the rulers of England have their reward. For greater than the Dublin strike are the hope and the terror which have been spread abroad in the seat of the British empire.

The Dublin Strike

The government has let Comrade James Larkin out of jail long before his sentence had been served. The strike, now in its fourth month, goes on as it has since the beginning. The workers of England have sent shiploads of food, the strikers have been able to stave off actual starvation, and their courage is high. The employers have absolutely refused to listen to every proposition made to them. More than one mediator has been turned down. The priests have stood loyally by the capitalists. When Mrs. Rand and Dora Montifiore attempted to take some of the Dublin children to England where they could be fed and kept out of harm's way, Dr. Walsh, the catholic Archbishop of Dublin declared that their mothers would not be "worthy of the name of Catholic mothers if they sent away their children to be cared for in a strange land without security of any kind that those to whom the poor children were to be sent were Catholics, or, indeed, persons of any faith at all." So when a group of the kiddies were taken down to the docks twenty-five priests appeared and made such a disturbance that they were taken back to the protection of Catholic Dublin. So the children will

have to suffer with the parents. And the strike is still on.

Some Protests

For some reason the news of the Dublin war cannot be kept under. It has taken hold of people's minds and imaginations. Larkin is not the only one to raise the fiery cross. Read the following sentences taken at random from articles or public addresses:

George Russell, editor of the Irish Times and one of the most distinguished poets and publicists of Ireland, in an open letter to the Masters of Dublin: "If you had between you collectively a portion of human soul as large as a three-penny bit, you would have sat night and day with the representatives of labor trying this or that solution of the trouble, mindful of the women and children, who at least were innocent of wrong against you. But no! You reminded labor you could always have your three square meals a day while it went hungry. You went into conference again . . . and then, when an award was made . . . you will not accept the solution and fall back again on your devilish policy of starvation. Cry aloud to heaven for new souls! The souls you have got cast upon the screen of publicity appear like the horrid and writhing creatures enlarged from the insect world, and revealed to us by the cinematograph."

James Connolly: "I am for home rule. But you cannot build a free nation on a basis of slavery. I am against the domination of nation over nation, class over class, and sex over sex. But if we are to make Ireland the Ireland of our



INDOMITABLE COURAGE OF DUBLIN MASTERS.
 Dublin Master: "See, Darling, the Situation Grows
 More Hopeful for Us. That Striker's Child Is Dis-
 covering That Its Mother's Breast Is Running Dry."
 (Reprinted from *Daily Herald*, London)

dreams and aspirations we must have a free and self-respecting and independent nation. You can never have freedom or self-respect whilst you have starvation, whether it is the green flag or the union Jack—that is flying."

George Bernard Shaw: "It has been said that children are the safeguard of morality in Dublin—that if they took the children out of some of the dwellings the adults would misbehave themselves. It is a most appalling thing. I believe there are people who have given that as a reason for not allowing children to leave Dublin. Ponder over that a little. Let your imagination add to that state of things the horror of a strike, the cessation of the weekly wage, and all that it means. Imagine what kind of men they must be who, seeing all this, thrust the children back into starvation and misery."

The Clarion Wants to Know

In the midst of the tremendous disturbance precipitated in Merry England the *Daily Herald* is fighting ferociously for the strikers, and Justice is bringing its fine power of Socialist analysis to bear on the situation. But it is in the *Clarion* that one sees mirrored what is going on

in the Socialist and labor union mind of the nation.

The beauty of the situation is that almost everybody is upset. The Liberals are upset. They have put through their pension bill; they are about to put through their home rule bill; they have sprung their great land scheme. This last move was expected to cap the climax of their popularity and carry the next election. Now suddenly they find everybody talking about tyranny and stupidity in Dublin. The pure-and-simple Socialists are upset. Just when they have satisfactorily proved that strikes are a waste of energy the whole world gets excited about a strike. The Laborites are upset. Just as they are expecting to share in the glory of Liberal achievements they find themselves hopelessly in the rear of the Labor movement. The anti-political leaders, Syndicalists or whatever else they may call themselves, are upset. For these wild Irish, in the midst of their heart-breaking struggle, are rushing from one constituency to another helping English Socialists win elections. Notions and parties are going together into the melting-pot.

And the *Clarion* sees it all and does its little best to bring order out of this hopeful chaos. The whole situation is mirrored in an editorial by Alex M. Thompson in the number for October 17. He begins by recording the results of the recent Miners' Conference: "Last week I recorded its 'sympathetic' gift of a thousand pounds a week to the Dublin strikers and of 90,000 pounds to the 'Citizen.'

"The next sensation was the significant vote of only 261,643 out of 850,000 in favor of a levy for political action. In striking contrast on the next day came a unanimous vote in favor of cooperative action with other big trade unions in support of each other's demands. The miners evidently have much more faith in the strike than in Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Snowden.

"Then the conference decided to press for a new wage standard, and a minimum of seven shillings a day for face workers.

"These bold pronouncements have naturally perturbed the labor doves."

Then, after describing the Labor brand of political action he continues: "The army of labor is divided. On the one side

stand the dishevelled, impassioned fomenters of revolt; on the other, the decorous, spick-and-span parliamentary oracles—each with their ragged rout of disheartened and distracted followers.

"MacDonald and Snowden denounce the futility of strikes; Larkin and Lansbury retort by denouncing the futility of 'abominable' parliamentary 'hypocrites.' Well may the enemy laugh and despise us . . ."

"The Clarion view is that the men who deny the utility of strikes are as mad as their opponents who assert the inevitable futility of parliamentary action. The futility lies not in parliamentary action, but in parliamentary inaction; not in striking, but in sparring without hitting

"In this distressing dilemma it seems to me that it might be worth while to appeal from the leaders to the people. What have the rank and file to say?"

He then goes on to propose a newspaper referendum on the following questions: (1) Should labor discard strikes? (2) Should labor discard parliamentary representation? (3) Should strikes and parliamentary action be used conjointly? (4) Are you satisfied with the past policy of the parliamentary Labor Party?

Of course, Comrade Thompson does not hope to put an end to all difficulties by this simple means. But the fact that such a referendum is considered timely shows better than anything else could how rapidly working class thought is progressing in conservative England.

Political Action that will Count.

Every recent election indicates a Liberal set-back. This means more than disappointment with reform measures; it means the Liberal treatment of labor in revolt is rapidly disillusionizing the workers. The best news is that of the by-election at Reading, which occurred early in November. This is a working class constituency, the seat of a great biscuit factory. The fight was three-cornered, the contestants being a Tory, a Liberal, and a representative of the British Socialist Party. In 1910 the Liberal received a vote of 5,264; last month he received 4,013. The Tory was elected by a vote of 5,144. But J. G. Butler, the Socialist, received a vote of 1063, which is 10 per cent of the total. Apparently



VICARIOUS COURAGE, BUT COURAGE NEVERTHELESS.

Mr. Murphy of Dublin Has Said He Is Out to Fight Larkin. The Above Droll Design Shows the Courage of the Murphy Class in Operation. Let It Never Be Said Capitalism Has No Animal Courage While It Possesses the Wherewithal to Buy It.

the Socialists drew chiefly from the Liberal strength; and they drew enough to defeat the representative of "reform." Of course the important thing is not that a Tory was elected, but that a straight Socialist vote of ten per cent was polled. The Socialist campaign was most enthusiastic. After it was over thousands of working people gathered round their standard bearer and promised a Socialist victory at the next election.

This seems to show that the B. S. P. may become a positive political force. Nothing could be better for England. The B. S. P. has stood steadily and courageously for every section of the working class. No doubt most of its spokesmen have disapproved of much that has been done in Dublin and of much that has been said by Larkin and his fellow fighters. But they have stood by the representatives of their class and have worked vigorously to make the strike mean something to all the workers of the British Isles. They deserve to win, and it is a source of lively satisfaction to know that they are really getting hold of a comparatively large body of working men and women.



A PLEA FOR SOLIDARITY

By Tom Mann

IN writing this article commenting upon the experiences I have had during my twenty weeks' run in the United States and the conclusions I have drawn, I desire to say that I do so with some diffidence because necessarily I shall appear as an advisor and instructor in some measure, a position I certainly do not wish to occupy; still if I do not give expression to such news as have grown upon me it would not be fair to those who are really desirous of facing facts in the face.

I had a fairly correct knowledge of the situation in the United States prior to my arrival here as regards the nature and amount of industrial organization that existed here; and was on the look-out for

additional information at every point. What I was anxious to understand at first hand was the particular psychology of the A. F. of L. and I. W. W. at the end of 1913.

My visit has been in no special way remarkable, but I have had opportunities of coming into direct contact with the rank and file of the two bodies referred to at many points and under a variety of conditions.

I have had meetings in some seventy cities between Boston and San Francisco; I have had hundreds of quiet conversations with men who belong to one or other of these organizations, and equally with those who belong to neither, but many of whom have pronounced views

concerning both. My mind had long turned towards Pittsburgh as a vitally important industrial center destined some day to achieve big things in the labor world.

I must express my deep disappointment at finding practically no organization at all in the district as regards the men in the metal trades. The industry is vaster than I had expected to find it; the organization of the men is a minus quantity. In the whole of the Westinghouse companies in the Pittsburgh district at which some 25,000 are employed, not two per cent are organized. In the whole of the district, steel workers, engineers, and every variety of machinists with a total of 250,000 men, not three per cent are organized.

I did not expect to find roseate conditions anywhere, but I confess I was surprised to find so considerable a number of steel workers, working twelve hours per shift and seven shifts a week.

A. F. of L. men criticize the I. W. W. and vice versa, and neither are showing any capacity to organize these workers.

It was in the nature of a surprise, too, to find that practically all metalliferous miners regularly work seven shifts a week, even in the places where every man is organized.

To learn that there are districts where coal miners are still paid—not in cash—but in metal checks, to be cashed for household requirements, only at the company's stores, with special prices fixed because of this monopoly, was not an agreeable experience, showing as it does that the economic organization of the workers is a long way from being efficient in such districts.

It appears that the most generous computation as to the number organized in the trade unions is three millions, two-thirds of whom are financially related to the A. F. of L.; amongst those not connected with the A. F. of L. are the Bricklayers, also the railroad men. About 400,000 of the latter are organized, or 50 per cent of the whole, i. e., tram employes; the total number of railroad men in U. S. seems to be about 1,900,000 including 650,000 track employes and 360,000 shop workers.

Only a small percentage of those or-

ganized in the unions are laborers, whilst there are some fifteen millions of others eligible for organization, the vast majority of whom are graded as skilled and unskilled laborers.

Amongst these are the migratory workers, compelled by economic pressure to be almost continually on the move; not because they wish to, but because the work is seasonal, and move they must to get the means of life, and to provide labor power for exploiters.

When, in 1905, the Industrial Workers of the World came into existence, it looked as though the principle of labor solidarity would soon find recognition and acceptance and that the interests of the migratory workers would not be neglected. It is greatly to the credit of the I. W. W. that with all the troubles it has been confronted with, it has persisted in voicing the claims of the migratory men. How magnificently the I. W. W. has fought in districts where labor is of quite a different character is well known to all likely to be interested in reading these lines; and more than this, many men. How magnificently the I. W. W. have done magnificent educational work at the street corners. They have not only spread a knowledge of economics to which the mass of the working populace were strangers, but by a courageous advocacy and bold assertion of human rights, they have inspired many thousands and imparted a confident belief that the time will come when wage slavery will go and a saner system take its place.

All this and much more stands to their credit, and yet, if one looks to find permanent results achieved by the efforts of the I. W. W. outside of what is here described, if one looks to find definite, tangible, effective organization, to what extent does it exist?

It seems to me any fair minded person, unwilling to be unwarrantably optimistic, must frankly admit the results are utterly unsatisfactory. It is not as though organization were a matter of indifference; it is admitted to be fundamental and vital, yet, where is the I. W. W. organization other than the 14,000 declared to be in financial standing at the convention in September? If this is the net organized result after so much energy, does not the

case call for inquiry as to whether the present lines are the right ones?

I admit fully that I may be unable to adequately weigh up the forces, and am quite conscious of the fact that if I try to draw comparisons from other countries I shall be told that the conditions in the United States are altogether different and methods useful elsewhere are not applicable here; but one's opinion may be recorded all the same, and my opinion on this matter is, that there is little or no difference in the psychology of the labor movement in the United States, and that of the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, as in the United States, some of the influential members of the unions are reactionary to a degree; they are entirely lacking in appreciation of the real meaning and spirit of class solidarity; they have no knowledge of the real nature of the class struggle; they are quite willing that the laborer shall receive only one-half or less of the amount that they themselves receive as wages. They are primarily concerned to maintain a ring fence about their own particular craft as though the march of machinery and science were not the revolutionary agencies all well informed persons know them to be; yet notwithstanding all these hindrances the unions are the real agencies, the perfectly natural and proper economic institution through which the workers will function and in which the revolutionaries should now be at work.

It matters nothing that some present members of the unions would do all they could to resist any efforts at broadening the basis of the unions, and would do their utmost to keep them sectional—so much is to be expected—but the men of virility and clear vision must work unceasingly to counteract and to nullify reactionary effort, and the trend of the times will favor good results.

It is because we realized the genuineness of the trade union as the natural agency of the organized worker for economic activities, that we syndicalists in Britain refused to try and build up an organization outside of the unions; we knew that it was possible by sensible effort inside and outside the unions, to stimulate them to worthy endeavors. The result has entirely justified that conclusion.

When I came to the United States twenty weeks ago I refused to express opinions as to the method of organizing here, determining to wait till I had at least had some opportunity of seeing and hearing and learning, and as the result of the peripatations over not less than 12,000 miles, I am now entirely satisfied that as regards the United States, the right way to organize, to educate and to ultimately function as controllers of industry is through the unions.

If the fine energy exhibited by the I. W. W. were put into the A. F. of L. or into the existing trade union movement to hasten the day when solidarity shall be shown; all my experience says that the results would be fifty-fold greater than they now are.

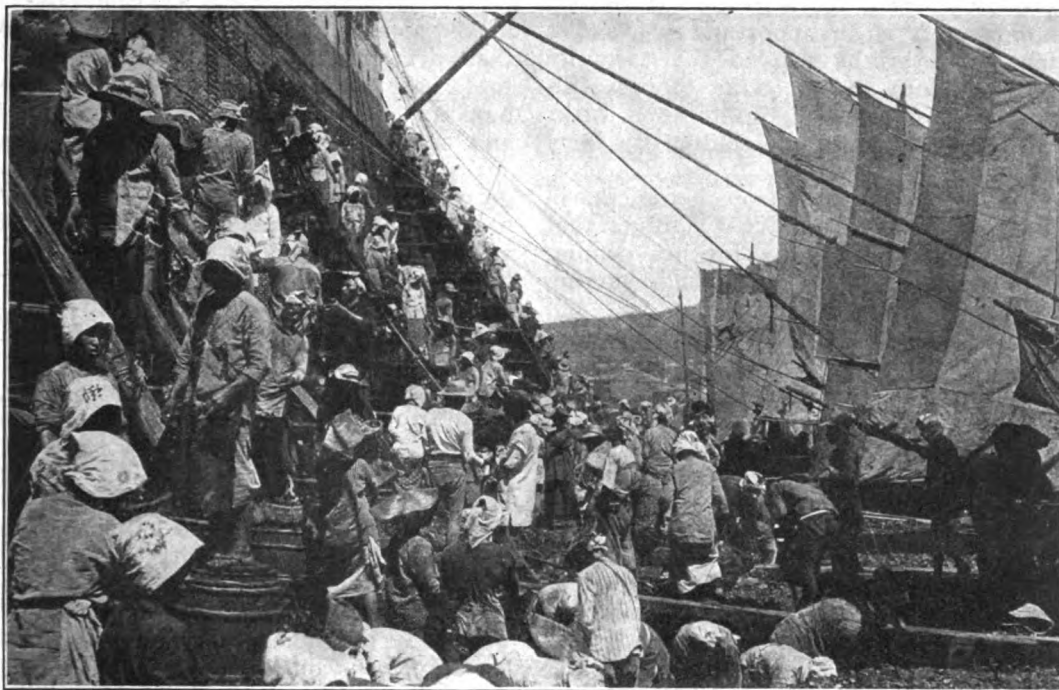
As it is, see what is happening, the I. W. W. men, genuinely in favor of the economic revolution, stand aloof from and show hostility to the existing unions, and the politicians are left free to go in and capture them.

Disaster has followed in every country where the politicians have been allowed to get control of the unions.

In every country in Europe where the politicians exercise an important influence in the unions, economic activity ceases and the hog wash of politics is in the ascendant; I hold therefore that it is the duty of the revolutionaries to become members of the existing unions, where dual unions exist, merge them at once, unite all on the basis of industry, and tactfully and persistently spread a knowledge of industrial solidarity. I verily believe three-fifths of the rank and file of the existing unions are ready for any sensible action that may be resorted to.

I urge the advisability not of dropping the I. W. W. but certainly of dropping all dual organizations and serving as a feeder and purifier of the big movement. Line up with the rest. It is pitiable to find A. F. of L. men berating the I. W. W. and vice versa; it is at this hour hindering real working class progress, and staving off the revolution.

We need now a Holy Crusade to rope in all workers, to make industrial solidarity a fact, and then to achieve the economic and social revolution. May it come soon.



JAPANESE WOMEN COALING SHIP.

COALING WOMEN AND PROSTITUTES

By Marion Wright

THE ways and means of exploiting the labor of women are as many and varied as the sounds and scents out of a tropic night, but it remains for that land of never ceasing wonders—the Land of the Rising Sun—to provide a task for the fairer sex that is not to be found in any other section of the globe.

If there is any labor harder than taking coal out of the ground it is getting it into the bunkers of an ocean-going ship, and this work of coaling ship in Japan, especially in the great port of Nagasaki, is done by women. There is a single reason for this—the same that lies behind the exploitation and degradation of women in every clime—profit.

A contractor who agrees to place so many tons of coal in the hold of a great

ship—eager to be on her way to pile up dividends for her owners—finds that by employing a great number of women at practically nothing he can make more out of the job than by hiring fewer men at higher wages. And then a woman on a job of this kind, even though she be a little Japanese less than four feet high, may do more than swing a basket of coal, as we shall learn later.

Writing in the conventional way a conventional traveler says of the work of Japanese women at coaling ship:

"In short, the women of Japan coal ship. This, to many, brings a vision—a sweating, steaming, laboring, inky nightmare of toil and grime. But it is not so in Japan. To the women there who coal ship the coming of a steamer is an event

and the work is more in the nature of a holiday. It is an opportunity to add a few more bright yen to the carefully hoarded store, and the *petite*, though willing, longshorewomen, go to their tasks with the gay banter and chatter of a bevy of high school girls.

"When the steamer drops her anchor in Nagasaki a flotilla of coal lighters that have been standing by for her coming are warped alongside. Then a staging gang sets to work rigging ladders and staging over which the workers swarm from the laden scows to the open coal chutes. This work is done by a crew of men, but when the preliminary work is done the women take a hand. They arrange themselves in lines from the piles of black diamonds over the staging and onto the deck of the vessel. Some remain on the coal piles to fill the small, shallow baskets, using light shovels. Once the basket is filled, it is snatched up and tossed along the line; or, rather, up the line precisely like a pail of water goes down the line of a volunteer bucket brigade in case of fire. Up, up, mounts the basket, propelled by sinewy hands until it is capsized over the yawning chute above. Another follows and then another in lightning succession until it is as if a great broad, endless belt were lifting the coal. The women work like busy bees, humming, chattering and laughing, and the work never ceases until the boatswain above cries enough.

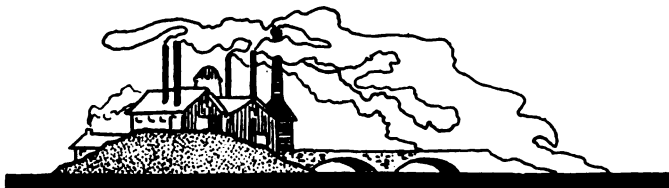
"The record for the coaling women of Japan is 3,500 tons taken aboard in eight hours, and while this may seem almost incredible it is nevertheless true. But the white linen wrap which they wear about their heads when coming to work, like the be-ribboned dust-caps of our own housewives, present a woefully different appearance when the word is passed to cease work."

But our conventional traveler overlooked something. Of course he watched the work from the safe, clean heights of the upper deck. Had he explored the bunkers, or had he interviewed soldiers and sailors on home-coming transports coaled by Japanese women he would have gathered items that would undoubtedly have been blue-penciled by the careful editor of a conventional capitalist publication.

The contractor has a double string to his bow who employs women to coal ship. Some of these women do not tarry long on the lighters, wielding a "light" shovel, nor do they remain in the line that sends the baskets up. They swarm over the ship's side with the baskets, spread to the lower decks and hide in the bunkers or secret places where they sell their bodies to the polyglot that makes up the steerage.

An army transport homeward bound from the Philippines, carrying a thousand or more men, hundreds of whom are not allowed ashore, is a rich prize for the coaling women who practice prostitution. The contractor attends to the matter of bribing petty officers to see that the traffic is not interfered with, and his returns from the prostitutes is more than enough to pay the honest laboring women who put the coal aboard.

The women who coal ship are of the lowest and poorest classes, a few cents a day being sufficient for the handful of rice and piece of fish upon which they subsist. On the other hand, the women of the men who own the ships and coal, lead a perfect butterfly existence, their environment being more like our conception of fairy-land. The contrast of the filthy, sweating coaling women, and the doll-like women of the rich is only one of the inevitable results of capitalism in Japan.



THE GERMAN CATHOLIC UNIONS

By Richard Perin

TO Socialists the advance of the proletarian movement in the United States appears to be very slow.

But the reason for this is our own impatience. A truer gauge of progress is to be found in the fears of our opponents. The tremendous spread of Socialist sentiment and knowledge may be measured by the alarm created thereby in the camp of the enemy. The increased activity of the capitalists and their agents, both State and Church, in the fight against Socialism should be for us a cause of rejoicing. But it calls for more than mere satisfaction, it also demands an intelligent forecast of the measures to be used against us and careful study of the methods by which these intended attacks should be met.

The purpose of this article is to call attention to a movement now impending in this country in which the Catholic Church will play the dual part of principal and tool.

The reactionary element in the labor unions of this country are usually found to be that portion of their membership which adheres to the Catholic faith. This is entirely logical for the reason that the Church, which always exacts the strictest obedience, has through its infallible mouthpiece denied the existence of the class struggle, condemned Socialism and set its face squarely against any real effort on the part of the workers to better their pitiable condition. The Church knows, better than some Socialists appear to know, that clericalism and Socialism are antagonistic, that intelligent class-consciousness is destructive of the Catholic faith, that a fight to a finish between Socialism and Catholicism is inevitable.

Now, the spread of Socialist sentiment, if not of Socialist knowledge, throughout the union movement has been so rapid of late that the Church is beginning to fear that it may lose some of even the most ignorant of its still servile subjects. The capitalists also are filled with dread and are begging the Church to save them

from the rising tide. This the Church is exerting its utmost to do.

For months it has been conducting a quiet and underground preparatory campaign. It has been paving the way for the establishment here of labor organizations founded upon principles similar to those of the Christian Trade Unions of Germany. According to reliable authorities in Germany, including the organs of the German Catholic party, the so-called Centrum, the authorities of the Catholic Church in the United States have been making an exhaustive study of the Christian Trade Unions in order that in erecting similar bulwarks against Socialism here the mistakes of the German Catholics may be avoided.

What this activity means and what the American labor movement will in all probability have to face in the very near future may best be shown by a brief account of these scab unions as found in Germany.

In Germany the efforts of the Catholic Church to hoodwink or to coerce the workers into abject submission to the capitalist class have assumed three forms, each determined by the exigencies of the occasion from which it arose.

The first, the Catholic Journeyman's Association, was organized soon after the revolution of 1848, and its sole purpose was to combat the very lively and agnostic radicalism of that period, which had led to the questioning of all authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The Catholic Working Men's Societies were founded in the sixties, soon after the birth of the German Socialist movement. These societies are conducted by the Catholic clergy, who profess that their object is to afford the membership a religious and social education. This being interpreted, means to inculcate in them a hatred of Socialism and a fear of any political or social action not sanctioned by the Church. The present combined membership of these organizations approaches a half a million.

The third and last division of these priest-ridden labor organizations is the so-called Christian Trade Unions, the formation of which was the direct result of the marvelous growth of the German Social Democracy after the repeal of the anti-Socialist laws in 1890.

It is these Christian Trade Unions that concern us most nearly, and this for a number of reasons. First, these unions represent the accumulated experience of the Catholic enemies of the working class. Unlike the others, they were made inter-denominational in character, that is, they accepted any non-Socialist worker professing a belief in Christianity, for the reason that it had been found that the purely Catholic organizations were too weak numerically to accomplish the real purpose, namely, the hampering of the revolutionary movement. In the second place it is a counterpart of these unions which the capitalists and the Catholic Church are now endeavoring to make possible in this country.

The purely Catholic form of labor union would be impracticable in the United States, especially at the present time when a wave of anti-clericalism and anti-Catholicism is sweeping the country. The resentment of non-Catholic workers would cause a reaction in favor of Socialism and all it implies in the industrial conflict, and would hasten the inevitable fight between Socialism and Church, which the latter wishes to postpone as long as possible. Naturally enough, for the Church realizes that it can never emerge a victor from this approaching struggle.

To be sure, the Vatican is opposed to the interdenominational unions, which expose the faithful Catholic to a contaminating contact with Protestants. But economic and social conditions do not alter at the nod of the Holy Father, and consequently the Vicar of Christ is frequently forced to choose between the devil and the deep sea. At least the Christian Trade Unions exclude the danger of direct infection by Socialist thought. Moreover the danger of a weakening of faith is slight, for while these unions are called interdenominational they are in reality composed almost exclusively of Catholics, and hence their

control by the priest and bishops is a comparatively easy task. Protestants shun such unions, for they yield no obedience to clerical commands and hence are free to ally themselves with organizations that their intelligence or experience tells them are genuine weapons for the amelioration of their material conditions.

Every American unionist knows how bitterly the Catholic Church has fought Socialism in the labor unions through its servile tools, such as the Militia of Christ and similar secret alliances. But from now on there must be expected more energetic and more open attacks. Of course the very fact that the Church is being forced into the open is a sign of proletarian progress and is to be welcomed. It will also prove a benefit to the Socialist movement of this country by forcing some of our half-hearted leaders to assume an honest position in regard to the Church and bourgeois morality in general, and it will disgust thousands of the more intelligent Catholics with their own Church.

But nevertheless this new attack by Church and capitalist will require great courage and sagacity if it is to be properly met. Otherwise there is danger of a retardation of the working class movement. For the Catholic prelates of America are the most cunning and Jesuistically clever of all, and in addition they will have the benefit of years of German experience in organizing and conducting scab unions.

As in Germany, we may expect well-trained "Christian" agitators and organizers, whose sole purpose will be to sow dissension and to spread distrust of radical organizations. With Catholic working men paying their dues into union treasuries controlled by the priesthood, it is inevitable that a large part of the funds will be diverted from their legitimate purpose and used in conducting an immense anti-Socialist campaign.

The other methods that will be employed by the Church to hamper and disrupt the labor movement it is easy to learn from what the Church is doing in Germany to prevent the workers from improving their material condition.

With the agents of this "Christian" church, treachery and lies are a commonplace, scabbing on the non-religious or-

ganizations a pious duty. Of course the primary aim of these Christian scabs is to prevent strikes and to preserve economic peace although the workers may be starving. But when conditions become so terrible that the fear of hell in a future world fades in comparison with the fearful hunger and poverty in this, and a strike does break out, then the leaders of these priest-directed unions make it their business to bring it to an abortive end as quickly as possible. An instance or two will show the method.

During the past year conditions became so intolerable in the silk-dyeing industry of the Rhineland that the workers showed a tendency to rebel. The free, or non-religious unions began preparations for a strike. The leaders of the Christian unions, counselled by the Catholic priesthood, ordered their followers to hold aloof. But the distress was too acute. Women and children were suffering. Economic conditions proved stronger than the injunctions of the Vatican. The rank and file of the Christian unions forced the leaders to join hands with the free unions. A solemn agreement was entered into by both unions not to give up the fight until victory was won, or until such time as both should admit that defeat was inevitable.

This fact was most repugnant to the clerical directors of the religious organization, and they insisted that the Christian workers forswear themselves and commit an act of supreme treachery toward their brothers. The Christian leaders dickered with the employers, received assurances of special consideration and declared the strike off. When the workers refused to take part in this treacherous act their leaders issued a proclamation that automatically expelled from the Christian Union all who were not at work within a limited number of hours. It must be said to the credit of many that they braved expulsion and the eternal damnation with which they were threatened. But there were not enough of them, and the strike was lost exactly as the priests had intended it should be from the very beginning.

In the Ruhr District of Germany the condition of the miners has been contin-

ually deteriorating since 1907. In 1910 demands for higher wages were formulated by the free unions. Long and fruitless negotiations followed. A strike was proposed in the fall of 1911, but the leaders of the Christian unions (their membership is large in this district, being about a third of the total of the organized miners) replied that the time was unpropitious, that it would be best to wait until after the Reichstag elections, etc. Twice the "Christian" scabs, relying upon their numbers, succeeded in averting the strike. But in March, 1912, it broke out. Then the Christian Trade Unions were obliged to show themselves in their true colors. They shrieked for the police and soldiery to protect them while at their vile work of scabbing, they invented stories of horrible atrocities committed by the strikers upon scabs, and they finally incited the authorities to such an extent that infantry, cavalry and even artillery were poured into the district. The government drove the strikers back to the mines like a gang of negro slaves.

Of course such events are not absolutely unknown in this country. The treachery of the Golden tribe at Lawrence and Paterson, obviously inspired by the Catholic Church, is too recent to be forgotten. But such isolated and poorly organized attacks can be easily met and overcome, as was so completely accomplished by the I. W. W. at both places. But when the Church organizes its forces for such vile attacks upon and treachery of the workers, how shall these be met? The question deserves serious consideration.

Naturally, situations cannot be met before they arise, and it is possible that the plans may not succeed to the extent of its authors' hopes. But nevertheless the workers should be warned of what the Church is trying to do—the Catholic workers, in order that they may understand the overtures made to them, and perhaps gain a little insight into the true nature of the Church; the non-Catholic workers in order that they may use every effort to close up their ranks and to nullify in advance the effect of any attack by organized "Christian" scabs.

COMPETING WITH THE MACHINE



ROUNDER BOOTMAKER—ENGLAND.

Rate Paid, Three and One-half Pence Per Pair. Time Taken, One and One-half to Two Hours.
Weekly Earnings, Seven to Nine Shillings.

IN the recent investigation of the wages earned by women working at home in England it was found that some of these sweated folks were unable to make more than two dollars a week even when they worked sixteen hours a day.

Of course we remember that it is the **COST** of living in a country that determines the point below which wages cannot fall for very long. Working people have to be fed and housed just the same as horses do—if they are to appear on the job. These sweated English workers are able, after a fashion, to exist on \$2.00 a week.

But the speed pace grows harder and faster every year and the price paid to these women per piece is falling constantly lower because the machine process has entered the field and is gradually lowering the cost of production. Every year the factory system crowds the sweated

workers closer to the wall. Every season sees them toiling more madly for a smaller pittance.

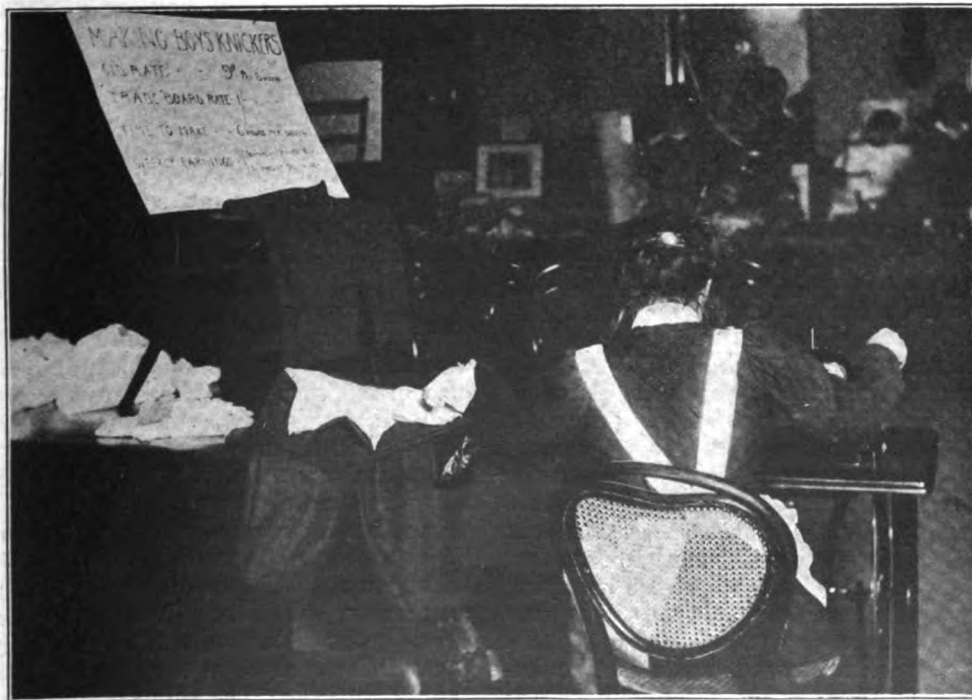
Seven cents is now the price paid for making a pair of boys' shoes at home, and from eighteen to twenty-five cents for a dozen pairs of boys' knickerbockers. Women earn the magnificent sum of five and one-half to six cents for producing 144 tobacco boxes.

It is impossible to organize the workers in the sweated trades. In hundreds of cubby holes, dark corners and tipsy shacks they toil from the time they arise in the morning until they can no longer hold up their heads and hands at night. No human agency can force a rise in the price of their labor power when the goods they make can be produced cheaper by machinery.

It requires time and leisure to become



MATCHBOX MAKER—ENGLAND.



MAKING BOYS' PANTS—ENGLAND.

a thinking revolutionist. It is the factory process that gathers workers together in large groups with like aims and needs. It is the machine process that produces class consciousness and class solidarity.

When the last machine shall have abolished home sweat work, these English workers will follow their trades into the

factories or will be thrown idle. In either case they will be better off than they are today. With nothing to lose they will arise in their might and fight for life. In the stress of the struggle for existence will they see and use the weapons that will mean the abolition of the wages system.

BERNARD SHAW ON INCOMES

Mr. Bernard Shaw has landed another on the British Bourgeois solar plexus. He claims that an honor which he deeply craves is to be arrested and sent to gaol for sedition, for contempt of court and for treason to the British flag. He has publicly spat into the face of the powers that be and defied them to send him to prison. And the British Lion has wagged its tail and pretended to take it all as a huge joke.

It had to do this in order to maintain its "dignity". It dared not take up Mr. Shaw's defi because it knew full well that his pen is sharper than any two-edged sword and that he would make it the laughing stock of the whole world.

And now the Metropolitan Magazine reports Mr. Shaw's brilliant speech at an English banquet wherein he has the effrontery to demand EQUALITY OF INCOME for EVERYBODY. Again bourgeois wooden heads rocked in silent merriment. He was TOO funny! Nobody could take him seriously for taking him seriously would be something more than a very serious matter.

"Equality of opportunity," says Mr. Shaw, "is eternally impossible. How are you going to give everybody in this room equal opportunities with me in writing plays? The thing is, I say, a ghastly mockery. In one sense it might be said 'well, any of us are welcome to try our hands at play-writing.' I might say that and smile. But I am quite safe in saying that to the majority of you it is just exactly like saying to a beggar: 'Well, my friend, Mr. Barnato made a large fortune; you have the same opportunities as Mr. Barnato; go and make that fortune;' at which Mr. Barnato would smile; but

it is no use at all to the beggar. The fact is that you cannot equalize anything about human beings except their incomes.

"Now suppose you do not agree, suppose you think there should be some other standard applied to men, I ask you not to waste time arguing about it in the abstract, but bring it down to a concrete case at once. Let me take a very obvious case.

"I am an exceedingly clever man. There can be absolutely no question at all in my case that in some ways I am above the average of mankind in talent. You laugh; but I presume you are not laughing at the fact but only because I do not bore you with the usual modest cough and pretend to consider myself stupid. Very well. Take myself as an absolute, unquestionable case. Now pick out somebody not quite so clever. How much am I to have and how much is he to have? I notice a blank expression on your countenances. You are utterly unable to answer the question.

"In order to do so you would have to compare us in some quantitative way. You would have to treat human capacity as a measurable thing; but you know perfectly well that it is not a measurable thing. Taking some person whom we will call X, an average man, you may think I am fifty times as clever as X; and you may think that I, perhaps, ought to have fifty times as big an income. But if anybody asks you: 'Where did you get that numerator of fifty from, and what does your denominator represent?' you will be compelled to give it up. You cannot settle it. The thing is impossible.

"Suppose you find a man starving in the streets. You are sympathetic; you give

that man sixpence. Suppose that man, instead of buying some bread and eating it, buys a bottle of scent to perfume his handkerchief with, and then dies of starvation, but with the satisfaction of having his handkerchief perfumed! You will admit that this man is an unsound economist, will you not? You will even declare that he is a lunatic. Well, allow me to tell you, gentlemen, that is exactly what this country is doing at the present time. It is spending large sums on perfuming its handkerchief while it is starving and while it is rotting.

"How are you going to remedy that? As long as you have inequality of income, that mad state of things is compulsory. If one man has not enough money to feed his children properly, and another man has so much that after feeding, clothing and lodging himself and his family as luxuriously as possible he has still a large surplus fund, you will find that the richer man will take his surplus purchasing power into the market and by that purchasing power set the labor of the country, which ought to be devoted to producing more food for people who have not enough food, to the production of 80 h. p. motor-cars, and yachts and jewels, and to the construction of such towns as Nice and Monte Carlo. The thing is inevitable.

"If you were to attempt to do away with money and with purchasing power, then you would have, in order to satisfy your nation, to ascertain what every man particularly wants and likes; and as that would be impossible, you would have to give every man exactly the same thing with the consequence that the man who wanted a race-horse as a luxury would get a gramophone, and the man who wanted a gramophone would get a race horse.

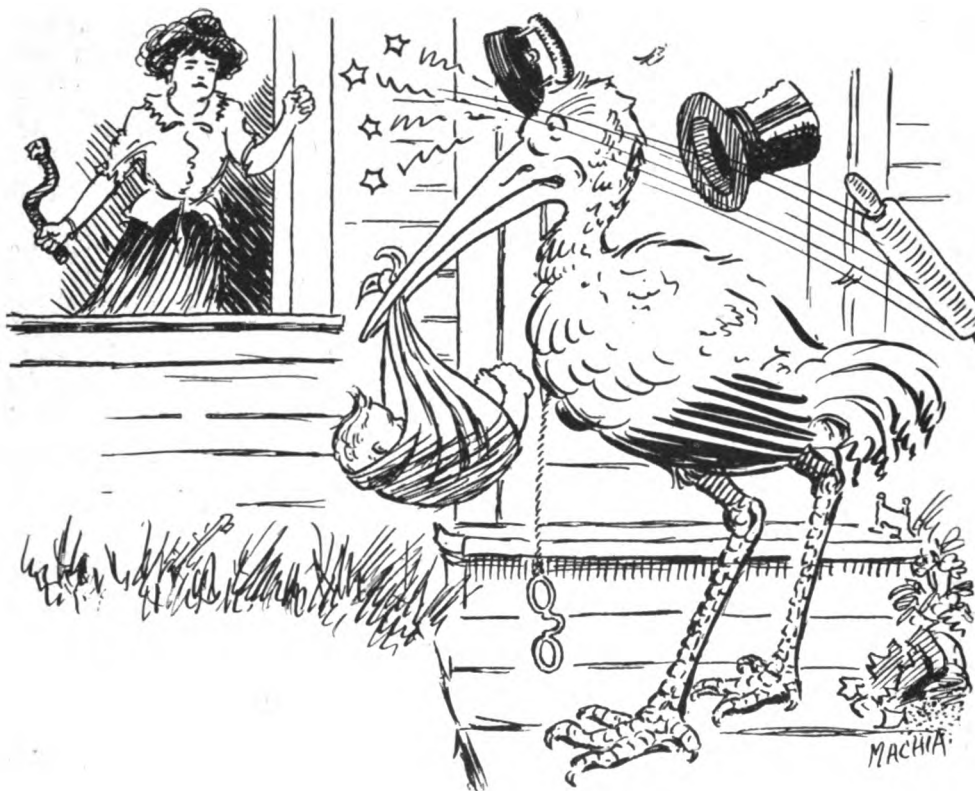
"In order to enable men to determine production according to their own tastes, you must give a man his income in the shape of purchasing power. By that purchasing power he determines production; and if you allow the purchasing power of one class to fall below the level of the

vital necessities of subsistence, and at the same time permit the purchasing power of another class to rise considerably above it into the region of luxuries, then you find inevitably that those people with that superfluity determine production to the output of luxuries, while at the same time the necessities that are wanted at the other end, cannot be sold and are therefore not produced. That is the economic argument in favor of equality of income.

"The ideal that we need to bring before the people of this nation and every other nation, is the gentleman's ideal. What is the ideal of the gentleman? The gentleman makes a certain claim on his country to begin with. He makes a claim for a handsome and dignified existence and subsistence; and he makes that as a primary thing, not to be dependent on his work in any way; not to be doled out according to the thing he has done or according to the talents he has displayed. He says, in effect: 'I want to be a cultured human being; I want to live in the fullest sense; I require a generous subsistence for that; and I expect my country to organize itself in such away as to secure me that.'

"Also the real gentleman says—and here is where the real gentleman parts company with the sham gentleman, of whom we have so many: 'In return for that I am willing to give my country the best service of which I am capable; absolutely the best. My ideal shall be also that, no matter how much I have demanded from my country, or how much my country has given me, I hope and I shall strive to give my country more than it has given me; so that when I die my country shall be the richer for my life.'

"Such a man never says: 'I want a handsome and dignified existence, but a less handsome and dignified existence is good enough for other people!' He never says it nor thinks it. It is part of his conception of a handsome and dignified existence that it should be an existence shared with other men enjoying the same grace and dignity."



THE BIRTH STRIKE

By William J. Robinson, M. D., New York

[Reprinted from *The Critic and Guide*.]

THE evening of August 29, 1913, will remain strongly impressed upon my memory, probably for years to come.

I had read in the Berlin *Vorwärts* that on that evening a mass meeting under the auspices of the Social Democratic party would take place, at which the subject of the limitation of offspring would be discussed. Another meeting had taken place the week before, at which several eminent socialist women, among them Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin, spoke very strongly against the limitation of offspring among the poor. They and others were to speak

again, and I decided to be present at that meeting, be the difficulties what they may. I was deeply interested to hear what apparently cultured, freethinking people, and socialists at that, could have to say against limiting the number of children among the working people of Germany. That being a socialist was not always an absolute guarantee against being a fool—on some occasions at least—I always knew.

We were at the place at 6:40 p. m., but when Mrs. R. saw that even then there was a large crowd, covering the stairs, sidewalk and extending into the street, she told the

chauffeur to turn around and take her back to the hotel, and I remained alone among the thousands of German *arbeiter* and *arbeiterinnen*, who were standing packed like sardines, patiently waiting for the doors to open. At 7 sharp they opened—it was like the opening of sluices holding back a rapid torrent. It seemed as if in one instant the immense hall, holding over 5,000 people, was filled to its capacity. But no, the people kept on pouring in until nearly 8 o'clock, when the police locked the doors to prevent dangerous overcrowding.

The reporters took out sandwiches and cold lunches from their pockets, and so did the men and women in the audience. I was told that they always did that. When they got through with their work it was too late for them to go home, and eat or tidy up a bit, so they had their suppers with them and went directly from the factory to the meeting hall. Waiters soon appeared with trays on which there were tall glasses of a liquid which looked like beer, and for a while the room looked more like a cheap eating place than a meeting hall. The enthusiasm, or rather the interest of the audience was intense; one could see that with them it was not merely a dialectic question—as it was with their leaders—but a matter of life and death.

I came to attend a meeting *against* the limitation of offspring; it soon proved to be a meeting very decidedly *for* the limitation of offspring. For every speaker who spoke in favor of the artificial prevention of conception or undesired pregnancies was greeted with vociferous, long-lasting applause; while those who tried to persuade the people that a small number of children is no proletarian weapon and would not improve their lot were so hissed that they had difficulty in going on.

The speakers who were against the limitation of offspring idea soon felt that their audience was against them, and then they did the one foolish thing against which speakers should always guard—they began to scold the audience, call them stupid, ignorant, egotistic, mentally lazy, etc., and they began to reproach them over and over again. It did not apparently penetrate the leaders' heads that the limitation of offspring was of personal, vital, present interest to the people. It does occasionally happen that the people are ahead of their leaders. This meeting certainly showed that

the German masses see more clearly—perhaps it is because they feel their own misery more deeply—than do some of their eminent would-be leaders.

The principal anti-speaker of this as of the previous meeting was Clara Zetkin. She is a fine, fluent, earnest, perhaps slightly hysterical orator, but real arguments against the limitation of a too numerous progeny among the poor she gave none; and for a very simple reason—there aren't any. She spoke with deep contempt of everything bourgeois, but every one of her arguments was strictly reactionary and bourgeois. Yes, the individual family might be benefited by few children; but we must not pay any attention to the individual; what concerns us is the class. The proletariat cannot improve its condition by having few children; it can only improve it by the class struggle, by revolution. And for a successful revolution we must have many children; the more children we have the more fighters. In revolutions it is not quality that is important, but quantity, etc. The good lady overlooked here a very important thing. It is not at all certain that every child born to a proletarian family becomes a fighter for the proletarian and for freedom. The chances are more than even—especially if he belongs to a family with many hungry mouths—that he may become a member of the slum or bum proletariat, a class which has always furnished hirelings to the ruling classes, strikebreakers, thugs, etc.

What particularly amused me—and pained me—in the anti-limitationists was the ease and equanimity with which they advised the poor woman to keep on bearing children. The woman herself was not taken into consideration, as if she was not a human being, but a machine. What are her sufferings, her labor pains, her sleepless nights, her inability to read, to attend meetings, to have a taste of life? What does she amount to? The proletariat needs fighters—go on, females, and breed like animals. Maybe of the thousands you will bear, a few will become party members. In what respect are such lovers of the people superior to the old tyrants and blood spillers, who bade the people breed because they needed soldiers for their armies? Those who are comfortable and well-off, and those who have few or no children must

have limitless cheek to advise the poor devils to breed like rabbits.

One plain workman elicited a great deal of applause with his blunt, brief remarks: "They frighten us with threat that if we do not have many children we will go to the devil, cease to exist. I wish I had ceased to exist long ago or had never been born," was the cry of this plain worker, which one felt came from the depths of his heart.

Two points the speakers emphasized repeatedly: that not only absolutely but proportionately the largest number of prostitutes comes from the large families (as well as strikebreakers) and that the women who are the mothers of many children can but rarely and with greatest difficulty be gotten to interest themselves in the "cause," or even in ordinary culture or literature. They have neither the time nor the inclination.

When the meeting was over at 11:30, the matter seemed to stand as follows: Whether the limitation of offspring is to be considered a revolutionary weapon against

militarism and capitalism is questionable; but that it is a wonderful measure in improving the condition of individual families, in guarding the health of the woman, and in generally strengthening the working class in their political and economic battles, about this there could be no question. And the feeling was that though Clara Zetkins and Rosa Luxemburghs and all other literal and figurative old maids could talk and scold until doomsday, the diminishing birth rate will go on diminishing still further, until such time when the people will feel that by bringing a child into the world they are increasing the sum total of human misery, ill health and wretchedness. Give the people assurance that their children will be brought up decently, will receive a proper education, will be assured of a congenial occupation, or of employment at any rate, and the women will be glad to bear children. The maternal instinct will not die out. Take away the spectres of crime, disease and poverty, and the spectre of race-suicide will vanish also.

THE PATRIOT

I am a brave young soldier,
With sawdust in my head,
I want to take my rifle
And shoot the Greasers dead!

They're mostly good-for-nothing,
They'd rather loaf than work;
Employers all declare they
Are always on the shirk!

They fuss because the Standard
Has gobbled all their oil,
They're not protecting property,
They want to keep the soil.

So I will take my rifle,
I love My Country so,
And save Poor Johnnie's oil wells,
Way down in Mexico!

So bring the good old flag! If
You've sawdust in your head,
And we will shoulder muskets
And shoot the Greasers dead!



NIGHTLY CROWD OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS CLAMORING FOR ENTRANCE TO THE MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE SIX-HOUR DAY

By Godfred Ritterskamp

CHICAGO today boasts of an army of over 100,000 unemployed men—able-bodied men, willing to produce what they need, but who are denied the opportunity. From 30,000 to 40,000 of these workers have families to support. To this number must later be added some 25,000 building trades men who are annually thrown out of employment by weather conditions. But what adds to the

terror of this army are the daily reports of curtailment of labor in all lines of business, this during the holiday season, when additional help is usually taken on. Teamsters are being let out in groups of ten and twenty at a time, three weeks before the holidays. At the stock yards the army of casuals, the surplus laborers who gather from 6:30 to 7:30 every morning outside the time offices of the yards, in the hope

of work, has increased to three or four thousand. At the steel mills the curtailment has affected thousands. Practically all the large manufacturing plants are running on orders alone. Saloons and restaurants have begun cutting down their employes, and with the close of the holiday season an immense army of clerks will be added to the unemployed.

In fact, the situation has become so alarming that the saloon men are going to ask the city council of Chicago to abolish the free lunch counters from the saloons. Their reason for asking this favor of the council is that they cannot afford to feed the great numbers of unemployed at their free tables. It is estimated under normal conditions as many as 10,000 men are fed for a nickel or a dime in the saloons of Chicago. At the present time the saloons are feeding 25,000 men and boys—more than all the charity organizations combined are doing. Ordinarily, these thousands of men depend upon the saloon for their board when they are out of a job. They can get a few weeks' credit with the landlady, but the food vendor presents his check after each meal. It is always easier to get a man to buy a drink than to "touch" him for the price of a meal. A drink is the price of admission to the free lunch counter. This is a much more respectable and healthful place to eat than the soup kitchen or the "coffee-and" counter of a charity organization.

The national army of unemployed is today variously estimated at from one to five million men, to say nothing of the women and children who are out of work. Easily one-fourth of the population of the United States today is insufficiently provided with food, clothing and shelter—the prime necessities of life—and this in a land of plenty. We have the raw materials; we have the machines with which to work the raw materials into the finished product; we have the facilities with which to transport them, and we have the labor power to produce all the necessities of life, *but*, through a system of private ownership of the machines, the workers cannot produce food, clothing and homes for themselves, hence the unemployment.

Professional Prattle of Charity Peddlers.

There is much ado about the deprivation of the poor and the sufferings of the unemployed. Clergymen, charity workers and

"public-spirited citizens" are pleading with those who, through their system of profit-taking, hold possession of the wealth of the earth, to give back to the producers of that wealth at least enough to keep body and soul together. These misrepresentatives of the workers have found that to scare the capitalists with horrid stories of riot, robbery and rebellion is the most effective way to get money out of them. So the newspapers are filled with scare headlines and columns of matter are printed about the unemployed and the wants of the poor.

But in all this charity "bunk" no attempt is made to explain the causes of unemployment. No question is asked as to why the vast majority of our boasted 100,000,000 of population is poor and a small minority is in possession of the means of production and distribution, refusing to permit the workers to make what they need. They have the "gall" to tell the public, as did the Rev. Johnston Myers of the Emanuel Baptist church in the *Tribune*, that this is no time to look for the cause and a remedy—what we need is relief, bread and coffee to eat and a capitalist newspaper to sleep in.

Just where the curtailment in business will end, no one can foresee. That conditions will be frightful, is anticipated by the charity organizations. The United Charities of Chicago has started a campaign to raise \$350,000 to relieve the distress. This fund will give to each member of the army enough to pay room rent for a week or to feed each member for five days at 15 cents a meal.

But that is not the intention. The United Charities, adjunct of the capitalist system, does not care for its unemployed army that way. Instead of paying a member's room rent, they provide him with a place very similar to a hog house, where he can wrap himself up in a newspaper and sleep for the night. They have two reasons for doing it that way. One is, it's cheaper, and the other, "it's good enough." Then, instead of giving a member 15 cents to buy a frugal meal, they will establish soup houses, very much as the farmer does for his hogs; or, as the Rev. Johnston Myers of the Immanuel Baptist church has done, they may give the "boys" a "substantial" meal every morning, consisting of bread and butter and steaming hot, black coffee—lots of coffee—to warm the bellies of the members, so they



"COFFEE AND."

can "tramp, tramp, tramp up and down the streets between dawn and dusk, looking for work," as the *Daily News* puts it.

Starvation of the unemployed prevails throughout the United States. B. C. Forbes, Wall Street correspondent for the Hearst newspapers, is authority for saying: "The United States, very unfortunately, will be strewn with unemployed this winter. At least 250,000 have already been discharged by railroad, industrial, equipment and mercantile companies. And retrenchment has only begun."

The *New York Call*, in giving an account of the opening night at the Bowery Mission, sounds the alarm from the great eastern metropolis, as follows:

"A thousand hungry and shivering men and boys lined the Bowery in the cold, early morning yesterday, from the Bowery Mission to Houston street. The line was ever increasing and hundreds were turned away when a bell rung from the kitchen of the mission, announced that the supply of rolls and coffee had vanished. The great majority of the "down and outs" were not old men, but comparatively young fellows. At least 80 per cent of the men were below the age of 35. The line yesterday was no different from any of the previous lines except that the line was larger than any other opening night."

As capitalism has become an international institution, so unemployment today is common to every modern country. In England the conflict between capital and labor has in recent years become very acute. Unemployment has long been a common problem

with the English cities. From Germany, for the first time since the commercial expansion of that nation, comes the report of an alarming army of unemployed. Berlin alone reports more than 100,000, with business curtailment at every point.

It follows that unemployment is not due to trusts, because England is practically free from trust rule. It is not due to slum life or the high cost of living, because in Germany the cost of living is very low and the cities of that country are without our modern slums. The reason for unemployment is easily traceable to the capitalist system of production and distribution under which we now live.

As the *Chicago Tribune*, in commenting on "joblessness," says: "All the philanthropic agencies in a big city can do is to stave off hunger and death. They cannot attempt a solution of the problem of unemployment."

We workers don't want the doled-out slops of charity. Take that for granted. What will help us now? Socialism, says somebody. Right. Let's take a step towards Socialism. Begin with a six-hour day. The six-hour day will give work to every unemployed man and woman. It will fill every empty stomach. It will relieve the overworked. Shorten the hours and the workers will have jobs. Raise the wages and the workers will have the where-with-all to live. Charity will then be unnecessary and the employers will disgorge some of their ill-gotten wealth.

MUTINEER OR STRIKER?

THESE are times when the members of the National Association of Manufacturers open their hearts to one another, or the congressmen or senators, or governors or judges they are about to bribe, and tell them what they think about you and me and other working men and women.

Henry R. Towne, president of the Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company has such infamous ideas of the way the workers ought to be treated that we want to lay bare his heart for your inspection. When Brown-ing spoke of his beloved Italy, you may remember that he said, "When I am dead, open my heart and you will find thereon written, in letters of gold, Italy." Well, we have had a peep into Mr. Towne's private correspondence with James A. Emery, general counsel for the N. A. M., and we have found, in his heart, written in letters of brass, the one word, PROFITS.

This is a sample of the labor millennium for which the capitalist class and their honorable (?) servants are striving. Mr. Towne writes:

"I have long held and expressed the opinion that the only complete and adequate protection of the public against intolerable oppression by organized labor in the case of public-service and public-utility corporations will consist in legislation whereby employment in the service of such corporations will be put on a quasi military footing, THAT IS, WILL INVOLVE 'ENLISTMENT' either in the form which now applies to the Army and Navy, or in the form which now applies to the police and fire departments under municipal government. Such service is voluntary, not compulsory, and no fair argument can be advanced against imposing conditions reasonably needed for the protection of the public welfare on individuals who voluntarily seek to engage in such service.

"A STRIKE by enlisted men would be MUTINY, the PUNISHMENT for which, of course, should be FIXED by LAW. Coincidentally with legislation of this kind I would hope to see legislation providing ample safeguards for the protection of all just rights of THE ENLISTED MEN, including the right of petition for the redress of grievances, with adequate provision for the obtaining of redress wherever justified."

In commenting on Mr. Towne, the *Commercial Telegraphers' Journal* says:

"For emphasis I have capitalized certain words in this remarkable epistle. It is not surprising that such sentiment should come from Mr. Towne. He was one of the first

American manufacturers to adopt the Taylor System of scientific shop management, which provides for the use of cruel speeding-up processes on workmen in order that dividends may be increased. In fact, Towne was one of the star witnesses brought to Washington by Lawyer Brandeis, of Boston, to demonstrate the possibilities of scientific management before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

"Senator Reed sharply cross-examined Towne on this letter. In answer to questions Towne declared he expects to live to see his proposition enacted into law. He estimated that 5,000,000 wage-workers would be included in his scheme of enlistment subject to punishment for mutiny in case of strikes.

"Then Senator Reed asked Mr. Towne what would prevent the extension of his system from the purely public service corporations, such as railroads, telegraph companies and the like, to the Chicago stock yards, the coal mines, the steel industry, and in fact to all industry, since all manufacturing is indirectly a public service. Towne, however, was not willing to go to this extreme.

"But is there any question that if such military enlistment were applied to purely public service corporations it would eventually be applied to all industry? According to Mr. Towne's own estimate, 5,000,000 men are now employed by public service corporations—more than a quarter of the total number of wage earners in the country. A few years of Mr. Towne's peonage would create in this country a great, disorganized horde of supine, spiritless serfs, afraid to lift their voices for fear of punishment as 'mutineers.'

"It would then be possible to extend the system to all industries, on the fair argument that all manufacture is engaged in the production of public utilities.

"We can imagine what would follow. The first step would be to deny to the American peons the right of petition, the argument being, of course, in Mr. Towne's own words, that 'service is voluntary, not compulsory, and no fair argument can be advanced against imposing conditions reasonably needed for the protection of public welfare.'

"This argument is fictitious. No labor is voluntary; all labor is compulsory, since self-respecting men must labor to live and must accept the jobs which are offered.

"Workingmen should think carefully over this Towne letter. It may have a deeper significance than the fantastic scheme at first seems to warrant."

Is there anything that stands between you and me and the conditions Mr. Towne expects to see in a few years? There is and that is why we must stand back of the Socialists and labor movement to protect and further the interests of our own class, and abolish the capitalist system.

THE MOLOKAI LEPER COLONY

By ESTELLE BAKER

FOR two years I have been living here on Molokai within a couple of miles of the Pali overlooking the world-famed leper settlement.

A pali is a precipice; an embankment of a few feet they also call a pali, here. Pronounce it Polly, you will be about right.

The pali of Molokai is 2,000 feet high in some places. A long time ago the bottom of the ocean determined to see the world and with a mighty lurch it hurled itself upward—and then was Molokai. But it also liked symmetry, and one shoulder was higher than the other; so, with a wrench that broke its bones, the undesired was thrown back into the sea—and then was the Molokai pali.

At the foot of the pali lies a peninsula—a tiny scrap compared with the island, but it contains nine thousand acres.

On this peninsula sits the leper village of Kalaupapa—a little patch, for the peninsula could hold fifty such. Some room to move about in! Yes! and still a prison!

Could the inmates climb up the pali if they tried? Perhaps, for the mules zig-zag down and up twice a week with the mail—their poor little tails sticking straight up in the air from the pull of their packs. But the pali once scaled?

The only egress or ingress of Molokai is by steamer—twice a week; which steamer, the Molokai police are required to meet. They must also know all persons arriving or departing thereby. Once the Hawaiians lived on the water; now, none owns a canoe.

It is no news to the world to say that the lepers marry and breed in the leper reservation on Molokai. Some babes are visible lepers at birth; some do not show the poison till adult life.

As soon as a child is born, it is removed to the Babies' Home, where it is kept till seven years of age, when, if no signs of leprosy have appeared, it is taken "outside"—to Honolulu.

To the babies' home the parents come once a week and, sitting afar off, may look at their children; may speak to

them; but never may they touch them. The child of the leper never knows a kiss, and the residences of Kalaupapa are childless.

At the Foot of the Pali.

Soft the step, silent the tread
Of the dead at the foot of the Pali;
Of the dead that walk;
Of the dead that talk;
The dead at the foot of the Pali.

Low the voice, and dim the eye
Of the dead at the foot of the Pali;
Of the dead that eat;
Of the dead that drink;
The dead at the foot of the Pali.

Hums the song, strums the guitar
Of the dead at the foot of the Pali.

The dead that mate

And propagate

The death at the foot of the Pali.

Weak the wail—a new born babe
Born at the foot of the Pali;

The orphaned babe;

The poisoned babe;

Born at the foot of the Pali.



A Study in Platforms

By W. E. Hardenburg

IT is generally with a quiet smile of amusement that the average member of the Socialist Party of Canada regards the platform of the American Socialist Party. And, judging from remarks made in certain quarters, it would seem that this is also the case with many American Socialists.

I believe it is generally accepted as an axiom that it is the mission of the Socialist Parties of the world to educate the workers to a realization of their slave position in present-day society and to point out to them the one and only path to freedom. If this is the case, if the Socialist Party is, indeed, an educative force and not a mere vote-catching machine, it would seem that this derision is not altogether without justification.

The first feature of the American platform is a long and labored explanation—about 1,500 words in length—of the position of modern workers and the attitude of the Socialist Party. This is mingled with much Rooseveltian denunciation of the opposing parties and the “plutocracy” in general.

We then come to the working program—“measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression.”

Of these measures, there are no less than thirty-four, ranging in character from a demand for “the municipal ownership of storage warehouses” to a plea for “the free administration of (capitalist) justice.”

Now, if the mission of the Socialist Party is really to educate the workers to Socialism, what place have these fanciful reforms in its platform? Do they not, on the contrary, serve but to obscure the one great issue? Is this educating the working class to Socialism, or is it leading the workers to believe that the present system is all right if it is only patched up a little?

But these demands are “to strengthen

the workers in their fight, etc.,” it is said.

In the first place, the Socialist Party is asking for votes on a platform that it realizes is impossible. It cannot get these reforms for the workers until the capitalists are willing to grant them. If it could, there would be no need for them, for it could then get Socialism itself.

On the other hand, if these reforms are desirable, and the capitalists are willing to grant them, they will do so through their own parties in order to get for themselves the credit for them. And, moreover, it is foolish to ask those who want these reforms to vote for a party that cannot grant them, while there is a capitalist party ready and willing to do so. This was well illustrated in the last elections when the Progressive Party so wickedly “stole” a large part of the Socialist Party platform.

Apart from this, it is a debatable question whether reforms that are acceptable to the capitalist class are of much value to the working class. It has not unfrequently happened that what was hailed as a boon has turned out to be a boom-crang.

One hears it sometimes stated that “immediate demands” have an intrinsic value in themselves, as tending to help the worker realize that the Socialist Party is “progressive” and is the only defender of his interests. While it is undoubtedly true that the Socialist Party is progressive and is the only defender of the worker’s interests, a little reflection will show that the reforms advocated in the platforms of the Progressive Party, the English Liberal Party and the Australian Labor Party are well calculated to make the same appeal to him. Again, if this were particularly desirable, it would be well for the Socialist Party to have two platforms—one to appeal to the working class voters and to be circulated as propaganda literature, and the other, representing the real position of the Party, to be confined to the initiated few.

It is also sometimes argued that these planks will guide our elected representa-

tives as to their attitude and conduct while in the capitalist legislature. Here there are thirty-four motions they could introduce and have turned down by the capitalist parties. But what if they saw a chance successfully to put through a measure of value to the working class, but not specified in the platform? There are numerous situations that might arise that are not provided for in the already long list of demands.

It is a trite saying that the way to get reforms is to advocate revolution, but the fact that it is trite does not detract from the truth of it. It is one of the first principles of "business" to demand more than one expects to receive, and it would appear that we could not err in following it.

But the most serious aspect of the whole question, and one that has been frequently pointed out by the more revolutionary of the American Socialists, is the danger of allowing the reforms to become the main object of the propaganda. It is certain that they attract a large bourgeois element, including many disreputable old-party politicians and reactionaries of all descriptions, who emphasize them until at times the vital spark—the revolutionary basis—of the party is almost lost sight of. That this has happened frequently already was clearly pointed out in Comrade Dora Montefiore's recent article in *The New Review* entitled, "Facts for International Socialists."

While I believe it is true that most of the American speakers and writers refer but sparingly to this part of the platform and strive really to educate the workers, this fact makes it still more difficult to understand why such demands and such appeals should still be allowed to befog what is really a clear and clean-cut issue. Why should these things be in the platform at all? Why not be content with stating our position and our aim clearly, simply and without using any bait?

It would almost seem that if one were to judge the American Socialist Party by its platform, the English Labor Party would appear to be quite a revolutionary organization in comparison with it.

Let us now study for a moment what the writer considers as a model platform

for a proletarian party—the platform of the Socialist Party of Canada, here reproduced in full:

"We, the Socialist Party of Canada, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to and support of the principles and program of the revolutionary working class.

"Labor produces all wealth, and to the producers it should belong. The present economic system is based upon capitalist ownership of the means of wealth production, consequently all the products of labor belong to the capitalist class. The capitalist is, therefore, master; the worker, a slave.

"So long as the capitalist class remains in possession of the reins of government, all the powers of the State will be used to protect and defend their property rights in the means of wealth production and their control of the product of labor.

"The capitalist system gives to the capitalist an ever-swelling stream of profits, and to the worker an ever-increasing measure of misery and degradation.

"The interest of the working class lies in the direction of setting itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which is cloaked the robbery of the working class at the point of production. To accomplish this necessitates the transformation of capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective or working class property.

"The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it, by political action. This is the class struggle.

"Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist Party of Canada, with the object of conquering the public powers for the purpose of setting up and enforcing the economic program of the working class, as follows:

"1. The transformation, as rapidly as possible, of capitalist property in the means of wealth production (natural resources, factories, mills, railroads, etc.) into the collective property of the working class.

"2. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.

"3. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use, instead of production for profit.

"The Socialist Party, when in office, shall always and every where, until the present system is abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: WILL THIS LEGISLATION ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND AID THE WORKERS IN THEIR CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM? If it will, the Socialist Party is for it; if it will not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it.

"In accordance with this principle, the Socialist Party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs placed in its hands in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class alone."

Here we find a clear and concise statement of the essential facts of present-day society and of the position of the Socialist Party. And instead of a large and varied number of immediate demand planks, we find the one simple rule, which is—or should be—the guiding principle of the elected representatives of any Socialist Party. This rule is applicable to all the situations and all the circumstances that the thirty-four immediate demands are, as well as to any others that might arise.

It may be urged that this platform is "vague" and "indefinite." It may be, but Socialism itself is as yet somewhat vague and indefinite. We cannot yet announce the details of it. All we can do is but to outline its main principles and show the basis upon which it will be raised. Hence, the platform is not at fault here. We do not attempt to specify our attitude upon each particular phase of capitalist politics that may arise. These phases change continually, and we are but mildly interested in them anyway, since it is our mission, not to help the capitalists decide whether it is preferable to have a high tariff or a low one, or whether the big capitalists should swallow the little ones or not, but to continue our task of educating the workers to the necessity of abolishing the entire capitalist system.

While to some politicians this may seem rather a narrow view, still if we wish to achieve our purpose, we must stick to it. We must not allow ourselves to be led off on side issues, no matter how fascinating or how popular they may seem. For us, there is but one issue, and if this is true, why should we burden our platform with demands that bear but slight, if any, relation to our purpose?

Bearing this fundamental fact in mind, it is to be hoped that the next American Convention will make a better job of the platform than did the last.

THE CATHOLIC THREAT AND THE A. F. OF L.

THE Thirty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. was held in Seattle the last week in November. Sam Gompers was re-elected President, and Frank Morrison was elected Secretary. Governor Lister welcomed the delegates and Mayor Cotterill of Seattle fell all over himself in trying to make the delegates appreciate how much he admires their organization. George W. Perkins, who has been studying trade union conditions abroad, reported that in Germany "the industrial form of organization obtains to a considerable extent, which form of unionism has its disadvantages." Mr. Perkins continued as follows:

"Without in any way discussing or be-

ing understood as favoring dual organizations of the so-called Christian (Catholic) unions, the fact that the unions were and are today to some extent committed to Socialism, and against the Church, gives these dual unions and unionists an excuse to organize as such." Then followed a back-handed slam on Socialism and Socialists. Evidently Mr. Perkins means to keep Socialism out of the A. F. of L. and welcome the Catholic Church within the fold.

Rev. Sidney Strong, fraternal delegate from the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, Right Reverend John P. Carroll, bishop of the diocese of Helena, Mont., and Rev. E. J. O'Day, bishop of the diocese of Seattle, a Holy Catholic Trinity,

were among the guests of honor. This is a sample of the hint Bishop Carroll threw to the leaders of the A. F. of L. "It would be very impolitic for labor to favor any theory of economics that would be useless to labor itself and at the same time must incur the enmity of THE CHURCH. Millions there are of the laboring class that belong to the great Catholic Church. They love their religion as their very lives. They love it more than their lives because they know that by it they are put in possession of the good things of life, etc., etc." Bishop Carroll declared that the report of conditions in Germany and the organization of Catholic (scab) unions there impelled him to speak.

He continued: "The fact that the unions were and are today to some extent committed to Socialism and against THE CHURCH, gives these dual (Catholic) unions and unionists an excuse to organize as such. I hope the day will never come when it will be necessary to divide the ranks of labor in the United States."

The Miners' Magazine in reporting the Convention has the following today:

One of the busiest men in the hotel lobbies of Seattle during the convention was one Father Peter E. Dietz of the Militia of Christ. Father Dietz was in conference with a number of delegates who are members of the Catholic church, and it is said that when Catholics as delegates in the convention showed by their expressed convictions that they were advocates of political and industrial solidarity and favored co-operation with the Socialist party in the advancement of the interests of the exploited class, the Reverend Dietz became indignant and demanded to know why Catholics as delegates gave their support to any resolution that looked with favor on blending

the forces of the labor movement with the Socialist party to uplift the cause of labor.

It is said that Father Dietz in angry tone declared: "If you try anything that will tend to aid the Socialists, the Catholic church will be compelled to disown the American Federation of Labor and begin organizing Catholic unions."

Such a declaration raises the question: "When did the Catholic church own the American Federation of Labor?"

If the Catholic church is to *disown* the American Federation of Labor, unless the policy of the Federation meets the approval of Father Dietz and the hierarchy of the church, then it is to be presumed that the church has now an *ownership* in the American Federation of Labor.

The threat is made that unless the American Federation of Labor shall pursue a policy that shall meet with the sanction of the church, then Catholic unions will be organized.

Organized by whom?

By the prelates of the church, who are opposed to any policy in the American Federation of Labor that is not opposed to Socialism.

Now who will prevail in the A. F. of L.? Shall the Catholic Church succeed in driving out all Socialists or shall Socialists be given a place in the organization? Judging from the welcome given representatives of the Catholic Church and the scant courtesy extended to representatives of the working class on the political field, it looks bad for us.

It behooves all members of the A. F. of L. to ponder these things carefully. The Catholic Church stands for the propertied interests and against the exploited workers. If it succeeds in controlling the A. F. of L., as it very nearly does today, the A. F. of L. will become a mere tool to be used by exploiters of labor, through the Catholic Church, in crushing any and all real rebellions against the master class.



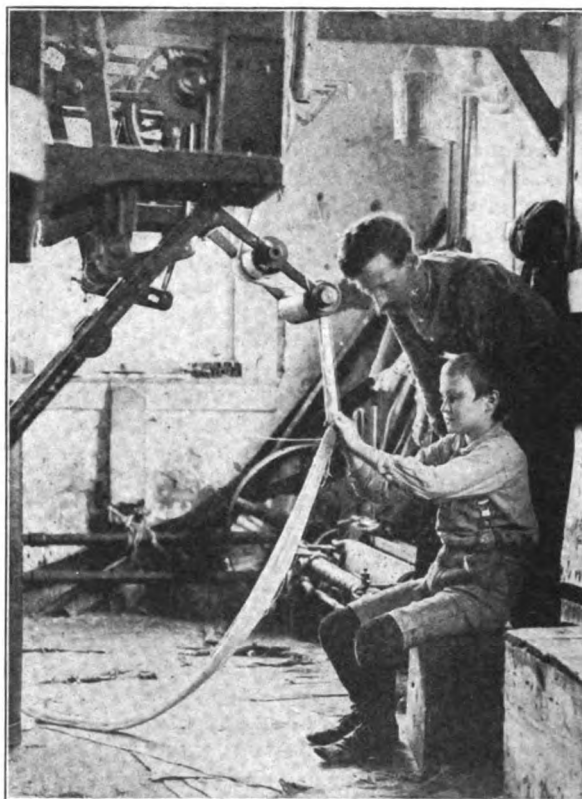
FRANK BOHN
TEACHER—ORGANIZER—LECTURER—
WRITER

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AMONG THE COTTON MILLS

By Ellen Wetherell



THIS BOY HAD BEEN OPERATING A WARPING MACHINE TWO YEARS IN A NORTH CAROLINA COTTON MILL WHEN THIS PICTURE WAS TAKEN.

MY sister came and placed a book in my hands, her finger pointing to a paragraph on the open page. "Read that," said she. I took the book and turned its leaves to the title page. "Handbook of South Carolina—Resources, Institutions and Industries of the State."

Then I turned back to the open page and the paragraph indicated by my sister, and asked: "What is this you so desire me to read? What is it all about?"

"Read, read," urged she, and, obeying, I read aloud:

From August Kohn's Summary of the History of the Cotton Industry:

"The South Carolina Homespun Company of Charleston (1808) was the most important and pretentious undertaking in the cotton mill industry up to that time. The exercises incident to the laying of the corner stone brought a gathering of three thousand people, and the occasion seems to have been one of great importance in Charleston.

The address was delivered by the Right Worshipful William Smith and is a general dissertation on the beauties of labor and the glories of the State of South Carolina. "It is most interesting to read," continues Mr. Kohn, "after one hundred years what Mr. Lloyd, the head of the Masonic order of S. C. said in a most memorable address about the prospective cotton mills": * * * 'Here will be found a never-failing asylum for the friendless orphans and the bereft widows, the distribution of labor and the improvements in machinery happily combining to call into profitable employment the tender services of those who have just sprung from the cradle, as well as those who are tottering to the grave, thus training up the little innocents to early and wholesome habits of honest industry, and smoothing the wrinkled front of decrepitude with the smiles of competency and protection. Here, too, will be found an everlasting refuge for those unfortunates of other climes, expatriated, with their useful talents, by the iron hand of unrelenting despotism, or the intolerable pressure of taxation and hunger and wafted by the sighs of fellow-misery to seek liberty and bread on these happy shores.'

I stopped reading and looked up at my sister. Her face was working strangely. "Is it a case of laughter or tears?" said I. "Chadband and little Joe?"

My sister instantly recovered her composure. "Neither," said she. "It is a case for work." And as she spoke she took my hand and led me to the window. "Look there!" My eyes followed hers, over beyond the city streets, away to the barren hillside, where the smoke of mills was obscuring the pale blue sky, leaving a black, lazy serpent trail along the horizon.

"It is a case of work to unionize 75,000 men and women mill slaves on Class Conscious lines." "But from this book we have just read—" I protestingly interrupted. "Yes, yes, I know—we will go into the mills today," Again I protested. "Oh, such a beautiful day. The air is so warm and dry—not at all like March—and the streets are so clean. Let us wait."

"Fifteen hundred men, women and little children go into the Olympia cotton mill at seven o'clock in the morning and remain there until six at night," my sister answered.

We made ready to go. Within sight of the Granby mills I noticed the windows

were very white and opaque. I spoke to the motorman of the trolley car to ask why the windows of the mill were painted. The man turned a droll look on the conductor who stood beside him, gave a loud guffaw, and said: "So the 'hands' can't see out."

There were a group of small children waiting at the great iron gates. They had pails and baskets in their hands. It was near the noon hour and they were there with dinners for their fathers and mothers. "Oh," exclaimed I, "how pinched they look, how old, how hungry and forlorn!" Then I put a question: "Do you work in the mills?" "No," answered the tallest of the group. "Mother and father do, and I stay at home to mind the children."

"How many children, and how old are you?"

"I'm ten, and there's six of us."

"Then, you don't go to school?" I asked.

"N—o. I have to mind the children," drawled the child.

The brazen clang of a bell rang out. The children huddled closer to the door with their baskets. The great iron gates swung slowly open to let forth an ill-clad, unfed, grimy and greasy horde of men, women



MOTHERS OF THE FUTURE.

and children. They all walked with a shuffling step, as if Mother Earth was as slimy and slippery as the floors of their mill prison. Some remained behind to eat their dinner in the mill. One-half hour for the meal—in five minutes there was nothing left inside a pail or basket.

Said the superintendent: "Married women make the best workers. They are more docile, settled. *Yes, children are employed under ten years. The law is easily evaded.* Children are good help. Their little fingers can handle the threads without breaking. Yes, I believe in children working here. My boy is in the mill; couldn't keep him out. Just yu 'uns come in an' I'll show yu aroun'."

We followed the shuffling step of the "cracker" superintendent into the mill. We looked on as he lifted the white, foamy cotton from the wicker crates which was waiting the spindle. "Fine," said he. "God! what a place," I cried. "I can't breathe here. I can't walk these slimy floors."

Just then the looms started; the deadly buzz began, thicker the atmosphere grew with cotton lint. Choking, I tried to talk, to ask questions. But in vain. The noise of the machinery drowned my speech. Then my sister spoke. "Shall we go out?" "No, no," I cried, "not until we see more." Down the long, long weaving room we went, between the Draper, Massachusetts' looms, noting the children at work—the superintendent's boy, a youngster of ten years, chewing tobacco and "spitting" as dextrously as a "bar-room loafer." We saw the stooping mothers, the stooping fathers, the little, little girls painfully reaching up their thin arms to tie the threads. There was no hope in their eyes, no smile on their faces, no childhood in their ways.

"Ten hours, did you say, Superintendent, these women and children work here?" "Yes," replied he. "but that is nothing. The children on the night shift work eleven hours. It keeps them out of mischief, and gives them money to spend."

He invited us to go on up to the next floor, to see the next process in cotton cloth making. Instead, we went over to the Olympia mills. "Maybe," I urged, "we may find things better there." My sister smiled incredulously and shook her head.

The Olympia mill is the largest in the world making fine cotton cloth. It has upward of 100,000 spindles; it employs near-

ly 1,500 men and women, and some 300 to 600 children under sixteen years. Today all the mills in Columbia have merged their interests and are running under one head. I spoke to my sister of this, and she said the mill workers must take a lesson from the manufacturers and when they *awake and organize*, it must be in "*One Big Union for their own protection.*" The superintendent was very courteous to us. (Of course, we did not tell him we were Socialists.) But he hesitated about allowing us to go over the mill. We awaited his time and he came around and called up a guide. This was very much like the Granby mills, only on a very much larger scale—more stooping men, a larger number of pale, stooping women, a higher per cent of little children, a thicker atmosphere of cotton lint, more greasy stairs—a greater noise from more and heavier machinery, more painted windows, a severer discipline, and a more general air of discomfort and "God-forsakenness"! "Please, what wages do you pay for ten hours' work in the weaving room?" I asked of the superintendent. "From \$1.00 to \$1.25 for men operatives, and \$1.00 for women. Children get all the way from 25 cents to 75," was his reply. He added: "Wages have steadily advanced during the last ten years."

"And what of the great advance in dividends?" was on my tongue's end, but I refrained. Instead, I asked: "Why are not the windows open this warm day? There is no air here!" "The air in a cotton mill must be very warm and kept at an even temperature to prevent the oil of the machinery from thickening, and the threads from breaking," he replied. "And what do you do in summer, when the mercury runs up to 100 degrees?" Nonchalantly, the man said: "Oh, we sometimes spray the mills on the outside, but these people are accustomed to hot weather."

"You don't employ negroes?" I asked. "Not many," he replied. "The 'nigger' goes to sleep at the loom. It is the monotonous hum of the machinery that he can't stand."

My sister and I went out from the hot, lint-laden, oily, lifeless air of the room—out into the warm, sunny streets of beautiful Columbia—out among the hills with their aromatic pines—out into the spaces where snow never falls, and where the winds of winter come not.

As we went on to our abiding place, we

passed the "homes" of the mill slaves, two and three-room shacks, all owned by the Corporation and rented to their slaves for \$2, \$3 and \$4 per month; schools owned by the Corporation, and churches owned by the Corporation. *"The 'hands' are very re-*

ligious," the superintendent had told us, "and we take pains to foster this spirit."

Pointing to a shack perched on a hill much as an eagle's eyrie hangs over a cliff, my sister said: "That is one of the 'homes'."



From the Masses.

RACE SUPERIORITY.

The Local Headquarters As a Social Center

By

Frank Bohm

IF THE Socialist party wishes to succeed in the matter of organization it must do more than confine itself to political agitation. Young working people who are worth while do not come to the Socialist movement because they see the vote growing. The vote grows wherever we attract, hold and develop a force of active people. As a movement we must not expect to rely wholly upon our promise to perform wonders in the future. We cannot get something for nothing in the present. We must render service for service. Herein lies the main motive for the establishment of the social and educational center. This is not a luxury but a necessity of Socialist progress.

In the absence of accurate statistics it is a reasonable estimate that one-half of our working people between the ages of eighteen and forty years are unmarried. Immediately surrounding the business center of every large city is the zone of the cheap rooming house and proletarian restaurant. Here the young worker, male or female, gets a room for two-fifty per week, and his dinner (soup, coffee and pie included, if you please), for thirty cents. It would be interesting to know just how many young workers swarm in the great rooming house district of Chicago between the river and North avenue and west from the Lake to Orleans street. There must be at least 20,000. This army, clerks and apprentices, skilled mechanics and common laborers, nearly as many women and girls as men and boys, is a field dead ripe for Socialist propaganda and organization. Its counterpart exists in every city in the land of over 100,000 population.

Into this mass the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. thrust their roots. The decaying protestant churches, furnishing free music, cake and ice cream instead of the old-fashioned prayer meetings, work these districts with funds contributed by the rich philanthropist, who seeks salvation and notoriety. These young people want above all, amusement. They work eight or ten hours a day at the most deadening labor. Their wages, after their absolute necessities of life are paid for, leave almost nothing for amusement. Two forms of recreation are universal—the movies and, during pleasant weather, walking in the park, if they are fortunate enough to be near one. For the boys and young men there is, of course, a third resort, namely the saloon and the pool room. The saddest commentary possible on the intellectual condition prevailing among this army of young people in the Chicago district described, is the fact that the great Newberry Reference Library, located in the heart of this district, attracts none of them. Our young American workers have no opportunities for either intellectual development or decent social intercourse. Ten in a rooming house live ten lonely, hopeless lives.

The Great Precedent.

From the social and political movement of Germany, which developed in the middle of the last century, the German labor movement inherited a large degree of its political and intellectual idealism. The German Turn Verein was a popular athletic movement, the influence of which spread into every realm of the workers' lives. The Verein developed a system of athletic exercises in which everybody could take a part.

In America our young clerk or factory slave, with every limb and organ stifled from want of exercise, takes the only half dollar which he can save from his weekly pay envelope and pays it into the bursting coffers of the baseball trust. This trust hires eighteen men and pays them salaries to take the exercise for eighteen thousand anaemic slaves and overfed business men. Such is "sport" in America.

The German Turn Verein, adapting its exercises to individual needs, proceeded to develop not only the physical but the social life of the German workers. It organized singing societies and dramatic clubs. It founded libraries and organized lecture courses. It brought the young of both sexes together in a well rounded, vigorous and satisfying social life. What a commentary on the American city that the second generation of young Germans are content to see the turner societies of their fathers neglected and decadent.

At present the Finnish Socialists are furnishing the finest example of workers' clubs in America. Many a group of less than two hundred Finns possesses a Socialist headquarters and clubhouse worth fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. These Finnish Socialists pay a dollar a year extra dues to support their excellent Socialist college at Spirit Lake, Minn. One of the results of these activities is that, out of 150,000 Finns in the country, 14,000 are dues-paying members of the Socialist party.

The Socialist Party's Opportunity.

The Socialist party has before it a clear field for the development of a real social and intellectual movement among the workers. From the feeble efforts now being put forth by the average Socialist local or branch, it ought to be easy enough, through careful organization, to develop what we here have in mind. Practical results are what we want. In this article we can but describe the ideal and make suggestions for the beginning of a movement toward its realization. If one local or branch headquarters can really succeed in accomplishing what we have in mind, others can profit by its experience. What we are anxious to find are locals and branches ready to proceed along the lines we here indicate.

The practical way is to begin with what we have and develop it. The average local in a city of a hundred thousand or branch in a larger city has a business meeting once

a week or twice a month. It arranges propaganda street meetings during the summer months and conducts Sunday evening lectures in the winter. Very few have as yet tried to do more than this. Some have organized a class in economics, a Socialist woman's club, or a chapter of the Young People's Socialist League. In almost all Socialist headquarters there are a few books and Socialist papers. The social side of the branch organization has been almost totally neglected.

The Social Center of the Future

The headquarters and social center should be located with great care. Of course, it should be easy of access to all sections of the district which it aims to serve. For instance, in Columbus it should be near Capitol Square and not more than a block from High street. In the Harlem of New York, on 125th street, near some elevated or subway line. Let it be remembered that most workers will not walk far. Therefore, it should be centrally located and easily accessible by street car.

The institution should begin with at least a large and a small hall. The small hall should be used for local meetings, classes, and perhaps it will at first serve as a reading room. The large hall, which may be rented to other organizations a portion of the time, can be used both for mass meetings and lectures and for dances and other social events. One of the most important features of a social center is the clubroom. Opportunities should be here offered for conversation and games. Membership in the party should carry with it all the privileges of the social center, but the opportunities of the social center should not be confined to members of the party. Control of the center in all of its activities should be entirely maintained by the party membership, otherwise there is danger that the Socialist character of the institution be entirely lost.

The main purpose of the social center is its educational work. Almost all young working people will desire to read widely or pursue some definite course of study if the whole atmosphere of the center is permeated by intellectual ideals. The reading room of the club should contain not only the regular Socialist and labor periodicals, but also a selected number of interesting literary and scientific publications.

The organized educational work naturally takes two forms—the popular lecture and

the study class. The former has been already so well developed as to need no emphasis here. The latter are harder to develop. Nine out of ten of our Socialist study classes end in failure. The common cause of failure is either the lack of a teacher or the fact that half the members of the class wish to displace the teacher. Pedagogy is a science and teaching is an art. No bricklayer is permitted to "butt in" on the plumber's job nor does the machinist tell the carpenter how to build a stairway. If a class in Socialist economics, government or natural science is organized, a capable teacher should be put in charge. The class should be conducted quite the same as it is in an up-to-date public school. That means that the teacher must outline and conduct the work of the class. It is far better to start with a class of ten who will continue throughout the season, completing the work as outlined, than to start with a hundred and end up with none at all. A class should not be asked to meet oftener than once a week, and sessions should not continue beyond an hour. The Socialist movement is now quite able in most cities to secure the services of a professional school teacher to conduct such a class. Classes in economics and government can usually find instructors among our party teachers and writers. The course, when organized, should be planned to include a certain definite number of meetings. We suggest either twelve lessons, which will take three months, or twenty-four lessons, which will take six months.

Naturally, the first class organized will be for the study of Socialist economics. Other subjects recommended are the government of the United States, federal and state; the government of municipalities; an introduction to biology; the history of industrial society; and the industrial history of the United States.

Almost every young Socialist wishes to become a speaker and should be given the opportunity to develop his talents. But this desire should not interfere with the work of the study class. A debating society or public discussion meeting should be organized separately. A committee elected at the first meeting, with the assistance of the membership, should choose subjects for discussion for a month in advance. The election of a new chairman at each meeting gives opportunity for training in that ca-

capacity. Usually speeches should be limited to three or five minutes. For some meetings debates may be arranged with leaders who are given ten minutes each to start the discussion. This open forum will give vent to the oratorical powers of the young members which otherwise will be a continual disturbance to the regular party meetings or the work of the study classes.

Whence the Funds?

The first question to arise in the minds of the experienced party workers is, How can these activities be financed? Let us repeat what we have already observed, that such an institution cannot be established in a day, but must develop gradually. Where valuable work is done, it can easily be paid for. The money can be drawn from two sources. The people who are served by the institution will gladly pay their share. Then the Socialist party has a large number of ardent sympathizers among the skilled mechanics and people of the professional and middle classes who are in a position to contribute liberally if they see results. The less they do in active service the more they are willing to be called upon to pay. Requests for contributions from party members and sympathizers should not be made in a haphazard manner. The financial committee of the local should be composed only of experienced and trustworthy members who are willing to devote much time to formulating and executing plans pertaining to the budget. To burden the membership at the local meeting with all the intricacies and detail of accounting is the quickest way to drive members away. All the work of organization should be carefully planned in committee and reported for action to the local. Regular quarterly financial statements can be mimeographed and sent by mail to each member. This method specializes the work and inspires confidence.

The Socialist party is soon to meet the carefully organized social and political work of progressivism. The middle class, assisted by the intelligent members of the plutocracy, are even now hunting for working-class brains to help brace the tottering political framework of capitalism. We should be first in the field, with an effective machinery to organize, educate and inspire the young workers, if we are to successfully make headway against the forces of progressivism. The social center is not a luxury. It is a necessity.

By BERT LEACH. With Apologies to Kipling.

STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON II

Scientific Socialism

By J. E. Sinclair



THE sub-title of our last lesson was Utopian Socialism. We saw that because of its metaphysical idealism and because it turned away from capitalist society in disgust and despair, it failed. We saw, too, that industrial evolution had not yet produced a proletariat that was class-conscious and capable of managing the industries of the world. Right here our capitalist-minded friends formulate a complaint. They announce their objections to there being so many kinds of Socialism, and yet as they leave our meetings we hear them say, "When you have heard one Socialist you have heard them all!" Well, there are several kinds of most things.

In the third section of the Communist Manifesto, all sections of which we study this month, we find various kinds of Socialism mentioned. Even in our own day we find "Christian" Socialists, "Evolutionary" Socialists, etc., but they are all more or less Utopian. But the kind of Socialism that the capitalists are worrying over is the kind that recognizes a class war between the workers and those who employ the workers, the kind that is not respectable in the bourgeois sense, the kind that is most offensive to the

bourgeoisie. It does not matter what we may call this kind of Socialism. It is hated. It is feared. It has become a world power. It is the revolutionary doctrine and tactics of the working class, the clearest theoretical expression of which was given by Marx and Engels. What the sources of its power may be and why it can put forth a claim to scientific dignity are matters that will interest us now.

It is the business of the science of physics to study matter and force. After years, yes centuries, of observation, most of the laws that govern the operation of physical forces have been discovered and applied to mechanics. In other words, a knowledge of these laws has enabled men to harness physical forces for the performance of useful tasks.

These laws are definite and demonstrable in the every-day things about us. Before they can be in the mind they must be discovered through sense-contact with matter. The laws that govern falling bodies, for instance, could hardly be arrived at by pure reasoning. Pure reason might decree that a cannon ball dropped from a balloon and falling 16.1 feet the first second would fall ten times that far in ten seconds; but actual experiment

proves that it falls one hundred times as far in ten seconds as it falls during the first second. Every physical or chemical laboratory is full of jokes on "pure reason." We saw in our last lesson where "pure reason" landed the Utopians. Even the mathematical exactness and keen reasoning of Owen couldn't build a co-operative commonwealth from the top, which seemed the reasonable place to begin building then.

It is the business of social science to discover the laws that govern social movements and shape human institutions and apply these laws in the solution of social problems. Just as the student of physics cannot get along very far without some knowledge of the laws that govern matter so must the student of social science work out and comprehend the laws that lie concealed beneath the great social forces that shape and re-shape human society.

In brief form, we have in the Communist Manifesto, a review of the historical process of civilization that has ever moved forward in a series of class struggles. It is an appeal to the proletariat, the last product of the class stratification of society, to unite and seize the world. When we consider that the Manifesto was written sixty-five years ago its optimism seems unbelievable. The thrill of immediate victory seems to flush the face. It startled the world with a new science, the science of society. It is strong meat. The evolution of capitalist society, its origin, its achievements, and its doom are scored deep into working class mentality for the first time. The evolution of the proletariat, the class that has nothing to sell but its labor power, is traced. A special historical product of a system of industry that smashed its way through feudal civilization, "the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population."

Tradesmen, handicraftmen, peasants with a sense of soil ownership clinging to them, even skilled mechanics that could once have posed as guild masters come tumbling down into the ranks of those who must look for jobs. What transforming force has broken loose in the world? Why this precipitation of classes? Why this shattering of ancient things? Why this mobilizing of the

proletarian army? Questions like these crowd each other even when we study the capitalist literature of economics. In the Communist Manifesto we get the first glimpse of a scientific explanation of the dynamic forces that move the social world.

Many years after Marx and Engels wrote the Communist Manifesto, Engels wrote *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*. After disposing of the Utopian stage of the theoretical development of Socialism we see here repeated many of the things said years before in the Manifesto. But no longer do we find the stirring appeal. In its stead we find scientific certainty of success. Since the days of the Manifesto, Darwinism had opened great intellectual vistas and dialectic reasoning had come to stay. The evolution of industry pointed out in the Manifesto with its attendant class struggles had now its undisputed parallel in the biological world with its evolution and its "struggle for existence."

Engels shows how "the new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalist mode of using them". Capitalist society having reached its complete evolution, painful contradictions are everywhere apparent. But while the evolution of capitalist production was reaching its climax it, by its very development, was organizing, drilling, solidifying, and educating the proletariat and thus making unnecessary any other class.

The careful reading of these two books—the Communist Manifesto and *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*—is the imperative duty of every student of Socialism. The elimination of the middle class, the decay of the whole capitalist class, and with this the passing away of the capitalist state and the whole superstructure of capitalist society are seen as but the necessary outcome of Modern Industry.

Here let us slightly digress while we introduce a book which we cannot completely cover in this course but which no Socialist speaker, writer, or student, can be without. The first volume of Marx's *Capital* is a remarkable book. The belated Utopian may not like it, for it does not tell who is going to weed the onions "under Socialism". The very capitalist society that the Utopians turned their

backs upon in disgust and horror was made the object of the most critical study by Marx, who within its crumbling shell detected with scientific precision the foetus of the new society. Hegel, we remember, found history to be a process. Marx searched for the propelling power that made it a process. The first volume of *Capital* is an elaborate study of capitalist production upon which rests the whole capitalist superstructure—political, religious, educational, artistic, and ethical.

We shall also need in our studies Engels' *Origin of the Family*.

The student of social science soon learns that he is in a realm of mighty forces, forces that may be silent but that none the less make and break men and institutions. We come to see that the things that we once regarded as tremendous forces in society, such as the Church and the State, are but the expressions of greater forces that spring from economic origins. This is why Socialist books are studies of industrial processes and the conditions brought about in the affairs of men by industrial changes—changes in the ways of making and exchanging things. The student of Marx and Engels and the other Scientific Socialist thinkers soon stumbles across the fact that Socialism is only incidentally a political thing and that it is fundamentally an industrial thing, an economic thing, dealing with the problem of our daily bread, not exclusively in legislative halls and princely palaces, nor primarily in other ways usually considered political, but down where the work of the world is being done by those who sweat.

In our last lesson we noted the far reaching changes brought about by the industrial revolution in England. Since then the industry of the world has been revolutionized. Modern industry which means power production on a large scale, and for a world market, has chased the old household industries and the crude manufacturers of a former day into the forgotten nooks of creation. The work has gone from the home to the factory and from the little factory to ever greater factories. And with this industrial change has come about a social transformation in the family, in the State, and in every human institution.

In the *Communist Manifesto* (pages 14 to 19) we find a short sketch of some of these changes brought about by the rise of the machine owners to power. It was by a scientific study of the changes brought about in society by the introduction of new methods of production and exchange that Marx and Engels were able to arrive at the materialist interpretation of history. This was the first great discovery in social science. Let us examine it here briefly and see if we can accept it.

If we close all books and go out into the world of work about us we shall find that the cream separator and butter making machinery, the telephone, the gasoline engine, the newest agricultural machinery, the development of rural electric lines, etc., are each and all bringing about an urbanization of country life heretofore unknown in rural history. These new ways of doing things are upsetting old rural ways of thinking things.

In biology we know that every creature becomes adapted to the ways in which it satisfies its primary needs. Every organ is directly or indirectly associated with food-getting, home-building, protection, or propagation. Comparatively slight changes in food-getting or in other life circumstances are soon reflected in new physical adaptations to meet the new conditions. Relics of formerly useful organs may remain for a time like our vermiform appendix, but they are encumbrances. For man is no exception. He, too, is changed by his ways of getting a living. We know a preacher from a miner, a capitalist from a timber worker, not only by their dress but by physical adaptations to tasks or lack of tasks.

In society we find, in addition to individuals, collectivities whose social forms and institutions, like the organs in the body, are shaped usually in the interest of those who control the industrial basis. Every change in the methods of production and exchange is reflected in a new adaptation of the social forms and institutions.

This brings us to the basic law of social evolution: That the way in which any given society gets its food, clothing and shelter, determines in a general way the form and structure of its institutions and to a very great degree the thoughts and

actions of the individuals composing that society. In the preface to the Communist Manifesto, Engels says in part: "In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."

Given groups having divergent economic interests, we can see how each of these groups or classes will struggle to establish the institutions that will make for its control of the food-getting process and the whole system of industry. As soon as these divergent interests appear in history the class struggle begins. It becomes the most tremendous thing in history. When interpreted in the light of the materialist conception, all history since the breaking up of the primitive gens has been a series of class struggles. We saw how the bourgeoisie in its struggle for mastery was compelled to encourage science. Since then science, invention and discovery, have been weapons of warfare between rival sections of the bourgeoisie and the workers. The workers, too, as they develop intelligence seize science as an intellectual weapon. In the conflict intelligence is developed. With the progress of science and invention, production becomes more and more socialized. The time came in feudal society when the development of capitalist production and exchange within the confines of feudal society became impossible. Class antagonism reached the boiling point; social evolution became social revolution. And as capitalist society was the result of a class war, so now when capitalist production through its own marvelous development has produced unbearable contradictions and an open class war, it is to pass away as the result of the class struggle. In its conflict with the feudal lords the bourgeoisie was a socially necessary class. Machine production and with it the organization of industry on a giant scale has transformed this class into a parasitic class whose industries are operated by salaried workers who direct their fellow workers in the interest of absentee bosses who usually know not the processes of production.

The wage class, being the only socially necessary class and being in possession of all the industrial intelligence, seizes industry and with its seizure the whole social structure of capitalist society, no longer able to function, passes away.

The class struggle becomes one of the great propelling forces of history.

There yet remains the great Marxian discovery of surplus-value. As this is touched on but briefly in the two books so far studied, we shall state it here briefly and discuss it more fully in a future lesson.

The value of a commodity is determined by the average quantity of socially necessary labor contained in it at a given stage of society. Commodities exchange at their values. The capitalist buys labor power as a commodity on the market at its value, that is, roughly speaking, at a price that will enable the laborer to reproduce his expended labor power perpetually either through himself or his offspring. But the capitalist is compelled to sell the product as a commodity and at its value, taking into consideration, of course, fluctuating circumstances, which counteract each other. Then how does the capitalist make anything? By the continual introduction of methods that will raise the productive power of the worker, ABOVE THE AVERAGE. Due to these improved methods the laborer may produce values equal to his wages in two hours and yet be compelled to work ten. The value created during the eight extra hours is surplus value. The capitalist gets more than he paid for although he gave value for value. The class struggle centers around surplus value today.

Let it be said in closing that any pretense at social science that ignores the three great forces that move society today—economic determinism (historical materialism), the class struggle, and the operation of the law of surplus value—is social quackery. The social science that recognizes these compelling forces is Scientific Socialism.

Just as in the childhood of the race the manifestations of great physical forces in nature were attributed to magical beings so do childish minds today attribute social changes to some great hero, to some god,

or to some government. We no longer need heroes, gods, nor governments in order to explain social phenomena. Socialism becomes the science of society. Mythology is banished from production and exchange.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.

Before beginning work on the following outline read both the Communist Manifesto and Socialism Utopian and Scientific through, making careful notes as you go. Always keep a note book. It epitomizes your reading. It makes you a careful reader, not a lazy one. Always read prefaces and introductions carefully.

Topics for essays, short speeches, or discussion: (1) Feudalism. (It will be best to use an encyclopedia in preparing this.) (2) Development of capitalism within the shell of feudalism. (3) Social changes brought about by capitalist production since the industrial revolution. (4) Bourgeois freedom. (5) The rise of the proletariat—its origin, its first outbreaks, its organization by the masters, its class-conscious organization. (6) The kinds of Socialism in 1847. Discuss and compare each. (7) Functions of the capitalist State or the government. (8) Functions of the church. (9) The class struggle as an evolutionary force. (10) Social production. (11) The contradictions of capitalism. (See Engels.) (12) Socialism and science. (13) Socialism and the State. (14) Surplus-value. See "Value, Price and Profit" or the last volume of Capital if accessible.

Before coming to the club meeting, after careful study, write answers to the following questions: (You do not need to agree with the texts. Write what you think. But think.) (1) Why was the Manifesto called the Communist Manifesto? (2) Give its history. (3) "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself." Do you believe this statement? If so, why? If not, why? (4) What did the working class learn in the Paris Commune? (5) What great services have the bourgeoisie rendered? (6) What injury can come from their continued rule? (7) How has machine production affected the skilled trades? Give instances to show how improvements in machinery are affecting the skilled trades now. (8) Is the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalists a national struggle today? (9) Do you believe that the working men have no country? Upon what do you base your belief? (10) What reasons have you for believing that the government is organized to protect you? (11) According to the materialist conception of history, what relation exists between the system of production and the State? (12) Since the breaking up of primitive society what has been the function of the State? (13) What is the relation between religion and the economic basis of society? (14) Would it be possible

to "abolish" either the church or the State? Give reasons. (15) Account for the formation of classes in society. (16) What determines your ideas to a large extent? Give proof. (17) Mention some invention that has affected family life adversely. (18) What has been the effect of machine production on the relations between man and wife? (19) Mention the three great discoveries of Marx and Engels and explain each. (20) Is government ownership Socialism? (21) If the State or the government "dies out," as Engels says, what use can we make of it?

Suggested Readings:

Our next two studies will be on the Materialistic Interpretation of History. In order that we grasp the full meaning of this title we should be familiar with the theory of evolution and with as many facts gleaned from works on zoology and botany as can be conveniently picked up by a tired worker. A Socialist ignorant of modern science is just as pitiful as any other ignoramus. Don't talk until you know. Darwin's *Origin of Species* and his *Descent of Man* should be in every Socialist's library or trunk. Kerr & Company does not handle these. But Kerr does publish these: *Evolution Social and Organic*, by Lewis (price 50 cents); *Socialism and Modern Science*, by Ferri (price \$1.00); *The Evolution of Man*, by Boelsche (price 50 cents); *The Evolution of Property*, by Lafargue (price 50 cents); *Origin of the Family*, by Engels (price 50 cents); *Ethics and the Materialistic Conception*, by Kautsky (price 50 cents); *Capital*, Vol. I, by Marx (price \$2.00); *Ancient Society*, by Morgan (price \$1.50).

Jack London has a good story that you will enjoy and that helps us understand evolution. It is entitled *Before Adam*. Not for sale by Kerr & Company.

Questions for Debate.

Resolved, that the middle class (storekeepers and small employers of labor) can be used to advantage in the revolutionary organizations.

Resolved, that governmental power is greater than industrial power and that capitalism can be abolished by passing laws.

Resolved, that the political organization of the working class is sufficient for the abolition of capitalism.

Resolved, that the working class should assist in maintaining law and order and the protection of capitalist property during the progress of the class war.

Resolved, that the economic factor is the dominant factor in recorded history.

Resolved, that a knowledge of the theory of evolution is needed for the understanding of Scientific Socialism.

Resolved, that Socialism is merely an economic question and as such is not related to religion on one hand or positive science on the other.

ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC

Oratory: Its Requirements and Its Rewards

PART ONE

Oratory is the greatest art known to man and embraces a number of great arts.

In music tradition furnishes the ideas. The poet clothes them in words. The composer sets these to music, and the singer renders them into song.

The orator must be able to do all of these things.

He must furnish the ideas, he must clothe them in words, he must give these a rhythmic arrangement, and he must deliver them with all the care with which a singer sings a song.

Each of these elements is of supreme importance. The ideas must be bright and seem alive. The language must be chaste and expressive. The arrangement must be logical, natural and effective. There must be a natural unfolding of the subject-matter.

The delivery requires as much attention to voice and action as is given by a singer.

Labor is the foster mother of oratory, and no man has risen to eminence as an orator without great labor.

Knowledge.

The orator must have a general knowledge of history, of literature, of religion, of the sciences, of human nature, and of affairs.

He must have a full and special knowledge of the subject he attempts to discuss.

He must present new ideas, or old ideas in a new light. And they must be lofty ideas, that appeal to the nobler sentiments of men.

Mind must commune with mind and soul must talk to soul, or there is no oratory. The soul of the speaker and the soul of the audience must become one.

Language.

The intelligent people of America use reasonably pure English.

If the speaker falls below this level he simply disgusts. If he only stands on this level he may be tolerated but will gather no laurels. Men may say, "He makes a strong talk," but this is all. It is not oratory.

If he would delight and chain his audience so that the doors of the soul may be thrown open to him, his language must have the charm of superior excellence. His words must be simple, pure, chaste and crystalline—his sentences clear, epigrammatic and sparkling, and his arrangement logical, forceful and climactic.

In attempting to acquire a superior command of language it must be borne in mind that words are only the expression of thoughts, and where the thoughts are coarse or careless, and not well arranged, elegance of language is impossible.

On the other hand elevation of thought produces elevation of language. Studying the stars and contemplating nature prepare the soul for great things.

A familiarity with polite literature is also essential and experience has taught that the reading and digesting each day of a half page or a page of some classic author, so as to imbibe his spirit and assimilate his words, will by degrees give elegance of diction and purity of strength of expression.

It is necessary to avoid slang and to be careful as to our use of words in daily intercourse. By degrees we can acquire an entirely new vocabulary.

Arrangement.

Arrangement is the third essential of oratory. Without it the effort is lost.

The subject-matter should be treated from the point from which it naturally unfolds or develops. Start with the trunk of the tree, and then take up one branch after another so that the casual hearer

can get a general idea of the whole subject, and then of its different branches, and see just what relations they bear to each other.

The heavy, the statistical and historical parts of the subject should come early and form the foundation on which to build. Then the different branches must be arranged with reference to strength and climax—using the strongest toward the last.

It is important to bear in mind that while facts are addressed to the intellect, sentiment alone can stir the soul.

An audience will swallow a whole library of statistics or arguments unmoved—while one divine flash will stir it to its depths.

To prevent facts or arguments from becoming too dry and heavy, they must be garnished with epigrams whose wit enlivens or whose sentiment inspires. That the audience may leave in high spirit, the close or peroration must appeal to the soul and not to the senses. It must point to the skies and picture the everlasting.

Delivery—Action.

But when all has been said, **delivery—action**—is the vital essence of oratory. Without effective delivery the ideas, the language and the arrangement are all in vain. There must be no trilling of the r's, no drawl—no tremor—no affectation.

Every word must be uttered with the right volume of voice, the right pitch, the right inflection; and every sentence must have the right cadence. And to these must be added the earnestness that comes from a burning soul.

It has been said that a woman ought not to sing unless her heart is breaking; and it is certainly true that no man can rise to the heights of oratory unless his soul is on fire.

The feet of the orator must walk in the sun and every fiber in his body must speak to the audience, not in rant, or quaver, but in the simple fervor of the patriot.

Gesture.

No rule can be given to determine when, where and how to gesture, except possibly the general one—be natural.

Gesture is a part of the art of expression, and, when used without meaning, it simply mars the performance.

Art will not admit of the unnecessary. From the standpoint of art it is no more permissible to have unnecessary gestures in a speech than it is to have unnecessary notes in a song.

Many a fine speech falls short of oratory because its delivery is marred by meaningless gestures.

Thrashing the air with the hands and tearing a passion is a part of rant but not of art.

There should be no gesture until the mind prompts it to emphasize or illustrate an idea.

There must not be a needless gesture nor a meaningless look. All must fit and work together—not stiffly and with self-consciousness, but simply, naturally, and unconsciously. Neither a king nor an orator should be lavish of gestures. The simplicity of the child is necessary; the slightest embellishment weakens the truth. "Art when seen ceases to be art."

Oratory is the masculine of music, and to a certain extent is governed by the same laws.

It must have rhythm, cadence, measure, harmony and at times even melody.

Manifestly, such an art can only be mastered by great self-denial and perseverance.

If years of training and effort are necessary to even set foot in the temple of music, far more is necessary to set foot on the divine platform of oratory.

Voice.

Voice is as important to the orator as it is to the singer, and it must be trained with the same care. The speaker must be able to use his voice with the same facility that a singer does, or else his achievement will be meager.

He must be able to give it any volume, any pitch and any cadence he chooses, and to change rapidly from one to the other. While music may have greater melody, speech should have equal harmony. Measure, rhythm, cadence, come unconsciously to the man who is master of his subject, has a trained voice, and is simple, earnest and natural in his speech.

The voice of almost every great orator had to be made. Generally it developed during years of practice and effort.

In training the voice it is vital to follow certain well established principles or natural laws.

Ignorance of these laws causes many public speakers to grow hoarse in half an hour. This is because they do not inhale deeply, but take the breath from the top of the lungs and form the voice in the throat. If they would bring the breath from the bottom of the lungs, throw it against the roof of the mouth, and form the voice with the lips, they could talk half a day without feeling any inconvenience in the throat. Strange as it may seem, the diaphragm must be brought into use in talking.

Deep inhalations develop the voice and improve the health. Five minutes' exercise in deep inhalation, practiced several times a day, will greatly increase the strength and volume of the voice and tend to give vigor to the whole system. Care must be taken at first, so as not to produce dizziness.

Then a daily systematic exercise of half an hour in sounding the different letters of the alphabet must be kept up.

Familiarity with the scale in music is essential in this practice, so as to be able to distinguish the different degrees of pitch readily; then run the same letter up and down the scale—first in a whisper,

then in a low tone, then gradually increasing the volume until the capacity of the voice is reached.

In all these exercises the breath must be brought from the bottom of the lungs and thrown against the roof of the mouth, and the words formed with the lips. Practice will soon teach the speaker how to use his lips most effectively.

It is not only essential to practice deep inhalation, but also to practice holding the breath, and giving it out at will. In other words, learn to husband the breath and give out no more of it in uttering any word than is necessary.

In music students spend many months and sometimes years practicing only a few notes, because when they have mastered these the voice is ready for any service.

In this manner the practice of sounding the different letters of the alphabet should be kept up, for it develops the vocal organs to their highest efficiency.

The speaker must never forget there is a close connection between the stomach and the organs of speech. Whatever affects the stomach unfavorably will at once affect the voice.

(To be continued.)

The High Cost of Living

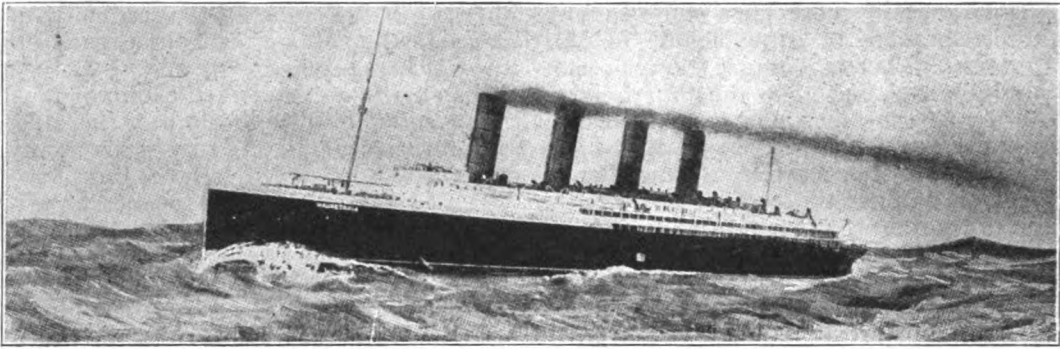
THIS is a question that is worrying the whole population of the civilized world except the millionaires. The retail prices of food and other necessities have almost doubled since 1895. This means an automatic cut in real wages, even though nominal wages may have risen a little. What is the cause?

KARL KAUTSKY

the literary executor of Marx and Engels, editor of the "Neue Zeit," and generally regarded as the ablest living teacher of Marxian economics, has written a book, which has been translated by *Austin Lewis* under the title "THE HIGH COST OF LIVING." In it he shows the effect of new machine methods applied to gold production. The book is clear, concise, and convincing. Anyone familiar with the elementary principles of socialism can master this volume in a few hours, and it will give a clear understanding of the liveliest question now up for discussion.

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CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 118 West Kinzie St. Chicago



Review Will Send Fifty Comrades to Europe.

ON THE WAY TO VIENNA

EVERY mail is bringing in enthusiastic letters from our friends who have joined the REVIEW party for the trip to the International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna, Austria, next summer.

As soon as they know that we only ask them to send in three hundred yearly or six hundred six-month subscriptions to win the trip, everyone starts getting subs.

Comrade L. H. Gibbs, a well-known Socialist physician in Scranton, Pa., has sent in 240 yearlies in *twenty* days. Up to date he holds the short-time record for securing subscriptions.

The Lima (Ohio) Socialist Party Local intends to send a representative. Every member is securing subscriptions. The comrades will work until they have secured three hundred. The comrade securing the largest list of the required number will go to Vienna as a representative of Local Lima. The comrades report that they appreciate the REVIEW offer, as well as the importance of circulating as much revolutionary literature as possible among the wage slaves.

L. T. Rush of Cedar Rapids comes across every week with four or five yearlies to his credit. Comrade Rush writes: "I never lose anything by pushing the REVIEW, as I realize that industrial as well as political organization is necessary for the emancipation of my class."

Comrade Danvers Spinney of Danvers, Mass., has entered the lists with a new bunch of names. Miss Olive S. Leavitt, the

seventeen-year-old official representative of Haverhill, Mass., has a comfortable bunch of yearlies to her credit. And Orlando L. Carpenter, a seventeen-year-old member of the Boston Y. P. S. L., expects to have the support of that organization everywhere. He hopes to represent the Y. P. S. L. at the Congress. REVIEW readers will please call this fact to the attention of the Y. P. S. L. in their local. Any sub. sent to apply to the trip of any candidates will be credited to them upon request.

Comrades Buck of Marshall, Hamilton of Hammond, and Rittenberg of McKeesport, Pa., have begun putting the REVIEW in their districts. Comrades Sauber of Niagara Falls, Effto King of Marion, Ohio; W. D. Fox of Christopher, Ill., and George Bundy of Warren, Ohio, have joined the REVIEW delegation.

Miss Kate Kidwell of Jackson, Mich., who was voted the most beautiful young woman at the Indianapolis convention by more than one delegate, intends to represent Michigan.

Don't You Want to Go?

It is an easy matter for any live Socialist to take 300 yearly subscriptions to THE REVIEW in six months. Get the backing of your local, or your local newspaper and go as a representative of the Rank and File in your vicinity. THE REVIEW pays railroad fare from any point east of Chicago and back, steamship expenses across and back and railroad fare, and \$25.00 for hotel bills in Vienna. Write for free samples of THE REVIEW and join our party.

EDITORIAL

The Battlefield of 1914

THE World's Decisive Battles," as old-fashioned historians call them, from Marathon to Gettysburg, were fought along lines two or three miles long, that one general on each side could view and direct in person. Modern battles, like those between Russia and Japan, stretch across a front of a hundred and fifty miles. But the one vital conflict, that between wage-worker and capitalist, reaches around the world, and the lines of battle shift almost as suddenly as the lines of the smaller battles.

When the ranks of friends and of enemies are shifting, it is a vital matter to see straight and shoot straight. Keep on shooting mechanically in the same direction as before, and you will very likely hit your friends and help the enemy. So it is well worth our while to search the horizon carefully for signs of change.

Fifteen years ago our big gun was Government Ownership,—“Let the Nation Own the Trusts”. It did big execution, and might be equally effective today if the enemy had not been wider awake than some of us. *They have captured that big gun and are using it*, while some of our own men are still carrying ammunition for it.

In plain English, the capitalist class has discovered that government ownership of water works, lighting plants, telegraphs, and even railroads and mines may be a very good thing for it so long as it owns the government, and it is acting accordingly.

A striking piece of evidence in support of this view reaches us just as we go to press. From the *International News Letter* of Berlin, the official organ of the International Federation of Trade Unions (with which, by the way, the A. F. of L. is affiliated) we quote (italics ours):

Since 1907 the workers in public services have created an international organization with headquarters in Berlin. At its last international conference, 11 unions from 10 countries were represented by 28 delegates. The unions concerned contained 106,000 members. At the present time, the following countries are connected with the International: Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark (2 organizations), Germany, England, France, Holland, Luxembourg, Sweden and Switzerland. The organizations are in the form of Central Unions; they are established on the basis of the modern labor movement and include almost all grades of municipal workers and also, to a small extent, State workers. It is stated in the printed report, which lies before us, that *all these organizations are more or less opposed by municipal authorities*, and that in the matter of improving wage and labor conditions, the men have to be extremely cautious. One of the reports which was laid before the Conference, dealing with the work time, wages and protection of the municipal workers in different countries shed light on the wage and labor conditions.

On the basis of the facts which were presented, the statement was made that a number of improvements had, indeed, been made in the past years, but that standard conditions were rarely to be found. A motion prepared by the secretary was laid before the Conference. This motion stated that at the present time wage and labor conditions for the majority of the workers in Public Services do not correspond to demands which are made by the public upon these institutions. *As a rule the work-time is longer and the wages lower than in similar private concerns*. Anything which might have been done for the benefit of the worker is now being undone. *Safe conditions of working are not sufficiently guaranteed* and consequently further improvements of the conditions are desired.

The question of the legal rights of workers in Public Services was one of the most important matters discussed, especially in regard to the “right to combine” and “the right to strike.” After statements had been made as to the legal position in the various countries a resolution was unanimously adopted which made a short protest against any inroads being made on the suffrage, combination and strike rights. The workers in Public Services in all countries were invited to make use of all existing means provided by the modern labor movement to entrench themselves in a strong position and to mutually support each other with financial assistance. A

united organization was recommended as the best weapon and best means of defence against all attacks on the right "to combine and to strike" and the workers in Public Service were asked to strengthen and increase the ranks of the defenders by means of active recruiting work.

Government Railways in the U. S.

Not only is it practically settled that the United States government will proceed at once to build and operate railways in Alaska; we have the authority of the *Chicago Tribune* for the statement that Senator Kenyon of Iowa, with the approval of the heads of the Santa Fe and the Baltimore and Ohio railways, is about to present to the Senate an argument for the purchase by the government of the entire railway system of the United States. The *Tribune* says:

The railroads now are reaping the whirlwind as punishment for the high handed methods they applied for so many years. They are being crushed between the federal government on the one hand and the states on the other. They are compelled to charge traffic rates which they insist are inadequate to enable them to meet expenses of operation, development, and extension and to pay reasonable interest on the capital invested.

President Ripley of the Santa Fe said yesterday:

"Government ownership of all railroads is coming, as certain as fate. The legislatures hamper and cut our profits and labor unions take what is left. We are practically between the devil and the deep sea."

President Willard of the Baltimore & Ohio, who spoke for the railroads before the interstate commerce commission in advocacy of the 5 per cent rate increase, used this language:

"It is a mistake to think that the problem is merely a question of dividends to railroad stockholders, although that feature is, of course, involved. The problem in a broad and true sense affects all interests, and the outcome of this particular case, whichever way it is decided, will mark an epoch, because it will in effect largely determine whether we shall, as in the past, continue to look at private capital and private enterprise for our transportation requirements or be compelled finally to accept the only alternative possible."

First Step in Alaska

Undoubtedly the first step toward government ownership will be in the authorization of the construction of the Alaskan railroads. The bill for this purpose will pass the senate next month and the house probably during the winter.

If that experiment shall prove a success nothing will be able to stop the acquisition and operation of all lines by the federal government.

It is contended by advocates of the plan that it will be to the advantage of the people as well as the railroads to have government ownership and operation. They point to the parcel post as an example of what results may be obtained. Parcel post has proved a boon to the people. The system has brought reduced charges on the transportation of packages, and the government has a surplus in the treasury.

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, is opposed to government ownership. He does not believe it would be in the interest of the men. Congress notoriously objects to increasing wages. Government clerks in Washington have been appealing for years for an addition to their salaries without success.

The recent award by the arbitrators in the matter of the application for increase in wages by the conductors and trainmen in eastern territory will give approximately \$6,000,000 annually to these men.

Why Gompers Opposes.

Samuel Gompers takes the logical craft union position. The immediate effect of government ownership would be to kill off the "community-of-interest" unions which in return for comparatively high wages for the more highly skilled workers have helped the railway owners to keep the unskilled workers in subjection. If the railways were run by U. S. experts, one of the first changes would naturally be to electrify at least half of the lines. This would make it practicable to displace engineers drawing \$8 a day by motormen at \$3 or \$4 a day. On the other hand the unskilled workers would pretty certainly be treated better than now, both as to hours and as to wages. On the other hand to strike for better working conditions would then be a "crime".

This new development is of vital interest to the Socialist Party. We have enough confidence in the good sense of the membership to be sure that this reactionary stand of the craft union leaders will mark the end of their influence inside our party. In due time, economic evolution must replace them with new men of the type of Tom Mann. Meanwhile it clears the air beautifully to have this proof that the craft unions, as represented by their highest officials, are bitterly opposed to even a "step at a time" in the direction of the Socialist demands.

For the rest, let us cherish no illusions as to any immense benefits to the wage-workers from government ownership of

railroads, or of mines, or of anything else, *so long as the capitalists own the government*. This proposed law is a capitalist measure pure and simple. The capitalist class finds that it will soon be unable to feed and control its slaves under old-time capitalist methods. State capitalism is the next logical step. Under it the private capitalist will gradually disappear, and the opposing classes will be bond-holders and wage-workers. While the bond-holders are in the saddle, the condition of the wage-workers will improve but slowly. The struggle will be mainly on the economic field, but meanwhile the Socialist Party can render valuable help by standing firm for the right of wage-workers to organize, whether they be working for a capitalist corporation or the capitalist State.

State Capitalism Already Here

What we have been discussing is "not a theory, but a condition". Things are moving so fast that if you have not read last night's dispatches, you are liable to have an inadequate idea of the extent to which government has already taken over the transportation systems and allied industries. Within the last few days before our going to press with the REVIEW, four official announcements have been made, all of the highest importance. The Alaska Railways bill has been given an early date for consideration in the Senate; it may even have passed by the time this issue is in the hands of its readers. The parcel post rates have been still further reduced; this means that the transportation of practically all small packages will be car-

ried on by the government. Finally, Postmaster General Burleson has just given out an interview in which he says that "there is a concerted demand from every section of the United States for public ownership of telephone and telegraph lines" and that "there is a widespread feeling that this step is the logical successor to the parcel post, and our improved postal system". And in Secretary Daniels' annual report he says he thinks that the time has come when the Navy should be freed from excessive prices charged by private manufacturers of armor plate, guns and gun forgings, powder, torpedoes, and the other supplies and munitions, so the Secretary recommends appropriations for an armor plate factory to be run by the people under government ownership. The Secretary also urges oil wells and refineries to supply the death dealing monsters with fuel.

What We Socialists Should Do

It is time for us to stop "advocating" in our platforms and propaganda the enactment of "public ownership" laws such as the capitalist class is already beginning to enact in its own interest. Let us make it clear that we welcome such legislation *on the part of the enemy*, because it will be easier and simpler to expropriate a capitalist state than a multitude of capitalists. But let us also make it clear that we are as much against the exploitation of wage labor by the capitalist state as by the private capitalist, and that we propose to end this exploitation by the revolt of the wage-workers, fighting as best they may, in the shops and at the polls.

From a Soldier in the U. S. A.—"Kindly renew my subscription for the coming year, as I don't care to be without the valuable magazine a month. This is how favorable I wish to speak of the good your magazine will do to the workers, and also keep me posted on what the working class is doing."
—J. F. N.

From the Navy.—"Having found and read a copy of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, I am enclosing \$5.00 for subscription and Socialist books. A lot of the men out here are interested in Socialism and some literature would be just what they need."—Shanghai, China.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The People, The Government, and the Socialists in Germany. Again it has been proved that when it comes to a real fight against tyranny the Socialists are the only real political representatives of the people. The Prime Minister of the German Empire has openly defied the Reichstag. He says officially that when it comes down to a plain issue the Emperor is the ruler. And the Socialists are the only ones to stand up and fight him.

It all grew out of what looked like an insignificant incident in Alsace. Early in November the Governor of this province, the direct representative of the Emperor, told his soldiers that they would be rewarded for abusing the citizens. The citizens got excited and hooted the soldiers. A certain lieutenant ordered a charge on them and succeeded in valorously wounding a lame shoemaker, who was the only one who could not make his escape. There was a storm of protest throughout the empire. The troops were removed from Zabern, the town where this little drama took place. The Socialists asked for an explanation from the Prime Minister and concluded by moving a vote of lack of confidence. Their motion was carried by a large majority. Herr von Bethmann Holweg conferred with the Kaiser and then told the Reichstag that their vote was nothing to him. The Socialists proposed that the Reichstag reply by refusing to vote a military budget. If they had had the support of the other parties, this would have brought matters to an issue. But at this point the others fell away. They are willing to talk bravely, but not willing to fight it out with the Kaiser on the other side.

All this may not lead to great immediate results. But it will lead to great results in time;—perhaps at the next parliamentary election. It tears away the mask of friendliness from the face of the Kaiser and the ruling parties. It reveals the government as what it really is, a military despotism. And it puts the Social Democratic party definitely before the country as the only representative of elementary freedom. All this clears the

way for revolution. Of course, the mere winning of real parliamentary government would be no great thing; they have had that in other countries for over a century. But at present all signs point to the fact that a parliamentary victory will mean a Socialist victory.

England: For some time here we have had a committee inquiring into postal grievances and wages. So many of these have failed to bring the postal employes any relief that one wonders at the woodenheadness of the trade union people in asking for another. There is a strong agitation going on at present among the more advanced of the rank and file for one union for all postal workers, thus following the lead of the railwaymen in whose ranks a fusion has taken place, resulting in the birth of the National Union of Railwaymen. This railway workers' union has a membership of 188,000 and it is the biggest union in England. If the union of postal employes is consummated, they will lead the way numerically in industrial unionism in this country. The Civil Service Socialist Society, a militant society of government workers, has taken a prominent part in this agitation and can justly claim a good share of credit when the industrial union is organized. With the advent of a real, live workers' paper, like the *Daily Herald*, the cause of Socialism has received a much needed fillip. This paper is decidedly militant and will help to develop a greater fighting spirit in the minds of the workers. In times of strikes or election this paper will prove to be of inestimable value. Formerly at an election, the workers had no means of knowing about their own Socialist candidates and the progress of Socialist propaganda and organization. The teachings of Socialism make a distinct impression upon the workers who have never realized that men from their own class are running for office in the interest of the working class. It takes the Britisher a long time to move, but when he does, he usually gets there!

F. W. DUNN.

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**After You Have Used Stuart's Calcium Wafers and
Rid Your Blood of All Its Impurities.**

The abolishing of all skin disorders must begin with the blood. Lotions, salves, cosmetics, etc., will do no material good. The trouble comes from within and there the remedy must be applied.

If you really desire quick action and at the same time a common sense, natural, harmless blood purifier, then Stuart's Calcium Wafers is this remedy.



**"After Using Stuart's Calcium Wafers
My Pimples Went Away Like Magic."**

The correct and best blood purifier known to science is—Calcium Sulphide. This great cleanser is contained in proper quantities in Stuart's Calcium Wafers and that is why all blood troubles and skin blemishes rapidly disappear after their use.

An unsightly and pimply face due to impure blood is one of the most disgusting sights one can see, and yet all about us, upon the streets, in the theatre, when traveling, etc., we see these horrible results.

There is no need for this condition if you will take Stuart's Calcium Wafers daily and keep all salves, lotions, cosmetics and other harmful preparations from clogging the pores.

Every first-class druggist in this country carries Stuart's Calcium Wafers, which are pleasant to take, harmless,¹ and may be obtained for 50 cents a box.

NEWS AND VIEWS

The Masses.—Art Young, whose cartoons have delighted readers of *The Masses* for many months and Max Eastman, whose editorials stick in our minds like a burr in a patch of wool, are being sued for criminal libel by the Associated Press. It seems that Comrade Max printed a cartoon by friend Art in which the latter represented the Associated Press as distorting or suppressing strike news until all became (to quote from the cartoon) "poisoned at the source." Comedy upon comedy! Now will come the little judges, the lawyers and all the other pigmy folk. And who among them shall dare to offend the stream that supplies ideas to the whole nation! Luckily the Socialist press is growing everywhere. If the REVIEW were to judge the merits of the case and define the obnoxious phrase, it wouldn't take us one-half of a little minute. Keep up the good work on the *Masses*, boys. Every time you get under the skin of the enemy you know you are that much stronger. Young and Eastman are getting all kinds of valuable help from radical writers all over the country and expect to win an easy victory.

Haywood in Dublin.—Only one month ago Haywood was ordered to take a complete rest for many months if he hoped ever to recover his old time strength and vigor, and already comes word that he has disobeyed orders. The *Dublin Daily Herald* is filled with glowing accounts of the way he has jumped into the fight in Dublin and of the enthusiasm he is arousing everywhere in the strike-locked city. Jim Larkin and Bill Haywood are billed to speak in every quarter and every day brings the hope of victory closer to the strikers. The *Daily Herald* reports: "In one sentence of his magnificent speech at Albert Hall, William Haywood pierced Mr. Bernard Shaw with the most stinging criticism that this much criticized gentleman has ever had to meet. Said Haywood, 'Shaw tells you to shoot policemen. Let Shaw do the shooting himself!' Haywood knew better than to worry. He said 'cut down the tree of capitalism that grows policemen as its fruits.'"

The Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain sends in \$1.00 for subscription to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and we are all swelled up over the event, for no less a personage than Lord Abinger is the Right Honorable treasurer of this Union, whose motto is "For King and Country."

From a Miner.—"Enclosed one dollar for REVIEWS. Sold all copies I had and could have sold more." J. E. England.

From the "Live" Ones.—The following Reds have sent in ten or more subs. during the past month:

Gibbs, Pa., 240.
Bartlett, Cal.
Curris, Mich.
Mott, Kan.
Sciarini, Ill.
Phillips, Kan., 20.
Nason, Mass.
Nicholson, Ohio, 20.
Stange, Kan.
Willensky, Minn., 1
Morgan, Ohio.
Koblik, Cal., 20.
Williams, Cal.
Asbjornson, Alaska.
Beck, Alaska.
Kaario, Canada.
Phillips, Ky., 1

Akerson, Minn., 18.
Custer, Ohio.
Fetheroff, Ohio.
Kaish, N. Y.
Butler, Wash.
Wyman, Ga.
Brockway, Mich.
Waas, N. Y.
Hurn, Pa.
Park, Pa.
Johnson, N. Dak.
Kaelber, Wash.

Cain, Ohio.
Johnson, Cal.
Rourke, Idaho.
Kanto, Mich., 25.
Schisker, Wash., 22.
Furlong, Ohio, 20.
Martin, Kan.
Auvil, W. Va.
Adair, Mass.
Deil, Alaska, 18.
Nichols, Cal.
Walker, Wash.
Skidmore, Iowa.
Plain, Idaho.
Theller, Ohio.
Elschlager, Pa.
Abrahamson, Wash., 15.

Cooper, Colo.
Ritchie, Ohio.
Pritschan, Cal.
Holt, Ohio.
Long, Ohio.
Cammack, Cal.
Zucht, Tex.
House, N. Y.
Peterson, Colo.
Mahony, Cal., 20.
Heldahl, Mont.
Steiman, Cal.

Gowganda Miners' Union, W. F. of M. No. 154.—"Enclosed please find money order for \$7.20 for the renewal of our ten REVIEWS. Trusting you will find same O. K. and that we will not miss a copy. I remain, yours for the Revolution,—A. D. Hardie, Secretary."

Socialism Becoming Popular.—Following letter from the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C., will interest REVIEW readers: "Would you kindly send to us your issues of October and November, 1913? The university plans to collect and preserve in its library the issues of the entire Socialist press of the United States for those two months. We hope in this manner to give to our students added opportunity to understand the spirit and teaching of the movement through contact with its most direct and powerful expression."

"I beg to assure you in advance of our appreciation of your kindness should you find it convenient and agreeable to comply with this request."—Wm. J. Kirby, Prof. of Sociology.

From Akron, Ohio.—"Enclosed find fourteen subscriptions for the REVIEW, which we

secured in one day, and we are donating five as Christmas presents to friends who live out of town. You know we are 'direct actionists' and as long as the REVIEW prints such articles as made up the November number you may look for all the support we are able to give it. Yours for a speedy Revolution."—Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Furlong.

From Jackson, Mich.—"The Socialist local is down and out at present. We haven't had a meeting for six months. I enjoy your magazine very much and think it is the best in the service of the slave class."—Ira Welch.

From Oregon.—"I heartily agree with the comrade who wants a weekly REVIEW for the 'Fighting Magazine' contains just the virus that the American movement needs."—D. M. DeLong.

Haywood's Story.—The Dublin strikers have published a souvenir pamphlet that is filled with working class cartoons that are worthy of our own *Masses*. In this souvenir a few of the old war-horses were called upon to contribute messages, little stories, etc., etc. Haywood tells the story of "One Black Leg" (which is the English and Irish word for scab.) "Here is a story with a little of all the elements," writes Haywood. "It happened during the shoemakers' strike in Brooklyn, N. Y. Some time previous to the strike a worker in the factory had a leg torn off. His fellow-workers made up a collection and bought him a fine artificial limb. While the strike was on, the cripple went scabbing in the Wickert Gardner factory. The fact that he was scabbing was bad enough in itself, but that the ingrate went to the factory on the leg that they paid for was more than the strikers could stand. One morning a group of them caught him, unstrapped the leg—THEIR leg—and carried it to headquarters, leaving the scab to hop home without cane or crutch."

Mexican Rebels.—Some of our Mexican rebel friends recently sent in a remittance for some REVIEW subscriptions. The Federals, who were in control of the city from which the letter was sent, have steadfastly refused to honor the money order. We have just received word that the rebels have succeeded in forcing the enemy to evacuate by turning off the entire water supply. With our friends at the helm we may confidently expect to resume our pleasant relations with our friends in Mexico.

Couldn't Put It Over.—The capitalist class, which has long persecuted J. E. Sinclair, principal of one of the Washington public schools, has failed in all its attempts to oust him. Its press has repeatedly declared that Socialists in charge of the educational institutions are a menace. They ARE—the best kind of a menace to slavery, ignorance and poverty. However, the Board of Education has refused to withdraw Comrade Sinclair's license, which means score 1 in the fight for science in the school room. We hope the comrades who are taking up Comrade Sinclair's Study Course will advise their friends that it is getting better with every number.

Improve Your Eyesight

If your eyesight is defective or you have any form of eye trouble that might endanger your eyesight, you should lose no time in investigating "Actina." Its potent action stimulates and maintains the circulation of the blood, thereby removing congestion and assisting nature to repair the defects and rest the eyesight to normal condition.



Mrs. A. L. Howe, Tully, New York, writes:—

"Actina removed cataracts from both my eyes. I can read well without glasses. Am 65 years old."

Mr. E. E. Deitrick, 7124 Idlewild St., E. Pittsburg, Pa., writes: "I will gladly recommend the 'Actina' to any one suffering with weak eyes, as it has certainly done everything claimed for it in my case."

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AGENTS

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of the REVIEW and offer copies to your friends, neighbors and shop-mates. Hundreds of comrades are already doing this, and find it easy to sell copies at 10c each. They cost you only 5c each in lots of 20 or more, so that if you sell even half you get your money back. If you can not use 20 of one issue we will for \$1.00 send you 10 copies 2 months or 5 copies 4 months. Postage to Canada 1c per copy extra, to other foreign countries 2c extra. Fill out this blank today.

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SHOZO TANAKA

By S. Katayama

WITHIN a week two notable deaths have occurred in Japan. One was the death of Shozo Tanaka, a Japanese farmer-hero, and the other was Prince Katsura. Both were figures of great importance to Socialists.

Prince Katsura was the leader of the powerful bureaucracy of Japan and the arch enemy of Socialism! It was he who persecuted Socialists so severely and conducted the infamous trial that sent Comrades Kotoku and Sugako Kanno and ten others to their deaths and twelve more to life imprisonment!

Three times Prince Katsura was Premier of Japan, but during the last period of his ministry he was forced to resign owing to the great uprising in Tokyo. After resigning from the ministry Prince Katsura formed his own political party, which failed utterly to accomplish anything. He became the most hated and unpopular man in the Empire. It is doubted if many lamented his death except his wife and his concubine, Okoi!

On the evening of the death of the great suppressor, a few of us held a regular meeting under the auspices of the Modern Thought Society. We took supper together at a restaurant and celebrated the death of this infamous man. With his death the old bureaucratic rule will crumble and decay also.

I speak of Katsura because he was the relentless enemy of all Japanese Socialists, be-

cause he, above all others, bitterly and brutally persecuted us.

On October fourth died Shozo Tanaka, a farmer seventy years of age. He was for many years a member of the Diet, having been returned many times by his friends. Long ago he began to espouse the cause of the farmers along the river Waterase, whose waters had poisoned the irrigated districts through the pollution of the copper mines. Over 300,000 people suffered through this deadly copper pollution. Rice and all other crops refused to grow in the poisoned soil. Fertile farms became waste land and famine spread along the river banks. Tanaka fought wisely and bravely to have the mine owners prevented from spreading their poison over the rice fields. Again and again for many years he spoke with the tongue of truth and eloquence of the devastation the copper mines was bringing, but growing discouraged after thirteen years of unsuccessful effort, he resigned his position in the Diet to devote his remaining years to active work among the farmers. A fertile village called aYnakumura had been confiscated by the government without the inhabitants being at all consulted in the matter. The government decided to use it as a reservoir into which flood waters were to be turned.

This meant ruin to the farmers. Shozo threw all his strength into this fight for the retention of the land for the people who had tilled it. But against the government, even he could not prevail. The villagers were driven off in the most brutal fashion.

But never did he give up. Always was he to be found fighting the cause of the farmers, with the farmers. In his work of education and agitation he has taught them many things.

When the grand old man passed away thousands upon thousands of workingmen and women flocked to pay their last tribute to one whose entire life had been spent in trying to help the conditions of his own people.

In heart Shozo was a true Socialist. He did not understand our theories; he had never studied them. Besides, he was not a scholar. From the ranks, he rose to an assured seat in the Imperial Diet. But position and comfort had no attractions for him when he saw that he could not be of service to those he loved.

And so he left the Diet and his comfortable position and returned to the ranks of the farmers, from whence he had come. He had labored with those who rule and found no help in their hands. The message of his later years was that the farmers must protect themselves. His work will bear good fruit among them as the years pass.

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The Wheatland Boys

NELS NELSON has "hanged himself" (we quote) in his lonely cell at Marysville jail—Nels Nelson with one arm shot off by a deputy sheriff on Wheatland's "Bloody Sunday." Sixteen-year-old Edward Gleaser has disappeared after being technically released by the prosecution to prevent his uncle from regaining possession of the boy through habeas corpus proceedings. Where is the boy? Are the Burns sleuths hiding him, or, possibly, has he like Nels Nelson passed beyond the cowardly mockeries of Justice as it is administered in Yuba County?

These, the most recent developments in the Wheatland cases, of which the first case comes to trial January 12, are somber as the whole story of the Wheatland trouble. There is but one bright spot in that story—the superb solidarity shown in the strike which preceded the sheriff's raid, when a motley crowd of Swedes, Mexicans, Japanese, Syrians, Americans and other nationalities, men, women and children, stood as one man for decent human conditions and a living wage. The fear inspired in Ralph Durst by that solidarity was the unacknowledged cause of the sheriff's raid incorrectly known as the Wheatland riots.

On August 4 of this year the small army of workers on the Durst hop ranch at Wheatland, Yuba County, California, met to protest against their conditions and pay. Two thousand three hundred in number, men, women and children, they had answered the flowery advertisements for hop pickers published by the Durst Brothers. Arrived there, for their accommodation they found six toilets; water lukewarm and polluted by nearness of refuse and garbage and furnished meagerly under a temperature registering daily 110 degrees (one of this thrifty family sold acetic acid lemonade at five cents a glass to the hop pickers in the field). Their pay was disgracefully small, for the Dursts saved the expense of high pole men to pull the vines down, demanded extra clean picking, and exploited the workers

further under the infamous bonus system. Most of the strikers' demands covering the above abuses Ralph Durst parried; he flatly refused the increase in pay. He was given time for further consideration, the strikers awaiting his answer.

But Durst feared their solidarity, so he sent his answer—the sheriff of the county, the district attorney and two automobiles filled with deputies, with guns full loaded and hearts bitter with scorn of the homeless man, the "blanket stiff" and his comrades in toil. Against the law he represented, the sheriff ordered the perfectly peaceful meeting the strikers were holding to disband. Without protest the strikers descended from the platform. Crazed with power, however, someone among the capitalist-owned posse fired his gun—Mr. Durst testified it was Sheriff Voss himself. The sheriff dropped his gun; a Porto Rican striker seized it. In the melee following a young Englishman and the Porto Rican were killed, also two of the attacking party, the district attorney and a deputy sheriff, while a number of others, including the sheriff, were wounded.

Within a twinkling, the craven hearted deputies, ready enough to fire on a defenseless crowd which included women and children, fled to their automobiles, leaving their dead and wounded to the miraculous gentleness of the strikers. This is the story of California's "Bloody Sunday."

Answering the call of the cowardly and bloodthirsty county authorities, the militia was rushed to Wheatland—authority given by Governor Johnson for calling out the entire state body. Victims of Bloody Sunday's outrages were arrested. The hop fields were searched minutely for guns; none were found—the "blanket stiff" knows better than to carry them, and women and children do not (as yet) run around even industrial America with revolvers. It remained for the Burns Agency to "find" guns.

It is to the methods of the prosecution in Yuba County, however, and the methods of the

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MIDDLE CLASS AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT	- - - - -	Frank Bohn
THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT	- - - - -	Theo. Rothstein
THE NEW INTELLECTUALS	- - - - -	Robert Reeves La Monte
FRENCH SYNDICALISM	- - - - -	Wm. English Walling
PHASES OF SOCIALIST EVOLUTION	- - - - -	Herman Simpson
SYNDICALISM AS IT IS	- - - - -	Robert Reeves La Monte
THE THRESHER'S WIFE, A Narrative Poem	- - - - -	Harry Kemp

With the January issue of the New Review we begin the publication of a MONTHLY REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND A SOCIALIST LITERARY DIGEST. The aim of the new department will be to convey reliable, unbiased information concerning the activities of the Socialist Parties, Labor Unions, Co-operatives, Labor Legislation, etc., the world over, and to present a succinct summary of the development of Socialist opinion in all its phases, including that of the critics of Socialism.

THE NEW REVIEW

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150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

Burns Detective Agency, that we would especially call your attention. Then, if the court in Yuba County refuses a change of venue, as the violent talk of the county indicates, you will be able to see what kind of justice these Wheatland victims are likely to receive.

No sooner had the sheriff's posse made its raid, than the Blood Hunt began on William J. Burns' field of dishonor. Dollars blew the bugle! the smell of human blood drew the Burns carrion lovers. Even into other states men were hunted—innocent men, wanted as witnesses only. From one town and jail and hotel to another they were dragged—Suhr, Nelson, the lad Gleaser and others, that the prosecution and its agents might the more safely torture, beat, drive mad and lose them beyond all tracing, to their friends. Everywhere the Burns ruffians had the freedom of the jails, for they are the servants of the Money Lords! No act was too inhuman which might wring from the broken bodies and nerves of men too honorable to be bought, fake confessions against themselves or their fellows.

Again and yet again counsel has been denied the Wheatland victims. They have been kept in jail for as long as sixty days without being taken before a magistrate as the law demands. Suhr, who had been tortured into attempting suicide in Alameda County jail, was prevented by Prosecuting Attorney Stanwood and other so-called officers of the law, from filing complaint against his assailants. Counsel has been repeatedly denied the right to see their own clients, and thus far no notary has been found in Yuba County courageous enough to take the prisoners' depositions. The shorthand reporter is not allowed to take their statements, and representatives of the press are barred from seeing them.

Such is law and order in Yuba County, in the State of California. We put it to you—Would any jury in Yuba County dare acquit these innocent men?

The defense, working against these well nigh insurmountable obstacles, is in great need of funds—money needed for immediate use. During the trial, the witnesses for the defense, workingmen, ill paid and irregularly employed at best, must be housed and fed. The working class cannot subpoena men from its own numbers and leave them to starve.

Funds should be forwarded to the Wheatland Hop Pickers' Defense Committee, Andy Barber, Secretary, at 1119 Third Street, Sacramento, California.

I. W. W. Wins.—The higher courts have failed to sustain the action of the lower courts in their attempt to railroad Wm. D. Haywood, Gurley Flynn and Tresca on a false charge of "disturbing the peace" and "inciting to riot." The lower courts were unable to prove their charges in each and every particular, so that these three fighters in the Paterson strike will not need to stand trial. Lest we forget—Alexander Scott, Sumner Boyd and Pat Quinlin are still on the rack.

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Books Received

Under this head we shall hereafter try to make a prompt acknowledgment to the publishers of each book sent for editorial notice. Certain books will receive further comment in the editorial department.

Between Eras: From Capitalism to Democracy. By Albion W. Small, Editor of the American Journal of Sociology. Kansas City, Mo. Intercollegiate Press. \$2.50. A social dialog and story, good in spite of its great length.

Gold, Prices and Wages. By John A. Hobson. New York. George H. Doran Co. \$1.25 net. A book by a "revisionist," full of fallacies and contradictions.

Social Insurance, with special reference to American conditions. By I. M. Rubinow, former statistical expert U. S. Bureau of Labor. New York. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.20 postpaid. An exhaustive work by a Marxian Socialist, who has specialized in this field.

Labor and Administration. By John R. Commons, Professor in the University of Wisconsin. New York. The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Ave. \$1.75 postpaid. An important and suggestive work on which we hope to comment further.

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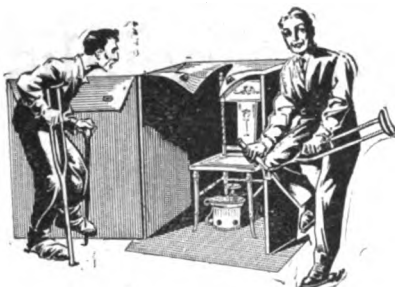
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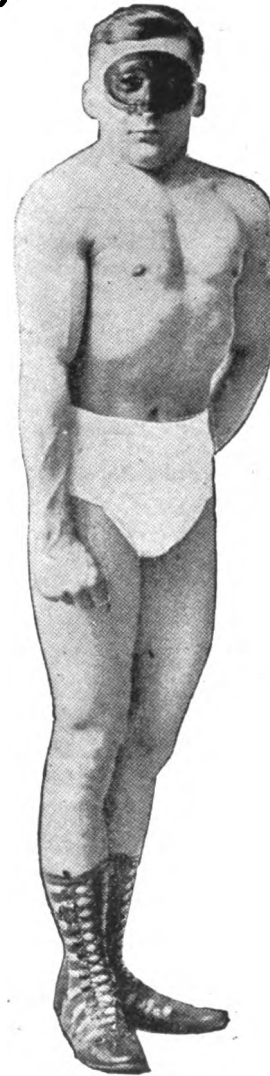
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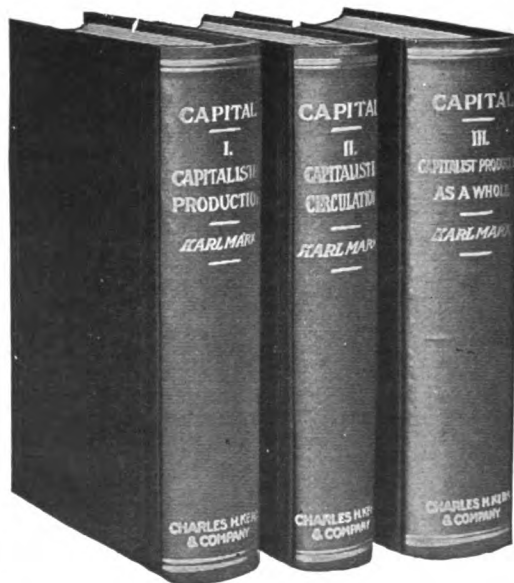
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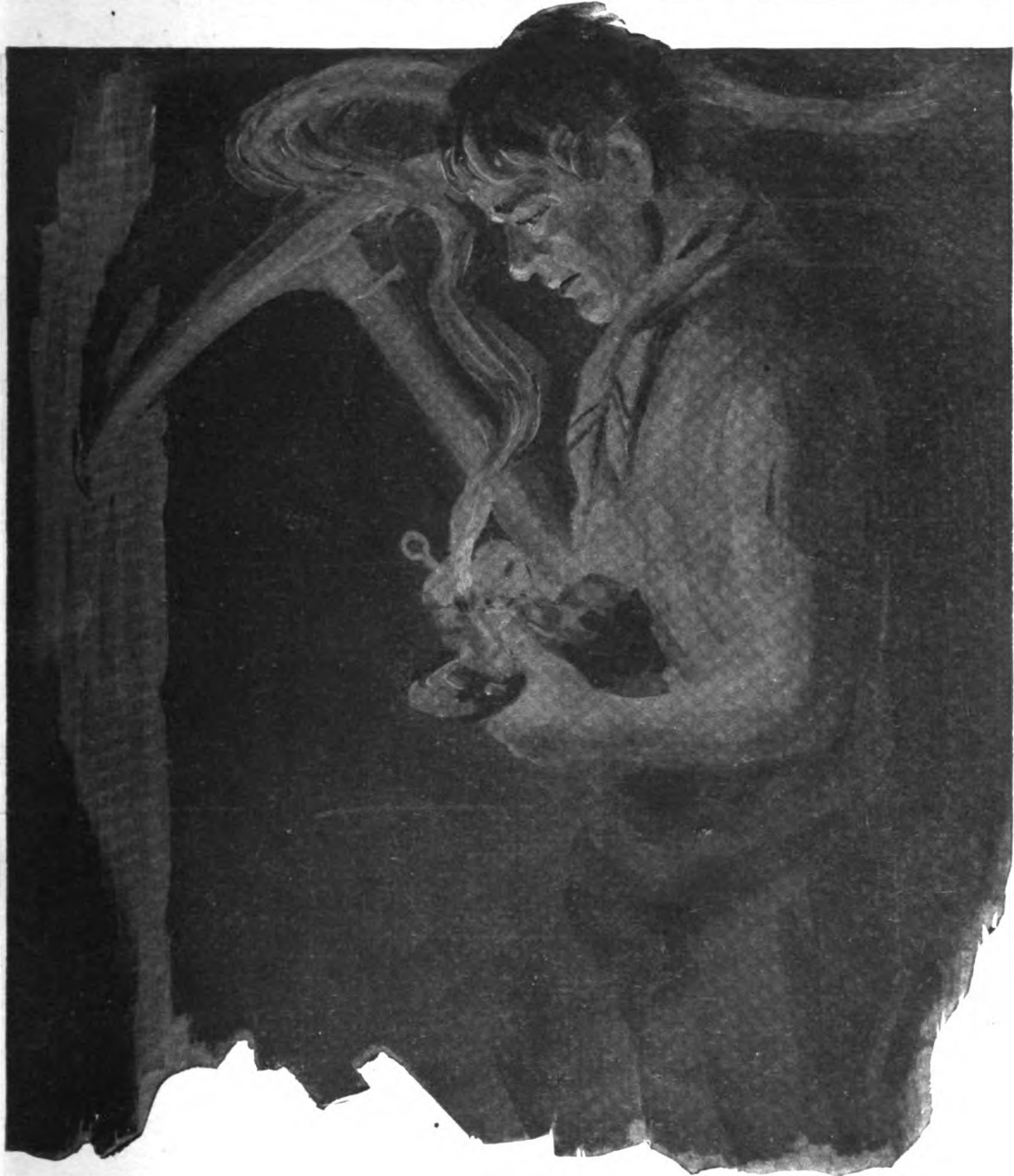
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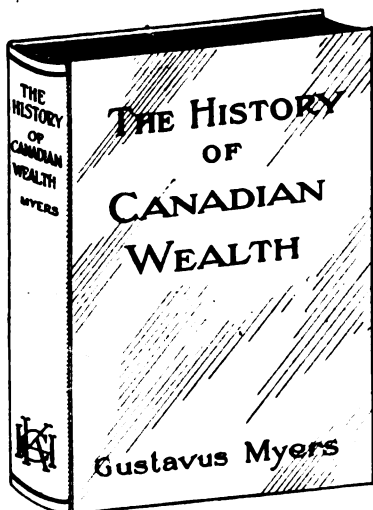
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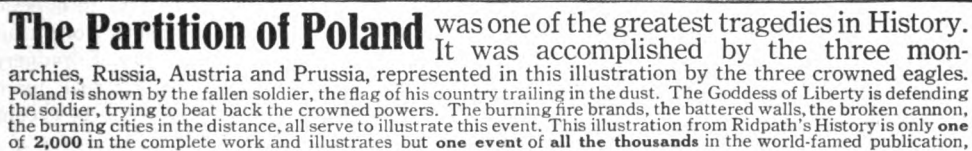
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OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

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Editorial: Socialist Unity Inevitable; The Growth of the Capitalist State; The Dublin Strike; : International Notes : News and Views.

Published Monthly: Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, Canada \$1.20, countries \$1.50

Bundle Rates—20 Copies, \$1.00; 50 Copies, \$2.50; 100 Copies, \$5.00.

5 Copies 4 Months, \$1.00; 10 Copies 4 Months, \$2.00.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers (Co-operative)
118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Entered at the Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as Second Class Matter July 27, 1900, under Act of March 3, 1879.





WHERE THE WORKERS BURIED THEIR DEAD AT CALUMET

We have fed you all for a thousand years, but that was our doom you know;
From the time you chained us in the fields, to the strike of a week ago.
You have eaten our lives, our babies and wives, but that was your legal share;
But if blood be the price of your legal wealth, good God, we have bought it fair.

—Rudyard Kipling.

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

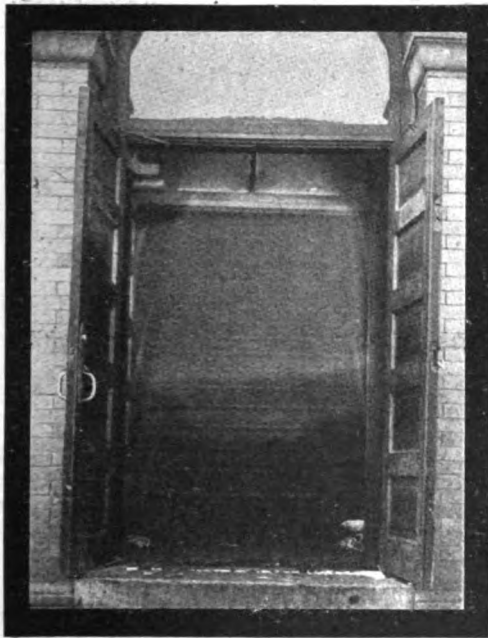
VOL. XIV

FEBRUARY, 1914

No. 8

CALUMET

By Leslie H. Marcy



SEVENTY-TWO copper miners, with their wives and children, met death at these doors on Christmas Eve in Calumet, Michigan.

A brief hour before this little company of silent ones had passed up the stairs into the Italian Hall to join hundreds of other strikers and their families. A Christmas tree had been arranged by the Women's Auxiliary of the Western Federation of Miners to put a bit of cheer into the hearts of the kiddies and perhaps to encourage the men and women in their struggle against the copper barons for more bread and better working conditions.

But "Peace on earth and good will toward men" is not down on the capitalist program. For months past imported thugs and gun-men, in the pay of the copper companies, as guards, had gone about shooting up strikers, breaking up union headquarters, disrupting meetings and otherwise "establishing law and order."

It should surprise no one then to learn that upon this occasion a "mysterious" stranger appeared suddenly in the doorway of Italian Hall with a false cry of "fire!"

Comrade Annie Clemanc had just finished her address of welcome; the toys were still on the tree—when forty-eight pairs of little feet arose at the alarm and ran down the stairway. They were met by "deputies," who blocked the doors to escape. In the crush and panic that followed seventy-two human beings were killed.

* * * *

A bleak mining region and the rigors of a Lake Superior winter, with the hardship of five months' strike, made still more poignant the crushing sorrow. Over the two miles of road from Calumet to the bit of ground owned by the Western Federation of Miners marched the procession with hearse, undertakers' wagons and an automobile truck carrying a few coffins, followed by 480 miners, in squads of four, carrying 67 coffins. They lowered them into two long trenches that yawned in the snows of the copper country. Behind them came fifty Cornish miners chanting hymns, their voices thick with emotion. Thousands of miners with their wives and children formed the procession. All but a dozen of the burials were in common graves dug by members of the union.



INTERIOR VIEW OF ITALIAN HALL, CALUMET, MICH., WHERE 72 PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN A CRUSH FOLLOWING A FALSE CRY OF FIRE BY AN "UNKNOWN" (?) MAN, WEARING A CITIZENS' ALLIANCE BUTTON.

Came the Finns to the fair state of Michigan about sixty years ago—to spend their lifetime and labor time in the mines.

Emigration agents of our "infant" copper industry enticed thousands of "foreigners" from all over Europe to come across to share the copper prosperity of this new land with our "free born" American workers. For years the Finns were "desirable" mine workers, being largely controlled by their priests.

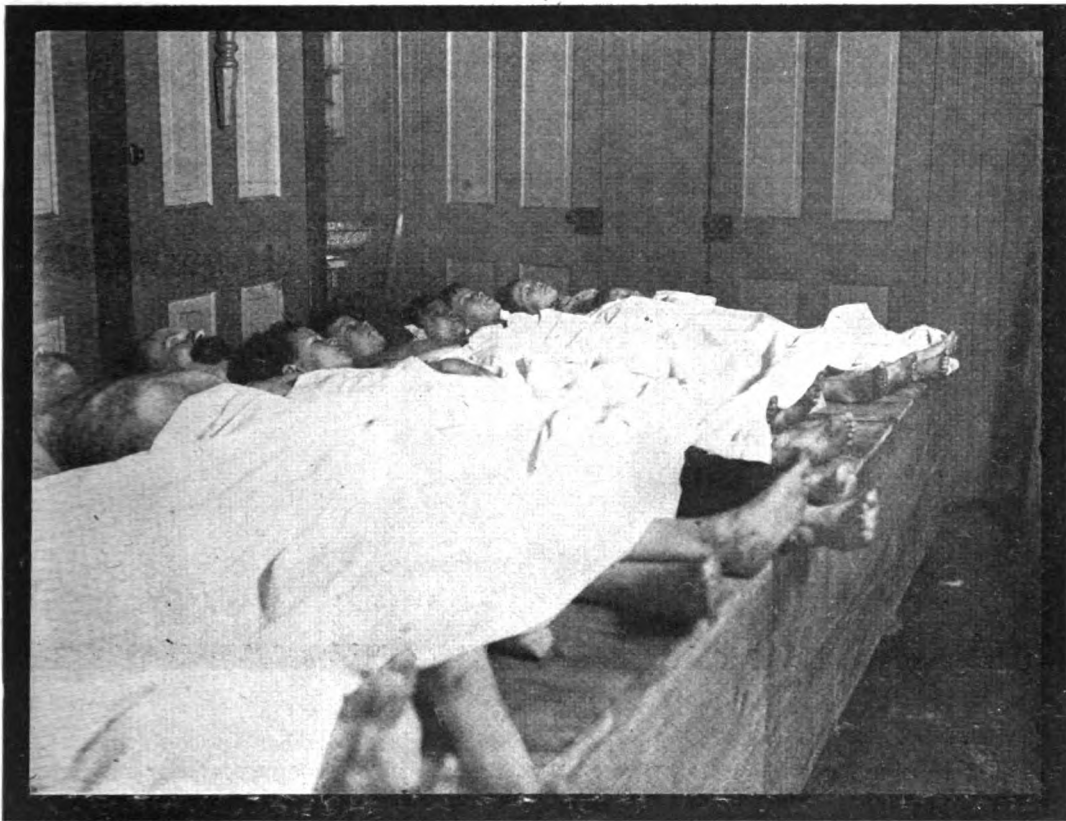
However, the Finns came from fighting stock; for years the Finnish people had resisted the Russian czar, who flooded their country with spies. They were accustomed to illegal arrests and banishments, and the suppression of their newspapers was the order of the day. By a national strike in November, 1905, the Finns wrested constitutional rights from the czar and at the first election 40 per cent of the representatives were Socialists.

About this time, ten years ago, Socialism

began to spread rapidly among the Finns in the copper country, despite the antagonism of the church, and what they did to the czar, in Finland, they will do one day to the copper barons in this country—for conditions are now much the same in Michigan as they were in Finland. "Constitutional government no longer exists where the rights of our citizens under our constitution and laws are overthrown, and the laws and the constitution defied."

A Finnish Socialist daily was established in Hancock called "Tyomies" (The Working Man), and the plant is today valued at \$40,000. This paper, and the fighting rank and file of Finns, are the brains and backbone of the copper strike; their strikers are always on the picket line; their paper has been an invincible barricade.

On December 27, 1913, two days after the killing of the 72 members of the working class, Tyomies published sworn statements as follows:



SOME OF THE VICTIMS—FINNISH UNDERTAKING PARLORS.

Investigators employed by "Tyomies" questioned many of the persons who were present at the Italian Hall on Christmas eve and their affidavits given under oath prove the following:

1. That one gentlemanly looking, rather largely built and stout man, well clothed and wearing a sealskin hat which was pulled down close to the eyes, entered the hall from outside. He had yelled twice "Fire."

2. This created a pour-out from the hall, there being not much rush at the beginning.

3. That the women and children coming out of the hall formed a pile of about four feet high. Two persons testified that this happened because something had been dropped or pushed in the way of the women and children scrambling to get out.

4. Two men at the door had started to take apart the pile, pulling some out alive, and if they had been allowed to continue, everybody would have been rescued.

5. The deputies drove these two rescuers forcibly away.

6. The deputies made no effort to do any rescue work, but, on the contrary, they let the human pile grow so that the deputies in front were supported by those behind, thus stopping

the outpouring of the people, and so more and more victims fell in the pile, and finally the pressure became so great that one Vestola, for instance, died in a standing position, his face being against the face of the witness, whose face was burned by a lighted cigar that was in Vestola's mouth, because he could not free his hands on account of the pressure.

7. Deputies had closed the doors, and thus the work of rescue had to be started from the top, and those in the pile had to stay there so long that they suffocated.

8. In the hall a deputy had broken the neck of a 5 or 6 year old child by twisting her by the neck under his arms. Also another deputy dragged a man, holding him by the throat and his thumbs pressed against the man's wind.

9. A group of deputies and those with the Citizens' Alliance buttons had been mocking and waving their hats down below.

10. A man who tried to shout from below that there was no fire was clubbed in the head.

* * *

And now came High Lord Sheriff Cruse with his crew of gunmen-deputies with twenty warrants for the arrest of editors and employes of "Tyomies." "The peace



THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

and dignity of the people of the state of Michigan" had been "unlawfully, wickedly, falsely, feloniously and maliciously" conspired against, in the printing of the above statements.

Seven were arrested and jailed, including three editors. Thirteen escaped from the county—but the paper never missed a single daily issue! The *Strike Bulletin* appeared regularly every morning! We are amazed to find no mention made in the report of the Socialist Investigating Committee of the splendid, fearless work of "Tyomies" and the persecutions heaped upon our comrades of the press.

After the Christmas disaster, came the Citizens Alliance with its degrading offer of a \$25,000 burial gift. This was indignantly spurned by the striking miners, who refused to accept a donation of "blood money" from their enemies.

A committee of eminently respectable citizens from the Citizens Alliance waited upon President Charles F. Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners, in his room at the hotel, and, upon being informed by him that the miners had turned down the peace offering, they left the room in great anger. Sheriff Cruise with a deputy remained behind to

assure Mr. Moyer that he would have full protection in his comings and goings while in Calumet.

The sheriff had been gone but a few moments when there was a knock at the door and in filed several plug-uglies and gunmen. Moyer had his back turned toward them, as he was using a telephone. He was struck in the back of the head with the butt end of a heavy pistol, and fell to the floor and was taken forcibly from the hotel.

E. J. MacDowell, under Attorney Geo. E. Nichols, appointed by Governor Ferris of Michigan, as a special investigator, and who has spent three months in the copper country, in his report says: "I investigated the Moyer deportation thoroughly, and to my mind the treatment accorded him is almost beyond belief. He was kicked and mauled and dragged a mile through the dirt, and I found one man who pointed out more than twenty-five people who admitted they had witnessed the attack on Moyer. But when they were brought before the grand jury they were as mum as oysters."

With a bullet in his body, he was put aboard the train by the mob and threatened with death if he ever returned.

Chas. H. Tanner, auditor of the Western



THE WORKERS BURYING THEIR DEAD.

Federation, was also badly beaten up and deported, along with Mr. Moyer. Together they reached Chicago, where they were rushed to a hospital. Ten days after, they returned to Calumet. So much for "law and order" in the copper kingdom.

* * * * *

The Citizens' Alliance is composed of small storekeepers, who sympathized with the strikers until the union men opened up their own commissary stores. This competition aroused the anger of these little trades people and they were easily organized by Attorney Peterman of the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company into a benevolent organization for the "conservation of law and order, flag and country."

The Calumet and Hecla Mining Company control the banks and are arbiters of credit—of business life and death—in the copper region. The butchers, bakers, clothiers and grocers who do not stand shoulder to shoulder, ready to fight for the interests of the copper companies, find their credit cut off and failure staring them in the face. As a result the Citizens' Alliance has proved a powerful tool for the mine owners.

* * * * *

We have seen how the copper country is

governed by an "invisible government"; from the judge on the bench, to the grand jury in session; from the national guard of the state of Michigan, on "duty," since July 24, 1913, to the sheriff with his hundreds of imported professional strike breakers whom he swore in as deputies. The Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, Calumet, is the *invisible government* of Michigan.

This poor-little-rich corporation was "created" in the early fifties. According to a statement given out by Attorney Peterman, and endorsed by General Manager W. F. Denton, and General Manager C. L. Lawton, we find this devout confession: "The profits of the Calumet and Hecla have been large, but they were due solely to the fact that the Creator put such rich ore in the company's ground."

However, Congress in the year of our Lord, 1852, seems to have been in total ignorance of this little gift on the Creator's part to the copper crowd, for we find that "it gave to the state of Michigan 750,000 acres of public land, to aid it in building a ship canal around the Falls of St. Mary. The state in turn bargained this land to the contractors who built the canal, at a dollar and a quarter an acre. The lands thus disposed

of at so beggarly a price were supposed to be swamp, or overflowed lands, but somehow, and strange to say, a part of them are now the rocky matrices from which the Calumet and Hecla has long been extracting shot-copper,—that company having in some way got hold of them. Years later a man named Chandler, who claimed to have bought the same land over again from the State of Michigan, brought a suit to dispossess the copper company,—charging all sorts of fraud in the switching of swamps so as to be quarries of copper-bearing rock. But the Supreme Court ruled against him, on the ground that as he got his deed from the state, he was in no better plight than the state, and that the state could not go back on its first deed to the canal contractors: so the Calumet and Hecla people kept it.”

This “good thing” was capitalized for \$2,500,000 in shares of \$25 each, instead of \$100—note that. Of this \$25 a share, only \$12 was paid in. A total cash investment of \$1,200,000. According to the *Mining and Engineering World* of December 27th, Calumet and Hecla has declared dividends on issued capitalization to December 1, 1913, amounting to \$121,650,000, or \$1,216 a share or \$101 profits for each dollar invested.

Dividends for 1900 amounted to 320 per cent; for 1906, 280 per cent; for 1907, 260 per cent. In the Boston market, the stock was quoted on the day before New Years, at 427, bid price. Bearing in mind that the par value of the shares is but \$25, this figure means that the stock is now worth more than 1,700 per cent, and bearing in mind also that only \$12 a share was actually paid in, it means more than 3,400 per cent, market value. The president of the company receives a salary greater than the president of the United States.

Not long ago, when dividends threatened to be unusually enormous, the company purchased an extensive island in Lake Superior, stocked it with the finest game, and it is now used by stockholders of the company as a hunting preserve.

And the capitalists, who have never seen the inside of a mine shaft, who have stolen and defrauded to gain possession of the Calumet mines, have refused to permit their wage slaves, who produce all the wealth brought out of the mines, to organize into a union. They have denied the right of these workers to organize to demand more

wages and better working conditions. Their arrogance is summed up in the words “We have nothing to arbitrate.”

These capitalists want MORE labor from the laborers. They are not satisfied with having stolen hundreds of millions from the men who have dug the wealth from the dangerous recesses of the earth. They demand still MORE.

* * * * *

Every day, in the dark of the early morning, John Kolu-trudges through the deep snow a mile or more to the shaft house. From the time he is shot down the cage into the bowels of the earth until he reaches the stope where he works, an hour and a half is consumed. Bad luck for him, if the cable breaks or there is trouble in the engine room, for there are no protectors to the men's cages. Down he goes, from 2,000 to 8,000 feet toward the center of the earth in subterranean caves, drills, blasts and gathers the precious copper that has helped to make modern industry and civilization possible. Lack of protectors is a violation of all mining laws.

Eleven hour shifts all these years! Air so hot that only the strongest lungs can stand the torture! And each miner must sign an agreement whether he understands English or not. The driller agrees to work for so much a foot, but owing to the rock he never knows what his wages will amount to. Examination of about 2,000 due bills, or pay envelopes, showed that some drillers had made 43 cents per day in a full month's work. The highest was \$2.65 per day, while some showed a deficit!

The latest little dividend maker for exploiting the copper miner is called, the one man drill. One driller has to do the work of two, hence these new machines were enthusiastically installed by the Calumet and Hecla and are one of the chief causes of the strike. It drove a lot of men out of the mines on account of being so hard and heavy to handle; it threw old miners, over 45, on the scrap pile. Only the strongest young men can pack it up a dark stope, put up his platform 100 feet and operate this 150-pound machine.

The trammers work in pairs loading the rock and pushing the ton capacity cars to the shaft where it is hoisted to the rock house. They also have been forced to sign a slave agreement to tram so many cars per day. The wages are less and hours of



inhuman toil longer than are the drillers. A slight scratch from the poisonous copper rock and they are disabled, more often they are mangled by falling rock. The benevolent copper companies take a dollar out of all pay-envelopes monthly—for the company doctor!

And when the dangerous work is performed and the copper is brought to the surface of the earth, the miner is separated from the wealth he has dug and it is appropriated by Boston capitalists who have never seen a mine or lifted a hand in honest labor.

And when the Calumet miners went out on strike, the capitalists wiggled their fingers and a thousand hungry lackeys sprung up to carry out their wishes.

Employment agencies were subsidized with such success that when men, who had been fooled and deceived into signing on for work in the copper mines, passed through Chicago, they were kept behind steel bars at the DEPOTS to prevent the truth being told them by members of the union. The Commissioner of Labor was refused admittance to them. They were whirled away to the copper district with the shackles of peonage already wrought upon their ankles.

Every possible item is charged against the misguided scabs: railway fare, huge employment agent fees, clothing, tools, food, lodging, etc., etc. The scabs are herded in huge bunk houses which are isolated and kept under a heavy armed guard. Upon these bunk houses the company searchlights are forever playing and any man who seeks entrance or ingress (except the changing mine shifts), is immediately shot.

Consequently the mine owners have virtual slaves or peons over whom they are using the power of life and death—to do their work in the mines.

Richard Maher, hired with a party of forty by the Ascher Detective Agency, New York, makes affidavit to the effect that when men came to the mines to work and saw what was going on, they were prevented from going away and held against their will. Maher was one of the men hired to guard them. The guards placed by the detective agencies were armed with rifles, revolvers and night sticks. They were sent out to break up parades of the miners. "We had suggestions made to us that the job was getting too quiet and that we should go out

and start something. Our standing order was to shoot the first man that came near our sight on the highway which ran near the company's property. We were informed that we could go as far as we liked and that the sheriff would not interfere with us," said Maher, upon oath.

But we might mention here that the physical prowess of the striking miners has put a very wholesome fear into the hearts of the thugs and drunken militia men, and that they have learned that discretion may prove the better part of valor. They have ceased perpetrating former outrages upon the miners' wives and children.

Nearly all of the strikers have served in European armies. Their drills resemble nothing so much as perfectly trained regiments of soldiers. And they fall in line for parade in less than five minutes. Only 5 per cent of the strikers are native born Americans. Twenty-three different nationalities are represented in the mines and the companies have always used every effort to keep the men as divided on religious and national grounds, as possible.

About four years ago the Finnish Socialists organized the first union in the copper country, that amounted to anything, at Hancock, Mich., and affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners.

At a meeting of the Hancock Copper Miners' Union last June the rank and file formulated the following demands:

An eight-hour day; a minimum wage of \$3.00 a day for men in the mines. An increase of 35 cents a day for those that worked above the ground. Two men to be employed on each drill. Recognition of the Western Federation of Miners.

The management of the mines ignored the presentation and 98 per cent of the men voted to go on strike which was called on July 23, 1913.

Regarding strike conditions Graham R. Taylor writes in *The Survey* as follows:

"While there had been some violence from the time the miners went out on July 23, the most serious instance during the first few weeks, and the occasion of the first fatalities, came when two deputy sheriffs and four detective "gun men" wantonly killed three strikers as they were eating their evening meal in their boarding house. This murder had, as pointed out by the article in *The Survey*, much to do with the

temper of the struggle and the attitude of the strikers toward mine guards and deputy sheriffs, and in its light much of the subsequent violence is to be regarded."

In the report of the Department of Labor investigator, Walter B. Palmer, we find:

"Many Michigan militiamen became intoxicated and were allowed to wander about the streets armed.

"Much violence, some of which resulted in fatalities, was provoked by the armed deputies imported by the mining companies.

"Many of the mines are entirely lacking in proper provisions for safety, sanitation, and supply of drinking water for the employees.

"Employees who have built houses on land rented from the Calumet and Hecla company may be dispossessed of their property when they are discharged or otherwise leave the employment of the concern.

"Men employed in the mines as trammers

perform the labor of beasts of burden and soon wear out."

* * * *

The call for money to build up a Children's Strike Benefit Fund, recently sent out by the Woman's Department, National office, of the Socialist Party, has met with a generous response from all over the country. Comrade Winnie Branstetter is to be congratulated on her splendid idea. Three thousand dollars has come in and she is rushing relief in the way of clothes and shoes, as reports from the strike zones indicate that the children are suffering.

Before these strikers are beaten back to work, let every union copper miner with a backbone throw away his tools and and refuse to work.

THE WORKINGMAN'S ANSWER TO THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

We have fed you all for a thousand years and you hail us yet unfed.

There is not a dollar of all your wealth but marks the workers' dead.

We have yielded our best to give you rest; you lie on crimson wool.

If blood be the price of all your wealth, good God, we have paid it in full.

There is not a mine blown skyward now but we are buried for you,

There is not a wreck that drifts shore-ward now but we are its ghastly crew.

Go reckon our dead by the forges red, and factories where we spin;

If blood be the price of all your wealth, good God, we have paid it in.

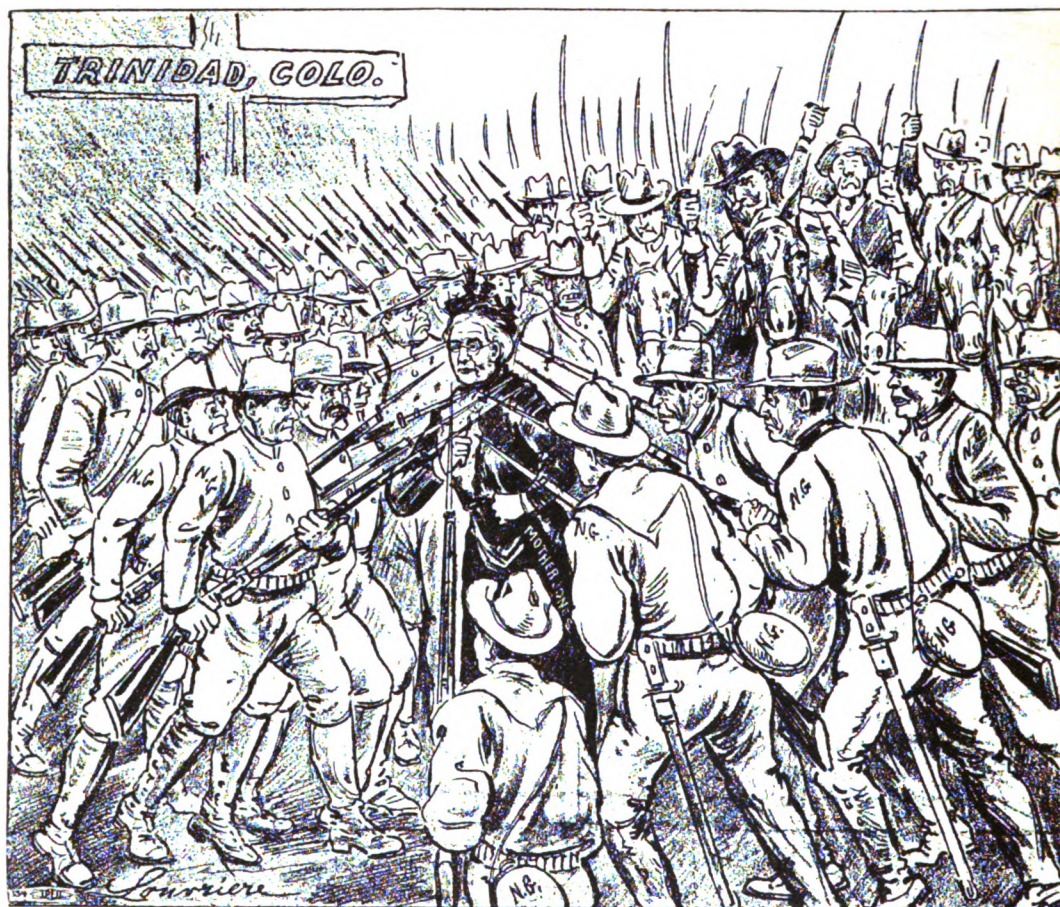
We have fed you all for a thousand years, but that was our doom, you know;

From the time you chained us in the fields, to the strike of a week ago.

You have eaten our lives, our babies and wives, but that was your legal share;

But if blood be the price of your legal wealth, good God, we have bought it fair.

—Rudyard Kipling.



"MOTHER JONES WAS SURROUNDED BY 150 SOLDIERS, FORCIBLY TAKEN TO SAN RAFAEL HOSPITAL, WHERE SHE IS BEING HELD INCOMMUNICADO."—STRIKE BULLETIN.

NINE SHARPSHOOTERS

WHEN the mine owners of Colorado began evicting striking miners and their families from the companies' shacks and company property the United Mine boys threw up tents on nearby land and moved into them.

Then the mine companies sent men with machine guns and searchlight, and, perched upon almost inaccessible ridges or boulders, these gunmen sent shot after shot into the miners' tent colonies below.

In the December number of the REVIEW we printed a photograph of the machine gun used by nine guards at Berwind Canyon. It was placed high upon a ragged

ridge, from which it could be constantly trained over the miners' camp in the valley below. All night long the guards kept a powerful searchlight trained over the passes and the comings and goings of the miners. They believed themselves to be in an impregnable position.

From five hundred to a thousand miners occupied the attention of the guards by the use of long distance rifles on one side of the ridge. The guards felt confident that they could easily sweep clear the remaining sides before any attacking party could approach. They imagined that the death-dealing instrument with which they sent

destruction into the camps would cow the strikers. They did not know the spirit of the Colorado miners.

It was on a Friday at 10 o'clock in the morning, October 20, that nine miners, who had served as sharpshooters in the Balkans, bade their comrades goodbye and started their long journey toward the enemy that blazed gleefully away from the topmost pinnacle of the lofty ridge. Through narrow passes and over bald boulders they traveled. Very quietly, very cautiously, very slowly they journeyed, for much depended upon the success of their mission. It was for them to silence the machine gun that belched forth death in the tent homes of the miners below. They did not mean to fail.

Through the long night they worked their way, and it was not until noon on the following day that they paused in a fissure of the great rocks to confer. They saw nine guards casually continuing their work of murder. And some of them smoked while others took their ease from the day's grind.

And the nine miners, who had served in the Balkans, lifted their rifles to their shoulders and picked each his man. Nine shots rang out! And the machine gun ceased to fire, for upon the high ridge there remained no single living thing.

And down to the camps of their brother miners went the sharpshooters with the machine gun which they captured. And there it has remained. On their triumphal march homeward the victors encountered seven auto loads of provisions designed to feed militiamen, deputy sheriffs and private detectives. These they promptly confiscated and bore with them.

That night a message was sent to the strike relief committee by the miners at Berwind Canyon. It bore the advice that thereafter no provisions need be supplied them and a request that arms and ammunition be sent instead.

* * * * *

It has been reported that George Belcher, manager of the Baldwin-Felz detective agency, who shot and killed Gerald Lippett, organizer for the U. M. W. A., has been killed.

Our correspondent informs us that the

investigation of the shooting was a farce and that Belcher was released on bond. Not long after Belcher came out of a drug store at Trinidad and paused to light a cigar. Eight hundred soldiers were upon the square with fifty deputies and innumerable policemen and detectives. As Belcher struck a match a bullet from an unseen gun hit him at the base of the brain and he was killed instantly.

* * * * *

E. E. Schumway, president of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, declared that the recent explosion that occurred in one of the mines and killed thirty-seven miners had not been caused by gas. He went so far as to go down into the mine to prove his point. Within four or five days he died as a result of being overcome by gas. Everybody agrees that this was a most unfortunate occurrence.

MORE WORK FOR THE UNDERTAKER.

They say that of the army of Baldwin-Felz thugs that "went through" the miners' tent colony at Ludlow looking for arms and ammunition, one hundred and seventy-three met a sudden death within the following week. Reports of the brutalities practiced by these hired dogs pass all belief. But we are glad to record the fact that their tactics changed wholly after one hundred and seventy-three funerals occurred, following the fatalities mentioned above.

Mother Jones is in jail again. The governor of Colorado assured her that she could go anywhere in Colorado except in the southern strike zone. Two weeks ago on Sunday evening she took a train from Denver, securing a berth at the railroad yards in order to avoid publicity. Arriving at Trinidad, she rented a room and prepared to take a much needed rest. That night at about 10 o'clock, with eight soldiers in her room and eight hundred soldiers surrounding the hotel, she was taken to the St. Raphael Hospital. She is as closely guarded as though she were in a Chicago jail, but knowing the character of the miners, it was decided to inform the public that she is in a hospital. Two sentries stand before her door and eight hundred soldiers are camped on the grounds of the "hospital."

THE CAPITALIST CONSPIRACY IN CHINA

BY G. L. HARDING



GOING TO WORK.

THERE is a long street in the hideous new factory district of Shanghai called Yangtse-poo Road. It runs for miles between rows of squalid little shops and tenements by the riverside. But toward the outskirts of the foreign settlement it strikes the big mills, and along here, just at the fall of twilight, you get the most complete picture of industrialism China yet affords.

At six o'clock the work people come streaming from the mills, a huge flood of clattering, chattering forms ebbing up and down the street against the blazing windows. But the lights in the factory windows do not go out. They burn brighter than ever in the gathering dusk, for through the great mill gates another stream is pouring in. It is the night shift. Tall Sikh watchmen guard the home-going gates and eye every worker for the bulges of stolen yarn, but the night shift pours in unwelcomed, by an unwatched gate. An overseer at the inside door only squints at each

one narrowly and checks off a humble name.

Those who are going out talk and laugh a little, but from those who are going in you can hardly hear a sound. What voices you do hear are

women's and children's voices. In this crowd there are not five men out of a hundred. These are women and girls and young children, and for half a mile down this street stretch the great cotton factories where fifteen thousand of them spend their lives. Most of them are country people, and you can see even in the dim light of the autumn evening their robust frames and clear, imperturbable eyes. But the mills have taken from them their freshness and on their faces there is the pinch and strain of the unrelaxing, futile drudgery of machine labor. These once fresh-faced young Chinese mothers, with their impassive refinement and their cheerful vitality, are just being touched with the blight which has disfigured Christendom.

As the last few stragglers dodge through the clanging gates, there is another little

crowd huddled outside. A Sikh constable speaks a harsh word to them and they disappear into the night. They complete the picture, for they are applicants for jobs, surplus labor, the inevitable and invaluable unemployed. "How much better it is," breathed one of the lady missionaries across the street to me, "to have even such a horrid occupation as that at the mills than to be one of those poor beggars and wretches." Soon China will have an Associated Charities with this as its motto, and the last word in civilization will have been spoken.

Of all the rapidly gathering instances of the growth of capitalism in China, the cotton industry in Shanghai witnesses most obviously and instructively to the incalculable future. There are eighteen cotton mills in Shanghai, operating a total of just under half a million spindles, or almost twice as much as all the rest of the cotton producing machinery in China put together. The hours of labor in Shanghai are from six to six, day and night, except Saturday night, when the shift extends till ten the next morning, the last four hours being spent in cleaning machinery. Then the mill is silent till six o'clock Sunday night, when the day shift goes on night work. This gives an average of an eighty-hour working week, or between a seventy-two-hour and an eighty-eight hour week. During these periods there is no time off for meals or rest. Food must be taken at the looms or not at all.

The pay is practically the same in all the mills. In the largest one, the Ewo mill, controlled by Jardine, Matheson & Co., the greatest British merchant firm in China, the women get from 10 to 20 cents a day, fixed rates being usually the rule in the spinning mill and piece work in the weaving sheds. On this scale of pay, labor is lavishly used, fifteen women being placed on 100 ring spindles, where three can do the work in Lancashire and four and one-half or five in Lawrence.

The privilege of hiring the labor is usually a graft, farmed out to Chinese overseers according to the worst traditions of chattel slave days. These "number one" men are supposed to produce so many pounds of yarn out of their wage budget, and there their responsibility stops. Naturally child labor is the breath of life to such an arrangement. A regular practice

has arisen of hiring two children at less than the price of one adult, and they are more than competent, with their skillful fingers and sharp wits, to keep up with the work. I knew what Chinese children of eight, nine and ten years of age looked like, as there were youngsters of that age in the family with whom I stayed.

I didn't visit the really bad mills; the foreman of one of them (owned by a foreign corporation) told me that he wouldn't be allowed to take his own brother over it. But in the "good" mills, little tots of eight and nine were everywhere. There were surely one of them to every ten older workers. There are no laws or restrictions of any kind against their employment, or on any other industrial subject, for that matter, as these factories are situated in the foreign settlement, and the government of the foreign settlement is controlled by the great banks in which these good capitalists deposit their profits.

These profits are certainly worth the trouble. The Ewo (foreign-controlled) concern cleared during last fiscal year on its 70,000 spindles a net profit of over \$300,000, or 57½ per cent turnover on the invested capital. The International Spinning Co., in which American capital is prominently interested, with 40,000 spindles, cleared \$185,000 during the same period, or also well over 50 per cent. On commonly accepted statistics of production this is between eight and ten times the profits gathered in Lancashire and between six and eight times the cash proceeds the cotton barons can squeeze out of the workers in the Merrimac Valley. This is the beginning of an altogether new chapter in the history of capitalist exploitation.

Remember this especially: that the men behind this movement are not Chinese. The Chinese are the victims all around. With the exception of the big government cotton mill at Hankow, which operates 80,000 spindles, foreign concerns own the biggest and most important factories in China. These pioneers are not "outsiders" either, but co-operate directly with big organized interests at home. And you may rely upon it that no one has more detailed and reliable information on just how these fabulous profits are secured than the cotton overlords of our own country and of England. The real yellow peril, like all jingo bogeys, lurks in our own country.

For the real yellow peril is this cool, far-sighted capitalist conspiracy; a conspiracy which aims to seize and bring to bear upon the economic world the incalculable advantages of China's cheap labor and boundless natural resources. How may a rapidly expanding cotton industry, such as that in China, be expected to affect the world, when it can make 60 per cent profit, and need only pay its wage slaves 10 cents a day? The more powerful its influence grows, the more potently will it tend to depress *our* standard of living, and the more effectively will it undermine the desperate struggle of the working-class movement for the very right to live.

* * *

The American Shoe Machinery Company is virtually the boot and shoe trust of the English-speaking world. Through its patents it controls 96 per cent of the shoe business in this country and 98 per cent of it in England. President Brown of this company has recently paid a visit to Peking, ostensibly to look after patents in the Far East, and incidentally he spent some weeks on a tour of solid personal observation through the treaty ports. It is an open secret that there are big projects in preparation in connection with this visit.

At present there is a modern shoe factory in Shanghai under the American Shoe Machinery Company's special patronage; that is, they have provided a superintendent to transform an old-style Chinese overgrown shop into an up-to-date factory. They have been turning out good shoes here recently at a cost of less than \$1.00 per pair at the factory door, and this on green help and with the inflated expense of imported leather. The labor cost of a pair of shoes made at this factory works out at about 5 cents.

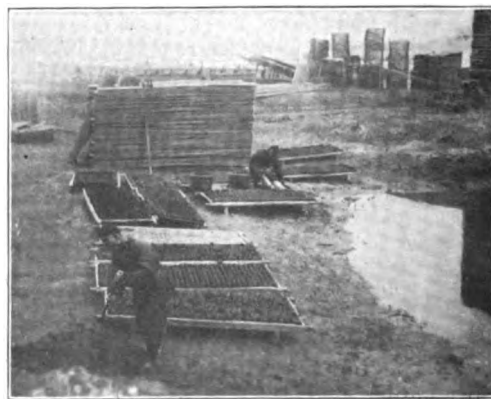
Notice again that it is the big bosses who are conspicuous out here in China. Not the small fry, or "outsiders." Big business is planning a long way ahead.

An example of a trust which has already "arrived" in China is that of the British-American Tobacco Company. This is, of course, the Tobacco Trust, and it holds the Chinese markets in the hollow of its hand. Its dealings with its thousands of local Chinese competitors have been a Far Eastern counterpart of the lawless rise of the Standard Oil Company. Wholesale duplications of rival brands, the frequent and

reckless use of the lawsuit, and the activity of a special and elaborate department to kill competition have been some of the innocent agencies which have made the B. A. T. great in the land. Today it has 5,000 "missionaries" up and down the length and breadth of China, and on the largest turnover of business of any foreign firm in the Far East, it can afford a 35 per cent dividend.

When you turn to China's natural resources, you face a future of absolutely limitless development. In the single province of Shansi, Baron Richtoven testified long ago, and his authority has never been questioned, there is enough of the best quality of coal to keep the whole world at its present rate of consumption for a thousand years. There are vast coal fields in at least four other provinces, which make the 13,000,000 tons actual annual production a mere spoonful beside the gigantic developments inevitable in the near future. In the field of metalliferous ores, the case is the same. At a single mine at Tayeh, in Hupeh province, it is estimated that there are over 500,000,000 tons of iron ore exposed above the surface of the ground, only waiting to be blasted down. The oil fields of Shansi and Szerhwan have been estimated by a resident Austrian consul, who spent several months last year investigating them, to be greater in extent and productiveness than any other oil fields in the known world.

In the interior of China conditions are still changing slowly. The hand loom and the artisan's tool are still supreme over the machine and the agricultural occupations of the immense bulk of the people have not yet been seriously disturbed. But since the



MAKING COAL BALLS.

Chinese revolution some form of industrial civilization is inevitable in China. The revolutionary leaders decided on a social standard, rather than an individualistic one, to apply to the new commercial boom. And as a result their revolution has been smashed, not by foreign armies, as was the Boxer rebellion, but by banks and money credit, and the whole panoply of international capitalism in economic war. The conspiracy of capitalism is to make China a market, not a nation, and the new patriotism is extremely troublesome, especially as the revolutionary leaders have taken the measure of what capitalism has done to our own civilization. But against them, and against young China in general, international capitalism is conspiring for the enslavement of this nation as a nation never was enslaved

before. To make of China a gigantic, infernal workshop, a more hideous England of a hundred years ago, a vaster and more degraded Japan, that is the next step in the conspiracy of capitalism.

When every hoary city in China shall have a street sacred to the Moloch of child and woman slavery, like the Yangtsepoo Road in Shanghai, where the whirr of machinery fills the ears of its victims waking and sleeping for twenty-four hours in the day, then will the westernization of China thus conspired be truly begun. It is up to the organized working-class movement of the world to prevent the mighty civilization of China from being turned into a capitalist shamble. It is up to us because it is against us that this implacable far-seeing campaign is being aimed.

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A SOCIALIST IN JAPAN

By S. Katayama

ON the 5th of November, at 5 o'clock in the morning, there was a shock to a locomotive engine that runs on one of the Tokio suburban lines for Shinagawa. The shock came at Okubo and was caused by the death of our respected Comrade Ichizo Yamamoto, aged twenty-four years.

It was found that he killed himself, and according to a short note which he left addressed to his room-mate at his lodgings, he was perfectly content with this termination of his life.

But why did he feel so tired of life, and what was the cause of his suicide? This will interest my foreign readers, because it will show you how our government still oppresses Socialists. It is almost unbearable to be a Socialist and live under the present conditions.

Ichizo Yamamoto's death was a result of the treatment of Socialists in Japan. It will tell you how our comrades are hounded in their peaceful pursuits or when occupied in study. Yamamoto was a graduate of Count

Okuma's College. He entered on his studies four years ago and graduated last June at the head of his class. He was always a brilliant student. He spoke and read French and English well and was a great admirer of the works of Karl Marx. He became a Socialist while in high school and there edited a magazine printed by the papyrograph. When the magazine began to circulate among the students it was stopped.

Ichizo's parents died while he was young. His father belonged to the old Samurai class and became early interested in the Liberal movement. He traveled all over Japan, sometimes working as a coal or copper miner, in order to teach the political freedom. Ichizo Yamamoto carried on his father's work by becoming a Socialist. Four years ago he entered the Waseda University at Tokio to study literature and philosophy. During his university terms he was not only studious but active in the cause of Socialism. At the time of the Russo-Jap war he joined the "anti war" movement and was befriended by Kotoku and Sakai and others.

All who knew him admired and respected Yamamoto. His professors had predicted great things for him, but with the execution of Comrades Kotoku, Sagano and the others, he was persecuted and watched constantly by detectives, even when only going to his classrooms. His aunt was giving him his education and he kept bravely at his studies in spite of all kinds of intimidations and oppressions. Upon his graduation he determined to support himself and accept no more aid from his aunt, who was growing old.

His professors gave him the highest recommendations, but now the detectives were always upon his heels. Many good positions were offered to him for which he was best equipped, but always at the last moment the detectives would poison the mind of the employer, whether in a college or in a business house, and he would be rejected.

At Aoyama Gakuin, a Methodist university, these detectives prevented his enrollment by stating that the university would be surrounded by detectives watching

Yamamoto. No institution wishes to have the footprints of the police department about its doorsteps.

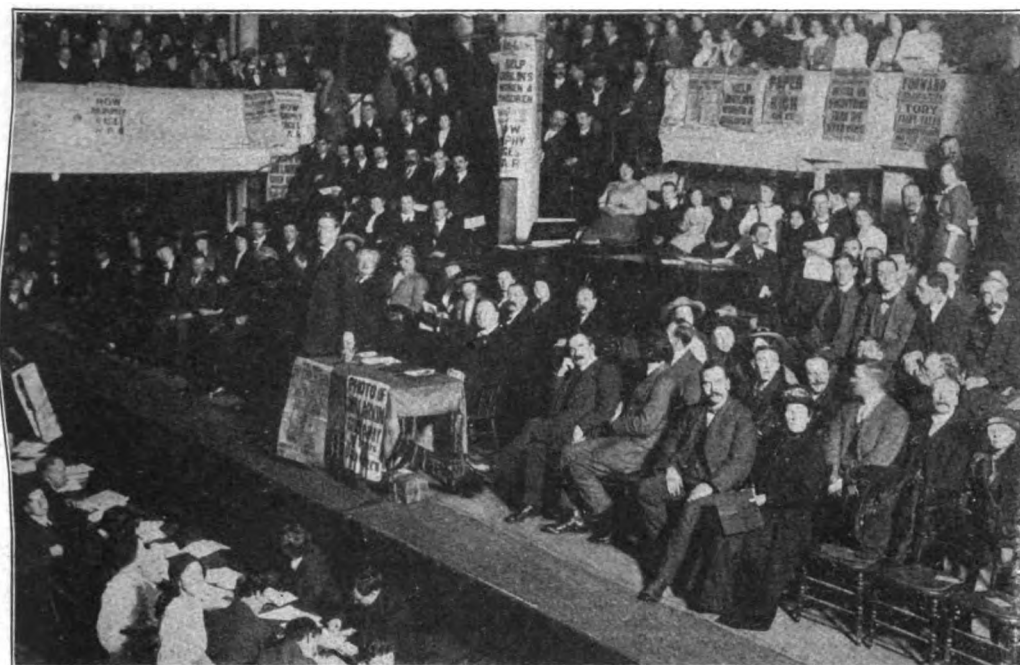
For many months he tramped the streets, securing one position and then another, all of which were torn away from him by police interference. At last, finding that it was the determination to ruin him, he decided to terminate his own life.

There are many suffering here who do not go quite so far, but who are always persecuted.

After Yamamoto's body had been inspected duly, our comrades and a few of his friends took his remains to the cremation grounds. His ashes were sent to his old home in Shinain!

Not only are Socialists hounded in Japan, the natives in Korea and Formosa are revolting sturdily under oppression. A plot of revolt was recently discovered in Formosa and 300 Formosans were arrested. Next month I shall write of conditions in the island of Formosa, the great Japanese "possession," and the rebels there.





THE LIVERPOOL MEETING

JIM LARKIN'S CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

By William D. Haywood

WHILE quietly resting in Paris to regain my health, incidentally collecting at first hand, information relative to the General Confederation of Labor, I received word from Charles Lapworth, editor of the Daily Herald of London. Lapworth will be remembered as having toured this country on the Red Special. He was editing the liveliest little propaganda sheet in England. He urged me to come to England at once, as there was going to be held a series of protest meetings under the auspices of the Herald, demanding the release of James Larkin, Secretary of the Irish Transport Workers Union, and two hundred or more men and women, members of the organization, who were then in the Mount Joy prison in Dublin.

Lapworth's letter was like a call to

arms, and though I had spoken at but one public meeting since Tom Mann's arrival in the United States, that being the occasion of a great anti-military demonstration under the auspices of the C. G. T. in Wagram Hall, Paris, I decided to go to England and do what little I could in behalf of the Irish fighters.

Before leaving Paris I met with the secretaries of the different Federations affiliated with the C. G. T., and asked them for an expression of international solidarity in behalf of the locked-out workers at Dublin. They gave me 1,000 francs and the following inspiring letter:

To Our Comrades in Dublin; Fraternal Greetings!

In the name of the General Confederation of Labor, the Union of Metal Workers, of Builders, of Woodworkers, of

Leatherworkers, of Caterers, of Glassworkers, of Jewelers, of Port and Dock Workers and of the Union of the Seine Syndicates, we are sending through Comrade Haywood the sum of 1,000 francs (£40) to help you to maintain the courageous fight you are waging against your masters.

On behalf of the above organizations, we congratulate you on your courage and tenacity.

With you heart and soul, we are carefully following all the phases of your grand struggle. We see in this great fight an example and encouragement, and the message we send you is that your unselfish efforts cannot but rouse a new fighting element in the working-class movement of England, a forward step which will draw you nearer to the proletariat of this country. We are sure that the ultimate victory will be yours.

Confident in this hope we send you our fraternal and international greetings.

Long live the Union of all proletarians, educated in one and the same hatred of exploitation and one and the same hope of the ultimate and complete victory of Labor.

(Signed) LEON JOUHAUX, Secretary.
(For the C. G. T.)

Thus armed I proceeded to England. Larkin had been released the night I left Paris. It was the mighty pressure of the English workers that compelled the politicians of England and Ireland to throw open his prison doors. Larkin had crossed the Channel to speak at the meeting that was to have been a protest in his behalf. I first met him in the Clarion Café at Manchester. We were not strangers, being acquainted with each other's work. After shaking hands I sized up the splendid fellow. Height, six foot two, weight, two hundred and ten pounds, a well poised head, slightly stooped from breaking sacks of grain across his shoulders while working as a dock laborer. Clear, penetrating, grey blue, Irish eyes, the brow of a poet and coarse iron grey hair, prominent Roman nose, a firm chin, and mouth that smiles for friends and little children. Big hands and feet, a soft voice though harsh with much speaking, a handsome man, not molded, but hewed out with an adze, a

fighter, every inch of him. This is Jim Larkin in repose.

That night I heard him in the Free Trade Hall, addressing an audience that packed that great building to the doors. So great was the enthusiasm and desire to see and hear Larkin that an overflow crowd of 20,000 stood in the drizzling rain, ankle deep in mud, waiting for him to conclude his speech in the Hall. And what a speech! He described the condition to which capitalism had brought the workers in Dublin, Belfast, Sligo, in Cork and throughout the entire industrial region of the little Green Isle. It was a terrific indictment. The torture and indignities imposed upon the locked-out workers in Dublin by William Martin Murphy and the rest of the Citizens Alliance of Ireland's capital were equaled only by some of the labor struggles that we have known so well in this country.

Larkin told of the time, less than five years ago, when he first organized the Irish Transport Workers and General Laborers' Union. The wages then in some branches were as low as 11 shillings, (\$2.75) a week. He recalled instances of girls in factories receiving one shilling weekly; of agricultural workers brutalized at a wage of \$2.00, the condition of Irish farm laborers being as bad as the dairy workers and farm laborers of Denmark, where the Polish emigrants under contract, receive but a kronex (25 cts.) a day. Through the power of the Union, things have been improved in Dublin for labor of all classes, even the skilled workers have largely benefited through the influence and support of the Transport Workers' Organization, which is an organized One Big Union, including 37 branches, extending their sheltering support to all forms of labor. This accounts for the vicious attack that is being made upon it at this time.

Preceding Larkin's speech, James Connolly, Larkin's associate in Ireland, well known to the workers of the United States, having soap-boxed from coast to coast, addressed the meeting, and also the overflow. Connolly's arraignment of conditions in Dublin was in no wise second to that of Larkin himself. He told of 21,000 families living in single rooms, performing, within four walls, all the functions of human life, from birth to death.

With deliberate forcefulness he described the brutality of the police in quelling pickets and the strikers' meetings, and invading the strikers homes. One instance that chilled the blood of his hearers was the police entering the room of a mother upon her maternity bed, with her new born child but a few days old. There the blue coated fiends beat the prostrate woman, nearly killing her, while a blow from one of their clubs ended the life of her babe. It was such statements of fact coming from the mouths of men who knew them to be true, that roused the audience at Manchester to a pitch of frenzy, and a determination to stand by their Dublin brothers and sisters to the bitter end.

This was the crusade of the "Fiery Cross" that Larkin threatened when released from jail. When speaking from one of the windows of Liberty Hall, he said:

"We have successfully fought the strongest government of modern times. We have compelled the government to release an ordinary dock laborer like myself. I may tell you this and don't forget it: We are going to win this battle, and if we fall we will fall fighting. Our battle is only started. The government made a mistake in sending me to prison, but a bigger one in releasing me, because now they will have to release all of the others.

"I am going over to England in a few hours, and before many days have passed the workers will be aroused not only in Dublin, but all over Great Britain."

* * *

The workers of Manchester remembered me from the meetings held there during my former visit, as was shown by their splendid reception.

From Manchester I went with Larkin to London, where a meeting had been arranged in Albert Hall. The Herald League had but five days to prepare for it, but the popularity of Larkin and the cause he represents filled the hall to its capacity of 12,000, while 30,000 additional applications for tickets were made by those who were anxious to hear him.

It was on this occasion that the medical students and students of the School of Mines tried to disrupt the meeting. First they attempted to wreck the electric plant, but their work was ineffective.

A large body of them gained entrance to the corridors and tried to make their way into the body of the hall, when they were met by an army of ushers who were prepared for such an onslaught. The treatment that was meted out to the young University cubs will not soon be forgotten by them. One of their number was picked up bodily and thrown through a glass door, landing on the stone steps outside the Royal Entrance.

These meetings were the forerunners of a campaign for working class solidarity, such as Great Britain had never known. The next day Larkin had an informal conference with members of the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress. Members of this committee took occasion to say that the meetings that had been held, at which they had no opportunity to speak, did not represent the spirit and feelings of the British workers, that the attendance was largely middle class. That night Larkin remarked to me that if he was not reaching the workers through the meetings, he would reach them through the press, and he issued his famous manifesto to the British workers.

The appearance of this manifesto aroused the indignation of the labor leaders. They were entangled in a mesh from which they could not extricate themselves. The rank and file were clamoring for action. James, a lone locomotive engineer at Swansea had precipitated what looked as though it would develop into a general strike, by refusing longer to handle scab goods. Seventeen hundred engineers came out on strike in Wales, in sympathy with James and the workers in Dublin. It required all of the scheming and pressure that officials like Thomas and Williams of the Railway Men's Union, could bring to bear to get the railroaders back to work.

In the meantime Larkin was carrying his message throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. The workers in all the great industrial centers such as Cardiff, Swansea, Bristol, Sheffield, Birmingham, Hull, Liverpool, Leicester, New-Castle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Wakefield, Preston, Glasgow, Edinburgh, heard his call for Solidarity, and his demand that British trade unionists should no longer scab on the Transport Workers of Ire-

land by loading or unloading ships for Dublin or other ports that would affect the strike.

Parting with Larkin at Birmingham I went to Dublin and he to Hull and other places. Crossing that rough piece of water, called St. Georges Channel, I approached the land that has been made historic in poetry and song. I could see but little of the Dublin Bay that has been likened in beauty to that of Naples. Night was gathering and only shore lines and outlines of the hills were visible and through the gloom, the glittering of the lights of Kingston. It was but a few minutes by train from the dock that I found myself surrounded by a great crowd at the depot in Dublin. A jaunting car took me to the hotel. That night I visited Liberty Hall, the headquarters of those who are locked out and the strikers. It was a busy place; halls and rooms were crowded as I made survey of the soup kitchen, meeting halls and offices.

In room number 7, Connolly presided in the absence of Larkin. While dis-

cussing matters with him the place was invaded by the chief of police and an attending officer. The functionary started to tell Connolly that there could be no demonstration around the jail as had previously been arranged for the next day. To this stricture Connolly replied to the bulky chief, "We know our rights as citizens, and there will be a parade tomorrow." The chief continued his warning when Connolly called his attention to a lie that the officer had told in court. Pointing to a proclamation on the wall, Connolly in a challenging voice said to the chief, "You swore that that had never been printed or posted. Look at it. Is that a Proclamation?"

The officer hedged and said:

"I didn't come here to talk about proclamations, but to warn you that there shall be no demonstration tomorrow."

Connolly looked up from his work, saying:

"If that is your message and you have nothing more to deliver you had better get out."



PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN.

(Left to Right)—Standing—Sharply, Pearce, Forsyth, Manson. Sitting—Pursell, Tillett, Boswick, O'Donnell, Larkin, Williams, Haywood and Jim Connolly.

The policeman said: "Thank you, for your reception."

Connolly said: "You're welcome," and with that the officers left the room.

The next day, Sunday, in Catholic, church-going Dublin, there was a great gathering of the clans at Croyden Park. This is an old Manor place of about sixteen acres and a mansion of seventy-two rooms. On this property the Transport Workers' Union has secured an option and proposes at some future time to purchase it for their convenience and pleasure. It was on the green field immediately in front of the mansion that Captain White, an ex-army officer began to marshall the members of the Citizens Army. Here the members of the different Unions armed with hurleys, sticks and clubs went through the manoeuvres of a military body. This military organization had been formed for the purpose of self protection of themselves, wives and children against the onslaughts of the police. It is the intention to drill and arm this body of men in regular military fashion. However, some complications have arisen which may prevent it, as the King of England has issued a proclamation against the shipment of arms, ordnance, gunpowder or ammunition of any kind to Ireland. This edict seems to be directed against the Irish workers as the Protestants of Ulster have been allowed to arm themselves against a possible home rule government in Ireland, without protest.

After the gathering at Croyden Park the workers formed in line of procession with bands of music and thrilling notes from Irish pipers. They marched through the city around the Mount Joy jail, giving mighty cheers for their imprisoned comrades, thence to the Square in front of Liberty Hall, where it was my privilege to speak for the first time on Irish soil.

There was no sense of weakening among the workers, and by a unanimous uplift of hands, they pledged themselves to stand by each other until the fight was over. It was a unique sight to look over that vast audience. Some had advanced to martial orders to the very front of the stand with their sticks and clubs; in each coat lapel, the sign of their Union, a red hand, could be seen.

After the meeting I went on a tour of investigation. Meeting Miss Delia Larkin, a sister of Jim, I secured many interesting facts about the women and the part that they had played in the great strike. Miss Larkin is just as interesting a character as her brother Jim. She knows every detail of the work and during his absence has assisted in all departments in conducting the affairs of the Union and editing the "Irish Worker," their official organ. There are about 5,000 women and girls organized in the Irish Women Workers' Union, of which she is secretary. Since the lock-out and strike has been on, the burden of caring for the women and children has largely been upon her shoulders. She has been enabled to do wonders through the contribution of food and clothing that has come to them from the workers in England. It would not be too much to say that \$500,000 has been subscribed in pennies and pounds for the relief of the Transport Workers.

Miss Larkin's work is far-reaching. Not only is she providing for the immediate sustenance of the families, but she is developing a spirit of rebellion and discontent in the breasts of the children.

She said to me:

"I am feeding and clothing these children with the very best that I can get; better than they have ever known. It is my purpose to give them such good things now that they will never be satisfied again with the conditions that prevailed before the strike."

It was the intention of Miss Larkin and the officials of the Union to follow the example of the workers of Lawrence and Patterson, and send some hundreds of the children away during the time the strike was on, to be taken care of by the workers of different towns in England. In this work they were being assisted by Dora B. Montefiore, and Mrs. Rand. They were only able to get a few of the children away on account of the opposition of the police and thugs, who were backed up by the Archbishop and the priests.

After a brief but very interesting and instructive time in Dublin, I left with Connolly to meet Larkin in Liverpool for a meeting to be held there in Sun Hall,



DUBLIN KIDDIES.

Dec. 25. The meeting was equal in all respects to those held elsewhere, though efforts were planned to disrupt it. Incidentally Larkin had shown up the character of James Sexton, secretary of the Dockers' Union of Liverpool. It was this same Sexton whom Larkin charged with being a party to his arrest and imprisonment some years previous. The dockers of Liverpool, not knowing the truth of this affair, caused a bill to be circulated previous to the meeting, headed:

"Larkin, the Liar," instructing their members to go to Sun Hall and permit Larkin no further talk until he apologized to Sexton.

In spite of apparent hostilities, nothing transpired to mar the success of the meeting.

I remained over a day in Liverpool to visit the kiddies who were living at Wallacey. A happy group they were, and every one from little Pat in his high chair to the oldest sang out, "We won't go back to 'Dooblin'." Heartily they sang the songs of the strike and shouted 'Up Larkin'.

At all the great meetings held throughout Great Britain, resolutions pledging support both financial and moral were unanimously adopted. It seemed that this lead would give the Trade Union officers the backing and courage for

action, so essential to win the Dublin strike when they met in special session of congress on Dec. 9. The rank and file of railway men and dockers who held the key to the situation were ready and waiting for the signal, but when the congress met, one would judge by the action and speeches that the main purpose was to curtail and limit the power and work of Larkin. He was condemned and villified by leaders such as Thomas, Williams, Sexton, Cotter and Willie Anderson. Against them all the big fellow held his own in fine style. While no sympathetic strike was declared, a resolution was adopted to continue financial support, and that the committee representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the General Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor Party Executive, should continue their negotiations for a settlement with the Employers of Dublin.

Whatever may be the outcome of these negotiations, the workers of Dublin are not going to abjure their connection with the Irish Transport Workers Union, which is the demand of the employer. The workers know that this Union has meant a new life to them and in the words of Larkin "They are marching toward the rising sun, and will stand in its effulgence free men and women."

PLAYING THE COMRADES FOR SUCKERS

By Em. Revores

UP TILL recently I believed that all the fools, suckers and "live ones" of the carpet bag variety were outside of the Socialist movement. Close study, however, of the general psychology of the rank and file of the movement during the last few years caused a radical change in my former conception.

The Barnums of the twentieth century have discovered that as for being humbugged no one seems to like it better than a Socialist. So they are working them for all they're worth. These modern gold brick vendors have discovered a new field for their operations. And from their point of view it is a field full of promises for future development, full of possibilities or future exploitation. For, isn't the Socialist movement continually growing?

They can sell the comrades anything from a magazine subscription to a building lot in the middle of the Atlantic. All they have to do is put a Socialist label on their wares, or print their letter-heads in red ink and it's the surest bait that ever caught a fish.

This is not a tirade against the comrades who have allowed themselves to be duped. It is rather a warning intended to checkmate the future exploits of the trappers in the Socialist hunting ground.

Since the day that the Socialist movement in America began to show signs of numbers and emerged from its swaddling clothes, leeches of every description found their way, directly and indirectly, into the movement and exploited the enthusiasm and good will of the credulous comrades for all they were worth.

A few years ago a financial adventurer launched a magazine for no other purpose but to unload shares in a mine situated fifty miles from nowhere. And the shares were bought up by the comrades with an eagerness that would put to shame the red man's appetite for fire-water. Workingmen mortgaged their shanties and raised money to "invest." Others took the few dollars saved through self-denial of necessities and ex-

changed them for Holy Creek mine stock. And pray why hesitate to invest? Didn't that "comrade" say black on white and he's doing it for the comrades only?

Not a few of these investors cherished the illusion that from this mine would emanate the financial back-bone of the Social Revolution. Others are resting satisfied today that at its worst it was not a bad investment. For after all they figured it out that these shares are bound to have an historical value in post-revolutionary days. For then the collector of archives in the department of history of the Revolution in the Historical Museum of the Co-operative Commonwealth will offer a fabulous fortune for these rare documents. And so if these investors with a nose for business do not expect to have this come about during their lifetime, they can, at least, bequeath these shares to their offsprings with the advice to hold on to them as a family heirloom.

After this gentleman Socialist made his melodramatic exit to newer regions, others stepped into his boots and made a mighty march after the few dollars still left in the pockets of the rank and file. Some of them offered "sure winners" in building lots somewhere on this planet between the poles and the continents. Others led us and bled us into wholesale and retail co-operatives. Still others offered us stereopticon lamps, world histories, libraries of plagiarised research, co-operative commonwealth washing machines, study at home law courses, etc., etc., ad naseam. All these propositions were backed up with the guarantee "for Socialists only," "only for my comrades," etc. It occurred to me that these guarantees were stating a truth. Because no one but a Socialist would digest anything like these "comradely" propositions.

Do I pose as the wise guy? Oh, no. I was a live one, too. I bit like a dog at a chicken bone. I just emerged from a few of these "investments" minus a little cash that would cause a little less worry in the approaching economic crisis.

And here is the latest sugar-coated prop-

osition that we were made to swallow. The interesting point is how nicely and in what quantities we swallowed it.

It is necessary to go back a few years to see how the pill was prepared for us. A few years ago the circulation of one of the capitalist magazines was rapidly declining. Investigation into the cause of the decline brought out the fact that the majority of its readers no longer cared for the "they lived happy ever after" type of stories but wanted something vital dealing with present-day problems.

Harrowing outrages committed by the Diaz regime in Mexico occupied the stage of public interest in the United States. The Socialist and radical element in the people protested a great desire for information about Mexico. This gave the magazine the cue. A well-known writer, who eventually became a Socialist, was engaged by this magazine. He was sent down to Mexico. He told the truth as he saw it. He turned the searchlight on the prevailing peonage system in the mines and on the ranches of this unhappy land. Radicals of all types found in this magazine just what they were yearning to know. The circulation went up by leaps and bounds and so did advertising rates. An era of prosperity set in for this magazine.

But a mistake was made somewhat in that editorial brothel. The writer committed the unpardonable journalistic crime of telling the whole truth about Mexico. He did not color the articles. He told outright who the gentlemen were that owned the mines and ranches. He held the American capitalists responsible for the state of peonage, for the countless murders and crimes that were perpetrated upon all showing the least sign of revolt. The writer was ignorant of capitalist journalistic ethics.

The result. Wires were pulled in Wall street. The magazine was given a financial pinch in the arm as a pretaste of what might happen if it did not put the kibosh on the expose. The big advertisers joined the chorus. The articles were stopped abruptly without notice to the writer. The men behind the magazine, in the mean time, achieved their aim. They resurrected a dead publication.

This magazine has set a formula how to resurrect or revive dying or dead publications. Every capitalist editor in the country

tucked this formula away in some corner of his brain so that it might be ready for use in case of emergency.

Not long after the kibosh was put on the expose of conditions in Mexico, another magazine was on the verge of passing into oblivion for lack of circulation. Something had to be done to rekindle the dying embers of this dying publication. The managing editor was worried. He saw his job as well as his reputation slipping through his fingers. Night after night he nervously paced his library till the small morning hours in an effort to develop some idea. At last, one morning after he had consumed about two score of cigarettes to pacify his racking nerves, the happy inspiration came. He clearly recalled how one of the contemporaries played the "radical" game with no small amount of success. He now remembered that somewhere in his cranium there was stored away an excellent little formula. And he began to reason with himself thus: "Now let me see. What is it that is absorbing the public's attention just at present. What are the people most interested in. These are the things that we must know and take up as a new "policy" for our magazine." From the experience of his contemporary, which became notorious as a result of its unfinished Mexican expose, he knew that the plan would work. He also knew that "muck raking" of politics was all up and the people no longer cared for it. Something more radical than "muck raking" had to be adopted as a "policy."

That week the office staff was busily engaged in gathering and studying statistics and all available information relative to the growth of Socialist sentiment in America. After some conservative deductions this editor came to the conclusion that there must be, at least, two million Socialist sympathizers in the United States. He carefully made out his plan and laid it before the owners of the magazine. They approved of it after a very brief and pointed discussion. The new "policy" of the magazine was announced.

Prominent Socialists, of international repute, were engaged writing series of articles dealing with Socialism from various angles. These articles were featured on the magazine cover and illustrated by Socialist cartoonists.

Many Socialists were engaged as sub-

scription solicitors, and, of course, got subscriptions from the comrades. Why not? Didn't they show black on white that the magazine's new "policy" is everything that a Socialist could wish for?

I want to say right here that I entertain the greatest respect and admiration for the comrades who wrote for this magazine. I believe that it would be a mistake to miss such an opportunity of reaching tens of thousands of persons with the message of Socialism. Had I the ability and opportunity to write on Socialism I would even expound Socialism in an avowedly anti-Socialist publication. All I would want to know is how many persons will read my brief for Socialism. That's all I would concern myself about. I would not care what the medium is, what its motives are as long as I were given the opportunity of putting my message across to the readers.

Well, let us get back to that magazine. Every means was used of directing the Socialists' attention to the new "policy" of the magazine. Being Socialists we always try to find a motive in everything. Our curiosity was aroused and we wondered why a capitalist magazine would come out in the open and give Socialism a boost. I, at that time, came to the conclusion that there must be a few millionaire Socialists back of the enterprise and I bought the magazine religiously every month. A Niagara of subscriptions poured into the offices of this magazine, while real Socialist publications were on the verge of bankruptcy. The generous shower of money, from sympathizers, kept on for some time. But history repeats itself.

The editors made the mistake of permitting the writers to put unadulterated Socialism across is pages. The articles instead of being of a purely philosophical and theoretical character took on the tone of pure propaganda for Socialism. Many heathen were converted to our cause and in their enthusiasm informed the editors of that magazine of their conversion. The editors found that while the bait worked on the Socialists as far as boosting the circulation goes, it also had an effect unforeseen by them—the articles actually made Socialists.

Again strings were pulled in Wall street. The magazine received notice to "cut it out." The advertisers seconded the motion.

And now lo and behold! The worm has

turned again as in the previous case with the articles on barbarous Mexico. The Socialist tone of the magazine came to a short stop. Without any notice to the readers they put a halt on Socialist articles.

But all this did not happen suddenly. Any one who has made a close study of what appeared in the magazine could perceive a gradual transformation. Gradually it came down until the last card was played with the Shaw article on Equality in the December (1913) number. Here a prize was offered for the best answer to Shaw. The answer, it was announced, would be published in the February (1914) number. This come-on game was pulled off around Christmas time when most of the subscriptions of Socialists expire (December, 1913 being approximately a year since the beginning of the "Socialist" policy).

The temptation of the prize-winning answer to the Shaw article was held out as a bait for the Socialists to renew their subscriptions while the management of the magazine had something up its sleeve. Many of them did renew before the January number came off the press. And here is the double cross. The following are some excerpts from the editorial entitled "What We Mean by Socialism," appearing in the January (1914) number:

A GREAT many people have asked us to define what we mean by Socialism. It is a perfectly fair request. **Take our advertisers, for example.* Any one who knows anything about the modern publishing business is aware that the advertiser pays about two thirds of the cost of producing any successful magazine. But in a general way our columns are open to all advertisers doing a clean, straightforward business. And *without their support* we could not exist a month.

For our own part we cannot see why in the world we should not *treat the advertiser* like any ordinary human being and subscriber, *especially as he is paying* for the greater part of the contents of the magazine, and is *naturally as keen a critic of its pages* as any other kind of reader.

But it would be, to our mind, just as immoral if we were to *accept his money* and then do *everything in our power to destroy his business*, as it would be to take our policy from him. In other words, if we preach Socialism to our readers he has a *right to know what kind of Socialism* we are preaching, and whether it is likely to *ruin the business* that he is advertising through our columns. And we certainly do not want to leave him or any other reader in the dark as to what we do mean.

A MONG the many *fallacies* that have hurt the advance of Socialism is the idea that the

*All italics are mine.

class war is the mainspring of the movement. The class war is today the banner of the ignorant Socialist (who is not a Socialist at all) just as it is the weapon of the anti-Socialist.

BUT how shall we fight for it? By arson and dynamite, like Mrs. Pankhurst and the McNamaras? By the marshaling of human beings against human beings, as Huerta fights Carranza? By starvation and disease, as a general in war reduces a beleaguered city? Surely not. Killing men is the silliest manner of trying to convince them that they are wrong. And killing business and thereby starving millions of people is the most futile way of attempting to make a community prosperous.

Real progress will only come about when the whole people feel that things are wrong and that they might be put right. You cannot bludgeon them into feeling that way. Nor can you accomplish anything at all unless you begin with yourself. Before the Socialist attacks individuals or classes he must do his own housecleaning, and then he will find that he is not alone right, and all the rest wrong, but that he is just as wrong as any one else. We have to sympathize with each other before we can help each other. We might even sympathize with Andrew Carnegie and believe that he was absolutely sincere when he wrote years ago that the man who dies rich dies disgraced. It is very easy for a poor man to be a Socialist; but not so easy for him to be the right kind of Socialist, or to continue being a Socialist when he gets rich.

THE great aim, therefore, of our Socialism is not merely to pass laws, not to destroy the business of the country, not to array labor against capital in civil war, but to create a feeling and a desire on the part of the prosperous to share that prosperity with the poor and needy. Already the desire is coming. Sympathy with the aims of Socialism is steadily increasing. Railroad magnates know that the men who do the work of the railroads do not get reward enough. They would like to give them more. In recent appeals and strikes for higher wages the sympathy of the public has almost invariably been on the side of the workers. The world is surely moving in the right direction. But it moves slowly. So far the increase of wages has been laid if possible on the consumer. So prices go up, and the workman has to pay more for his food and lodging, and he finds himself just where he was before. The next step will be to realize that the only way to break the vicious circle is to stop putting all the burden of higher wages on the consumer, and to let capital forego some of its reward. That means self-sacrifice on the part of the rich and prosperous. We have not reached that point yet. But at least we can help on the good cause if we go on creating the right feeling.

And let us dispose at once of the foolish idea that we regard all capitalists or employers of labor as criminals because they use the established methods of business. If we did so we should have no right to accept a line of advertising.

What is needed is a passionate feeling that the present unequal system is wrong and that there must be a better way.

Indeed, the business man who, like ourselves,

has a Socialistic ideal will best assist the community at large by making *his business as successful as possible*, while doing everything he can for the workers under an admittedly imperfect system. It certainly *will not hurt his business to sympathize with the toiling masses*; for it is an easily demonstrated fact that the most successful businesses today are those which do most for their skilled and unskilled labor.

In the same issue of the magazine we find the usual "Tidings of the Times" department, which gave every month a real Socialist interpretation and review of the news of the month, missing. No reason is given for the absence of this department. This department was the last and only Socialist feature of the December number. It was silently dropped like a hot potato. For it too contained unadulterated Socialism.

We're stung again.

It is a pitiable and deplorable sight to behold real good strong and instructive Socialist publications like *The New York Call* (especially *The Sunday Calls*), *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, *The Party Builder*, *The New Review*, *The Buffalo Socialist* and many others having the struggle of their life to get a dollar's worth of support from some of the comrades, while on the other hand these very Socialists will readily spend many dollars for a capitalist magazine that mentions the word "Socialism" somewhere within its pages. Here's *The Call*, the only Socialist daily we have in the East, daily on the verge of bankruptcy and in danger of suspension, because the comrades are reluctant in supporting it. Still I will venture to say that wherever the aforementioned magazine has made one Socialist, *The Call* has made a few hundred. Find the man that is kicking that *The Call*, *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* or any other of our party-member controlled publications is not up to the standard, find the man that criticises the way this or that publication is gotten up and I'll show you the man who never contributed a cent to the support of the publications he's attacking, but is ever ready to fall for any capitalist publication that will use a little red ink in the make-up of its pages.

Nor is this aforementioned magazine the only one to use that kind of bait for the hundreds of thousands of Socialists in this country today. Another magazine is conducting a debate on Socialism which is made to run through eight numbers of the maga-

zine. It means an almost double circulation to that magazine for the eight months. This raises the advertising rates, and swells dividends. And our sympathizers are paying for it all.

Many other magazines are following suit. They are playing the "radical" game to the limit, while our own publications feel the financial effects of it.

Of course, it gives me great satisfaction to see the immense publicity that Socialism gets. But my contention-bone is why should the Socialists be made to pay for it. Why can't we rest satisfied that they are doing it and let them do it as long as they want to. But let's go no further. Let us not permit them to exploit us in this "fad" of theirs. Let not their incentive to advertise Socialism be stimulated by the fact that we will be the suckers.

Henceforth let us all resolve never to allow ourselves to be duped again. Let us never fall for a gold brick simply because the word "Socialism" is printed across the face of the brick, even though it be printed in red ink. Let us never buy any shares or building lots simply because the promoter calls himself "comrade," or even if he promises to give part of the "proceeds" to the cause. No publication that is not controlled by the Socialist Party or by Socialist Party members is good enough for us, no matter how radical it may not appear to be. If we want to buy them or read them let it be for some other reason and not because of the fact that it turned "radical." No dollar of ours that we can spare should go elsewhere but to the support of our own affairs, our own institutions, our own publications.

The First Vienna Victor

DR. L. H. GIBBS, former candidate for Congress on the Socialist party ticket of Scranton, Pa., is the first winner of THE REVIEW trip to the International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna, Austria, next summer. Within two months after he began taking subscriptions, Comrade Gibbs had forwarded 370 yearlies to THE REVIEW. We feel sure our thousands of readers will join us in congratulating the Doctor on his success and in wishing him health and happiness during his trip abroad.

From Boston comes twenty-eight yearly subs. to be placed to the credit of Comrade Orlando L. Carpenter, who is a young comrade 17 years of age, and a charter member of the Young People's Socialist League of Boston. He will graduate from high school this year and is working hard to win the free trip over to the Congress.

Comrade Kate Kidwell of Jackson, Mich., fires in a bunch of yearlies and writes that "these are all brakemen on the M. C. railroad. Next Sunday I will get the conductors." Comrade Kate is a "live" one, and we are willing to bet a Chicago skyscraper against a package of Bull Durham that she will round up 300 subscriptions and then some.

George Bundy of Warren, Ohio, sends in a bunch of thirteen and writes that "I will work for THE REVIEW just the same, whether winning or not."



COMRADE GIBBS.

Dr. Madge Patton Stephens of Terre Haute, Ind., will soon be heard from, and hardly a day passes but what Comrade L. T. Rush of Cedar Rapids, Ia., sends in one or more. John Burns of Wilkesbarre, Pa., and A. G. Ward of Washington, Pa., a Socialist news dealer and literature salesman, expects to take enough subscriptions to win a free trip for himself and for his very lovely little daughter, who will probably be the very youngest member of THE REVIEW party.

The Miners' War in Colorado

By George N. Falconer

AN invitation from the Trinidad Socialist Local enabled us to spend ten days among the miners in the strike zone. The need for working-class Socialist propaganda was demonstrated beyond all peradventure. Meetings were held in Trinidad, Ludlow, Starkville, Augillar—all storm centers during the present strike.

Ludlow is unique in the annals of industrial warfare. Over 500 miners and their families are housed in tents on land leased by the Miners' Union. Here they eat and drink with an ever watchful eye on their enemy, the armed soldiery, camped a few rods to the right of them. What a sight! Workers on one side; the armed Hessians of capitalism on the other, each watching and fearing the other!

Under Ludlow's silent, snow-clad plains lies the bones of more than one "thugman" and "plug-ugly," fit testimony of the truth that he who lives by the gun shall die by the gun. A new chapter in working-class history is being written on Ludlow's rock-bound plain! Ludlow! the tent city of mountain and plain.

A splendid meeting was held in the big tent, and a quantity of anti-military literature distributed. The men were very hungry for something to read.

At Augillar another rousing big meeting was held. A company of soldiers surrounded the hall during the meeting. Company spies were on hand, reporting everything said. They may have learned something!

Preceding the Starkville meeting, an Italian comrade, Amando Pelizzari, union organizer, and I were honored by being arrested as dangerous persons. The guard escorted us to military headquarters—a coal company's office—and we were examined as follows:

Guard: "Two prisoners, sir." Captain: "What is the charge?" Guard: "They are agitators, I think, sur." The guard was a Mick; you could tell it by his brogue and his breath. Captain: "Any weapons?" ad-

ressing the prisoners. "Yes, some dynamite," pulling from our pocket a copy of Kirkpatrick's "Mental Dynamite." Just the faintest flicker of a smile crept over the faces of Mike and the Captain. Captain: "Guard! we have not sufficient charges against these men; release them." Guard: "Yes, sur." Turning to us: "Prisoners, ye're released!" Guard salutes, shoulders his musket and marches, proud as a turkey cock. Piff, puff, pizzle! What fools we mortals be when dressed in a little brief authority!

Over 200 miners were waiting in the hall to receive us. What a big warm welcome! There is something elemental in the man who digs our coal! "Venerable to me is the hard hand—crooked, coarse—wherein notwithstanding lies a cunning virtue, indefeasibly royal as of the scepter of this planet." His is the face of a *man*, living, *manlike*. Over 600 miners made up the meeting in Walsenburg, but as other speakers had already been billed, we merely helped swell the audience. There was no literature for this meeting—something not uncommon at all, pure and simple trade union meetings. All the literature we brought from Trinidad was exhausted at the close of the Augillar meeting, where the men good-naturedly mobbed us in their anxiety to secure a bit of brain stuff.

The Socialist party, state and national, is sadly derelict in its duty in failing to supply competent speakers and working-class literature to the men now battling for a few elemental rights. During a strike the men have leisure; they have time to spare for reading; their minds are in a receptive mood. The union pays each striker \$3 per week for victuals, but fails to supply brain food. The job of revolutionizing the brain of the worker is left to the Socialist; but in this instance he, too, is negligent. The Socialists of Denver tried hard to get out a 20,000 edition of their party paper, *The Colorado Worker*, devoted to the strike exclusively, but owing to a cancellation of

8,000 which were to go to the strike zone only about 13,000 were printed. Someone inside the union didn't want Socialist papers to be read by the miners. Why this opposition to Socialist work? Here is a partial explanation: Many union officials are against Socialist activity in any shape or form. Strange it may be, but true.

Several officials, members of our Socialist State and National Executive Committees seem to be in tacit agreement with this policy. Socialist propaganda, they say, tends to antagonize "business men" and thus hinders a speedier settlement of the strike. Moreover, *politics must be kept out of the union*. Just so! Democratic, Republican or Progressive politics are permissible, but Socialism as a political factor! It might confuse and bemuddle the situation. Don't encourage Socialist propaganda—wait until the strike is settled, etc., etc.

"Wherever the labor movement is," once observed Marx, "*there* the class struggle is fought," business or no business.

Unfortunately, many of our leaders, so-called, have not emancipated themselves from the debauching influence of the business man's creed. Hence their reactionary tendencies. This talk of "No politics in the union" is as stupid as a man trying to escape his own shadow. Frank Bohn, in the December REVIEW states the case exactly:

"In the small town there is no well-defined labor movement. In the large cities there is usually a reactionary labor union machine working hand in glove with this or that capitalist political crowd. When patronage is dispensed the labor politicians are not forgotten. *Until the labor unions become revolutionary in character*, they must ordinarily be reckoned among the enemies of the Socialist party." This covers the Colorado situation admirably.

"WATCH YOUR OFFICIALS"—SAID MOTHER JONES.

The average union labor leader takes himself too seriously. "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." And so it will be forever, says the official, who has been raised from the ranks to his present high position. But—the privates have *their* views about that. There is too much officialdom and too little democracy in all of our craft and industrial unions. We heard more than one miner speak of the high-salaried officials and the

common tendency in every union to rule from the top down. The rank and file pay all the bills; they justly feel they should do more of the ruling.

A labor convention was called in Denver during December, the object being to devise ways and means of helping the striking miners and the declaring of a general strike. Five hundred delegates were present. Many speeches were delivered. Lots of resolutions passed. The governor was cross examined and grilled by delegates who crowded the state house. Unless he did so and so within five days, petitions for his recall would be circulated. Many other things were said and done, but no one was hurt. General Chase is still doing duty in the strike zone; Governor Ammons rests easy in his official chair; the operators continue to import "scabs" with the kindly assistance of the militia. No general strike has been called. It was never meant to be called; the nature of craft unionism forbade. The "bluff," however, was carried through amid much shouting, only instead of bluffing the capitalists, which was the intent, the workers were once more bluffed.

THE MILITIA A SCAB AGENCY.

The object in sending the militia to the strike region was, as per the capitalist press, to "maintain peace and order." The real object, however, is to act as a "scab agency." The patriotic militiamen have become "scab herders." Each mining camp is guarded by militiamen. Guns, swords, bayonets are everywhere in evidence. Strike breakers are being imported under military supervision. The soldiers are the servants of the mine owners, paid for by the state.

One day a trainload of strike breakers rolled in from St. Louis. They were quickly transferred to a waiting train which conveyed them to their respective mine camps. Militiamen with unsheathed bayonets pressed the crowd back from the platform, thus preventing any intercourse with the new arrivals.

GENERAL CHASEM, PATRIOT.

Patriot Comrade J. G. Barnhouse, an aged war veteran and I called on General Chase, or, "Chasem," as nicknamed by the miners. We wished to see Robert Uhlich, militant Socialist and union organizer, held "incommunicado" by orders of the general. "Chasem" is a product of the Peabody regime, and served under the notorious Sher-

man. Bell of "habeas corpus be damned, we'll give them postmortems instead" fame. Chase is a regular military totem pole, who takes himself seriously. He is a cave man dressed in a little brief authority and—khaki. He reminds you of a foolish French king who said: "I am the state. The king is dead."

King "Chasem," on learning our mission, arose, and in a Rocky mountain voice exclaimed: "Any man that is against my government is against me. Robert U. is a dangerous citizen and doesn't deserve to live. You cannot see Robert Uhlich." We wanted to argue the point, but Chasem would none of it.

General Chase, arrogant, foolish soldier that he is, is but the visible expression of a class whose servant he is, the scurviest, meanest, most sordid and contemptible ruling class the world has ever known.

Five days later Uhlich was turned over by the military to the civil authorities on a charge of being an accessory to the killing of a mine guard. He is now penned in the county jail with a dozen other rebels. We called on the prisoners one Sunday afternoon. Religious service was on. A group of religious zealots closed the meeting with singing:

"Yes, we will gather at the River,
Gather with the saints at the River."

The boys behind the bars followed with their favorite:

"The Union forever! Hurrah, boys, hurrah!

Down with the Baldwins! Up with the law!
For we're coming to Colorado! We're coming all the way!

Shouting the Union cry of Freedom!"

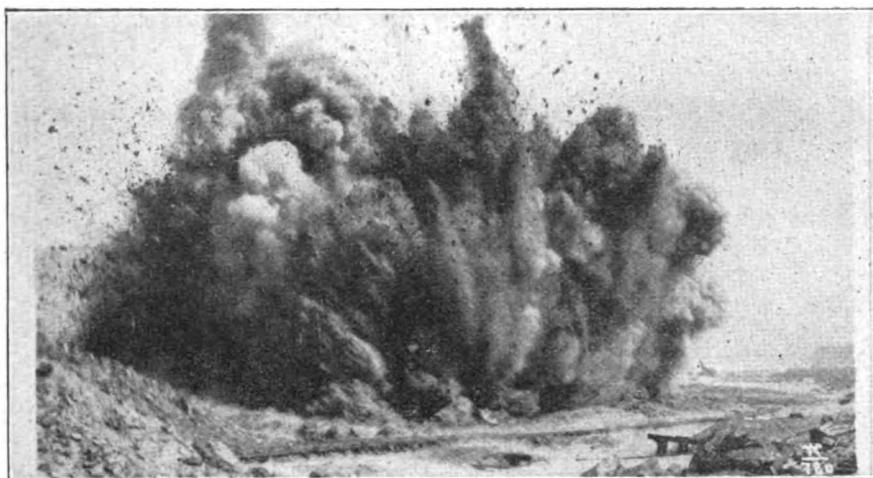
These miners prefer union to heaven; they will gladly barter salvation in the hereafter for an increase of wages here. They are afraid of no offense to the saints in the calendar, if people here and now are right down busy at making themselves and neighbors a little more saintly. The prisoners were served with parts of the gospel according to Marx, Engel, Bebel and THE SOCIALIST REVIEW.

THE STRIKE UP TO DATE.

The strikers are playing the waiting game. They demand recognition of the

union; the mine owners refuse absolutely. Forty to fifty per cent of the regular coal output is being mined by scab or non-union labor. It is costing the companies much moneys, but they have dollars to burn, they say. The militia is being financed by the taxpayers to the tune of \$5,000 per day. The striking miners are being paid \$3 per week per man; coal for heating purposes furnished by the union. How long will the strike last? No one knows. The miners are prepared, if necessary, to stay out a year. The northern miners have been out now nearly three years, costing the union the large sum of \$1,022,000. And all this money comes from the workers themselves. It is a case of Peter, the worker, handing over to Paul, the striker, part of his hard-earned wages.

What next? Press reports say the citizens of Routt county are threatening to export every striking miner. Mother Jones has already been deported from Trinidad by orders of General Chase. Official Doyle of the Miners' Union wires the union at Oak Creek "that if any man attempts to invade the homes of the miners or to molest them in any manner, that they are to shoot to kill. The United Mine Workers will quit paying relief in the state and start buying lead." Doyle, by the way, is very much opposed to Socialism in the union. He is a Knight of Columbus and a very practical Democratic politician. He does not believe in Socialist ballots, but is not averse to the use of capitalist bullets. However necessary bullets may be—and they are at times necessary when life and home and liberty *are threatened*—the bullet as a weapon never will free the worker from economic servitude. Industrial and political solidarity will and shall. The antique methods of modern craft unionism are but pop-guns when confronted with the commercial and political batteries of twentieth century capitalism. Which will prove the stronger weapon, finally? Socialist ballots, backed by industrial unionism, or capitalist bullets, backed by organized wealth? Socialism, Mr. Pure and Simple Union Man, may be the longest way round of winning the world for the workers, but coming events shall prove it the shortest way home to Peace, Power and Plenty.



THIS BLAST WAS CHARGED WITH 17,000 POUNDS OF 80 PER CENT GIANT POWDER AND LOOSENEED 500 YARDS OF ROCK AND EARTH.

“OUR” CILILO CANAL

By Wilby Heard

CAPITALISM believes that certain achievements, like certain little children, should be seen and not heard, while others again must not even be seen until a certain age. They must not make their debut till the profits to flow from them are all corralled and headed safely for certain favorite coffers. Such an achievement is the Dalles-Cililo Canal, now under construction on the mighty Columbia river on the Oregon side, some ninety miles east of Portland.

Approach any politician or business man and mention the Cililo canal, and if he does know anything about it, he glares at you, fires a thousand and one questions at you, to your one, demands your pedigree, and whether you give it or no, he informs you that there is nothing to tell about it, and that no publicity is asked for on the matter, anyway.

In the last year or so a few skimpy statements on this governmental chunk of philanthropy have found the light. And the present seems to promise that the near future will tear down the blinds altogether, which means that someone's pockets are well lined and the graft well cinched.

The reason given by a few for this silence is that the Oregon-Washington Railroad & Navigation Company had its heart set against the canal, and the matter was pulled off on the Q. T. to get one over on it. But this holds no water, since the congressman who got through the first appropriation is said to be a particular friend of the poor O.-W. R. & N.

Far more plausible are the few rumblings escaped from the dungeon where the truth lies chained till the fat checks are cashed. Chief among these is the story that things must now stay hushed till the U. S. government and the states of Oregon and Washington make their appropriations of \$15,000 each for the construction of a proposed dam across the Columbia river right at the Cililo falls, where the canal opens. This dam, it is claimed, will have a water power generating more force than the Niagara falls.

But it is declared that if the dam be built it will make utterly useless the canal by flooding over half the canal territory. And, almost strange to say, that part of the canal to be affected most by the dam is the part about complete.

So mum must be the word till that *dam* money is safely landed and the canal completed. Then some gilded-tongued congressman will up in his glory for a new appropriation for a new canal to take the place of the present canal which is being built to make it useless.

Another reason for the silence is given by men who know the river, and these claim that even should the dam not materialize, the canal must still remain a white elephant because of the river between The Dalles and Cililo being so narrow and so rapid at places as to make boat navigation next to impossible. This, too, seems to explain why the O.-W. R. & N. pretends to be ignorant of the whole scheme which is being pulled off so close to its line as to remove its tracks along that section so as to give the diggers more room.

Should the undertaking, however, have been for the good of the people, instead of a few business philanthropists and contractors, the canal could prove a valuable asset in more ways than one. And since ere many decades rush by the workers will own the machinery of production and transportation, a few words on the canal may be in place.

The Dalles-Cililo canal will be about eight and one-half miles long; have five locks, with a total lift of seventy feet. The idea was born in the balmy days of Henry Villard, the great western railroad promoter, and brought to a paying proposition for contractors by The Dalles, Portland & Astoria Navigation Company.

If the rapids and narrows below the lower end of the canal be overcome and the upper end be not dammed, the canal will open the river to boats as far as Lewiston, Idaho, on the Snake river, and to Kettle Falls, Wash., on the Columbia. And should the obstruction of Kettle Falls be removed, rumors to that effect already being afloat, it will open river traffic for five hundred miles into British Columbia. Thus it will make all of the Kootinia lake country, which is rich in coal, copper, silver and some lead and gold, tributary to ocean commerce.

This canal project was approved by Congress in 1905. And before the "builders" are through with Uncle Sam it will cost him about \$5,000,000. The work for the common dubs involves the excavation of

700,000 cubic yards of earth, 750,000 cubic yards of sand, and 1,300,000 cubic yards of rock. They will construct 2,000,000 cubic yards of concrete, and about 5,000 cubic yards of rubble masonry. The human ants practically began to get their grub for this task in 1910.

It is claimed that this little job will come to an end in 1916, and then the flowing waters will carry the Inland Empire's products, main among which are wheat, hay, fruit and live stock, to Portland via river and to the world market via ocean courses. That does not mean, however, that prices of these commodities will be lowered to the working class thereby.

Now, as to the labor conditions maintaining at these government camps, the usual capitalist methods prevail. The 1,200 to 1,400 men are separated into three camps—Big Eddy, or Camp 1; Camp 2, an annex to Big Eddy, and Robert, or Camp 3.

Stationed at Big Eddy are the highest officials and their underlings, the clerks and straw bosses, and a gang of about 200 common delvers. This is the camp to which visitors are taken. The few articles which have crept into the press of late have all been centered about Big Eddy, with the impression between the lines that the same holds true of all the camps. And true it is that Camp 1 is the best managed of the lot. From what can be gathered, the aim of the officials here seems to be to treat the wage-slaves as fair as can be expected under this hellish system.

For one reason or another, men leave every day, and every sun looks down upon a greater number of blanket stiffs coming in than can be put to work. The majority of newcomers, as well as many of those already at work, for some time are toilers well starved, and their table manners lead the "well bred" to conclude that these bunk dwellers had their etiquette caught in the railroad ties they measured, and that they left them to perish there. So much for Camp 1; but Camp 3, all declare, is a hell hole of disgust and abuse.

Camp 2, as stated before, is but a "Jungle Town" suburb to Big Eddy. In this "suburb" 200 men or more, some with families, waste their nights as well as days. These consist in the main of foreigners who feed themselves. These two camps are about



THE DINNER "LINE-UP" AT CAMP 3.

three miles apart, and midway between them is a small schoolhouse for the children of these workers.

Robert, at present, holds the biggest herd of laborers. And here is where complaints are loudest. While 800 men are employed, the bunkhouses can accommodate but 500. The ventilation is very poor. The bunks are arranged in two layers, one above the other. The men furnish their own bedding, and all mattresses consist of Oregon pine or fir, soft enough for any rock to linger on.

The men here, as at the other two camps, work in two shifts of eight hours each. The night gang gets through at 2 a. m. and their bunkhouse, being far too small, the overflow crowds into the bunkhouse of the day shift for warmth and are the means of aiding the board mattresses in driving all sleep beyond the towering palisades of Camp 3.

The dining rooms at both camps are walled off into three separate divisions: One room for the high and holy officials, one for the straw bosses and clerks, and one for just the common herd. A few say that the food served is the same for all, many declare that it is served according to caste. Among the latter is a waiter who served

the foremen's mess. This waiter told me that while the officials and straw bosses get real butter, the actual workers never see anything but oleomargarine.

He also stated that he personally saw some potato bills which had come in from Portland, and that there were two different bills. The one for the government was marked \$1.25 per sack, and the one for the man who had to do the paying was marked 25 cents per sack.

Another of his statements worthy of publication was that a certain bookkeeper was transferred to the Philippines for tattling the fact that during the winter of 1910 the pay roll at Washington numbered 300 men, while at the camps the number of men actually at work was twenty-five. So if someone doesn't become a fat philanthropist and good church member by the time the canal is finished, it won't be the pay roll's fault.

Sanitation, too, could be improved a thousand fold. One instance will suffice. There are twenty toilets, all in one room, for the accommodation of 800 men. The crank to the flush pipe is off to one corner of the place, and instead of running all the time, the water is supposed to be turned on



A TYPICAL "JUNGLE TOWN" HOME WITH THE WINDOW PANES MISSING.

and off by each individual—a thing the laborers all ought to bear in mind, but which many do not.

There is but one small hospital, and that at Big Eddy, and this is ever brim full. A man hurt at Robert has to be hauled fully five miles or more on the rickety Portage railway, which, by the way, is state owned, to the hospital for treatment. It seems true, however, that commercial murderings are not as numerous here as they are in privately run institutions.

The latest death occurred at Camp 3, on Tuesday, December 2, last. The victim was one Frank Lynch, who was working on the bed of the canal. A skipload of dirt, weighing a ton and a half, dropped twenty feet, crushing him beyond recognition. The accident was due to the breaking of a goose-neck on a derrick.

The verdict of the coroner's inquest was that the death was due to the negligence and carelessness of the engineers. But the gentlemen demanded a second inquest, claiming that because the witnesses at the

first inquest were all laborers they were prejudiced. They were promised another investigation, but at the time of this writing nothing new has come forth.

But it is an ill wind that blows no one good. This government job is, at present, like an oasis in the desert to many of the vast army of out-of-works. On their travels from place to place in search of a grub-supplier, hundreds pause here for a few weeks' recuperation, to earn enough to take them to some other place where lying ads glare brightly from the pandering columns of the capitalist papers.

Rebels! The camps are overrun with them. And the gospel of the toilers is being drilled into the minds of the sleeping slaves as carefully and accurately as the dynamite holes into the canal rocks. The I. W. W. has a fair and solid representation among that gang. And it is but right to mention that the good work is going on in a healthy manner, though much of it must be done under cover. Our day is dawning and we have no reason for despair.



STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON III

The Materialist Conception of History

By J. E. Sinclair

THERE can be no materialist conception of history unless we have reached the materialist conception of life. It is the business of modern science to teach us this. Physics, chemistry, geology, biology, and anthropology open up to us the most gorgeous vistas of the material world. They teach us to reason from material facts. They teach us to reason dialectically. Every student of Socialism is urged to get on speaking terms with these sciences. They have revolutionized the thought of the world during the last fifty years.

In this lesson and in the one succeeding it we shall study the materialist conception; but in this particular lesson we shall study it in its broader aspects—we might say in its biological aspects. For this study you will need three books: *Evolution, Social and Organic*, by Arthur M. Lewis (Kerr & Co., cloth, 50 cents); *The Evolution of Man*, by Bölsche (Kerr & Co., cloth, 50 cents); and *The Origin of the Family*, by Engels (Kerr & Co., cloth, 50 cents).

In our last lesson we saw how life adapted itself to its environment. We saw how organs and institutions came into being in response to certain needs, and we saw that the primary needs were those that sustained and maintained life. We saw how animals adapt themselves to the satisfaction of their peculiar needs and that food getting, protection, and propagation are the elemental needs of every organism. We saw, too, that human society itself was shaped by the ways in which men satisfied these primary needs. It is thus seen that material conditions determine much more than we at first thought. In fact the further we travel along the lines laid down by scientific research the more restless we became until we have unearthed

the material conditions that lie back of each significant phenomenon. If there is anything in the universe that material conditions cannot produce it is unknown to our consciousness and of no interest to us whatever. If any mysteries still remain it is because a few very simple facts have not yet been discovered. Science cannot recognize the supernatural. It deals with material facts only.

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

When our ancestors saw manifestations of force anywhere they immediately personified the situation, just as a child personifies his toys and talks to them as though they were human. The human mind craves explanation. Personification was the easiest explanation. In the absence of facts, fables flourished. The crash of thunder in the summer sky, and storm, the sun, the moon, the plunging sea, the cataract, the dawn, all had back of them the magic of some unseen personality that grew with the passing centuries into a god endowed with immortality. The world and the heavens became crowded with gods, faries, gnomes, ghosts, goblins, and demons. Fear of these creatures of the morbid fancy became greater than the fear of death.

It has been the painful business of science to rid the world of this fearful phantasmagoria and to remove from nature and life the black mantle of mystery and superstition. Every new scientific discovery has knocked some god on the head, exploded some creed, and robbed the supernatural of more territory. Every step forward has been a conquest for materialism, until now little remains of the metaphysical foolishness of former days.

No one did more to shatter the realm of ancient superstition and thus to free the

human mind than did Charles Darwin. He established on a sound basis the dialectic method of reasoning and with it the materialist conception of life and nature, without a full comprehension of which it is useless for us to try to approach a scientific interpretation of history. Darwinism and Marxism are quite inseparable. No one realized this more than did Marx himself. The materialistic interpretation of history but supplements the Darwinian materialistic interpretation of life. At the grave side of his illustrious colleague, Marx, Frederick Engels said: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development in human society."

As Lewis points out, the theory of evolution has ceased to be a theory merely, it is also a well established fact. Those who do not accept evolution as a demonstrated fact, as Professor Giddings says, "inhabit a world of intellectual shades," and "cannot grasp the earthly interests of the twentieth century."

THE MATERIALIST CONCEPTION OF HISTORY

The student of Lewis' work above mentioned is struck with the slow development of the theory of evolution for nearly two thousand years and then with its sudden blossoming in the last half century. In the Communist Manifesto we saw the reason for this rapid spread of scientific knowledge. Before the bourgeoisie became reactionary it was revolutionary. It fought the feudal church. Science was its weapon. As it was with the old Genoese merchants the bourgeoisie recognized that orthodox superstition interfered with business. More than that they saw in science a powerful instrument in production. The textile industries, mining, the iron industries, land transportation, navigation, agriculture and animal husbandry, engineering, and all the subsidiary industries required scientific knowledge to a greater or less degree. In short science was the principal weapon with which the bourgeoisie conquered the world market.

At the same time it was the weapon with which it killed religion, and now that the bourgeoisie is no longer a revolutionary class but a reactionary class it appears at the funeral as chief mourner and furnishes devil doctors to convince the living that the dead is not dead.

The theory of evolution leaves no place in the universe for the supernatural to roost.

There is no place for miracles. Things come into being as the result of a simple and gradual procession of causes and effects that become causes leading "step by step along the path of natural inter-relation." They shape themselves as the resultant of certain forces operating upon and through them. These physical forces are very real and very demonstrable. The indestructibility of matter and force has become axiomatic in science. In this world of matter and force we live and by it we are shaped to what we are.

The evolution of life on this earth as treated by Lewis in *Evolution, Social and Organic* and by Bolsche in his little book, *The Evolution of Man*, is a theme of surpassing grandeur. There is something sublimely optimistic in this study of the upward climbing of life from the simple uni-cellular protozoon back there in the steaming seas of life's first stirring to the stature and dignity of man. Nor is the history of the revelation of this life story of man's upward striving devoid of the inspiration of heroic endeavor and glorious martyrdom. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Aristotle, Copernicus, Bruno, Galileo, are some of the names of those who struggled for the scientific enlightenment of the race. Socrates drinking his poison at the state's command, Galileo in the torture chamber, and Bruno's noble spirit perishing at the stake—these suffered because they ran counter to superstitious ignorance that had become an asset of the ruling class. Evolution as we know it was unknown to all of these but they cleared the ground for the evolutionary renaissance that has delivered the death blow to supernaturalism of every sort and has planted human reason on a material basis.

Poor, blind, and almost forsaken, there died in Paris in 1829 Jean Lamarck, the forefather of Darwinism. Like an echo from the tomb of the great Lucretius coming across the centuries we find Lamarck proclaiming anew the doctrine of evolution. Lamarck taught "that all existing species have descended from ancestors who were in a vast number of cases, and ultimately in all, very different from their present representatives; that this difference is due, not to the total extinction of previous species by 'cataclysms,' and the divine creation of new ones, as Cuvier maintained, but because previous species changed in adapting themselves to a changed environment."

He thus laid the foundation. The materialist conception of life had here its unmistakable dawning. Back somewhere in the eons gone by Lamarck saw life springing from non-living matter. Had modern chemistry been in existence he might have proved the chemical processes by which apparently non-sentient matter is dissolved, absorbed, and assimilated by plants, and how this same inorganic matter after being changed into organic form in plants forms the basis of animal life. He might have seen the line waver between the organic and the inorganic until it became obscure. He might have seen chemists on the very verge of creating that primitive life stuff, protoplasm, in test tubes. He might have seen radium change to helium, or the organic substance formerly grown in the fields and known as indigo created by catalytic chemistry from coal tar.

But positive science was young then, and Lamarck's methods were crude. Theology smothered him.

Then came Darwin. This indefatigable genius by an endless array of evidence collected by observation and experiment proved the origin of species by natural selection beyond the cavil of a doubt.

Darwin saw that of the millions of creatures that come into the world only a few live. Why do they live and propagate? Why do the others die? Those live that are the fittest to survive in their particular environment. The others die. As the environment and the conditions of food getting change, new species are born through adaptation to these new conditions. Life is thus a struggle for existence, a material struggle for sustenance. And this struggle for sustenance becomes the most compelling thing in life. The laws of nature are ruthlessly enforced and those failing to come up to the standard are destroyed. In an ever changing world no species can remain fixed. The more rapid the adaptation the better chance there will be for propagation, the greater the advantage over others unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions. This natural selection of the best through the struggle for existence leaves nothing fixed in the organic world. All is mutation, adaptation, change.

The student should read very carefully the first 114 pages of *Evolution, Social and Organic*, and then read all of *The Evolution of Man*. Professor Bolsche in this lat-

ter work takes us down the spiral ladder of human life to its very beginning in the unicellular protozoon and there on that lowly round of life's ladder he discusses with us the inorganic origin of the protozoon. With the careful hand of the trained scientist he traces our ancestry step by step. Here we see our folks that once lived in the Neader Valley near Dusseldorf, Germany. Strange old fellows these with great bumps over their eyes. Over in a cave at Namur in France and far off in another cave at Krapina in Austria were found some more skull bones with knobs over the eye sockets. The bones of the cave bear were there, too, as well as the bones of the mammoth. Some of these bones were charred. Worse still some of the charred bones were human bones. All of which goes to show that our folks at that stage had learned the use of fire and had also developed the very uncharitable habit of cooking and eating each other at times. It was back in the ice age when great glaciers had chilled the world and the race that could not learn how to make fires simply froze and was forgotten. In order that some timid soul might not suspect that these cave-dwelling dads of ours were mere monkeys let it be here announced that they scrawled some pictures on the walls of their cave homes, pictures of mammoths, cave bears, etc., that monkeys are not in the habit of making.

Then over in Java, buried under lava since long before the ice age, we find the bones of another knobby skulled man; *Pithecanthropus* is what they have christened him. This means monkey-man. He looks like a gibbon but he looks also strikingly like the Neader Valley folks. He looks much less like us than the ice-age people did. He is down on a lower round of the ladder. *Pithecanthropus*, my poor fellow, with your monkey face and your half human skull space, you have served the gibbon and us with a common ancestry. You have also helped smash orthodoxy with your long thigh bone.

On down through the life history of our folks we go. The further we go the more they diverge from our type but our relationship is never lost even when we reach the protozoon down at the foot of the ladder. By the blood test by the geological record, and by the law of biogenesis with its attendant study of embryology, Professor Bolsche proves beyond a doubt that we are not only the descendants of the man-mon-

key, *Pithecanthropus*, but that we are the descendants of the protozoon down there in the slime of ocean.

Link by link Bolsche weaves his chain of proof until the dullest mind can comprehend. He and Lewis and a host of others have proven evolution. Remains for us in this lesson to study briefly the social evolution of man through savagery and barbarism. For this we must read carefully Engel's *Origin of the Family*.

We have seen how the struggle for existence is mainly a struggle for food. Individuals and species capable of developing organs that fitted them better for this struggle surpassed or overcame the others. But this struggle is by no means at all times a struggle of each against all and all against each. We see groups continually forming for the purpose of mutual aid. Not only among mammals, but also among birds and insects do we find these groups formed on the basis of common interests. Kropotkin's great work in investigating this phase of the struggle for existence as reviewed by Lewis is worth our careful examination.

When Lewis H. Morgan wrote his "*Ancient Society*" he lifted the curtain of prehistoric night and revealed to us the unwritten history of mankind from the age when *Pithecanthropus* leaped from branch to branch in the tropical forests of Java. "*The Origin of the Family*," by Engels is at once a brief review and an extension of Morgan's great work.

"According to the materialist conception," says Engels, "the decisive element of history is pre-eminently the production and reproduction of life and its material requirements." It is not battles, not heroes, not gods, ghosts, nor governments that shape the destinies of mankind. We have seen how each organism in the struggle for existence has ever ahead of it a diminishing food supply and behind it hunger and death. With mankind before the mastery of food production by artificial methods the same was true. To the vast majority of mankind it is still so. And destiny is still largely at the mercy of the masters of the food getting process. As Engels says, "All great epochs of human progress, according to Morgan, coincide more or less directly with times of greater abundance in the means that sustain life."

Human progress can then be measured in no other way than by the progress made

in the production of the means of sustenance. Morgan finds man in the lower stage of savagery bordering on a mere animal existence. He divides the period of savagery into three sub-periods. Then follows the period of barbarism, which he also divides into three sub-periods. Each division and sub-division is marked at its inception by some new method of food getting.

Pithecanthropus and his folks were in the lower stage of savagery. They had no weapons that we know of. They lived in trees mostly and ate nuts, fruits, and roots. Then some genius discovered the use of fire. It is hard to imagine the social transformation that followed. Clubs and spears were also invented. A meat and fish diet now supplemented the vegetable and fruit diet. The carnivorous monsters of that day could now be driven away. Man came down out of the trees and dwelt in caves. A few inventions—fire, clubs and spears—had changed everything. Arms got shorter. Legs grew thicker. The big toe quit acting like a thumb. Feet became real feet. This was in the middle stage of savagery.

Then a new age was ushered in. This came because the bow and arrow had been invented. This increased the food supply. Population increased accordingly. Village life began and new marriage relations began to shape themselves. Wooden vessels and utensils were invented; baskets, stone implements, and huts of boards were invented. A division of labor between men and women was now fairly complete, the first beginning of class distinction in human history.

Then came the first stage of barbarism. This period was ushered in by the invention of pottery, by the taming of domestic animals, and the faint beginnings of agriculture. It was a golden age. Men and women were equal and all were free. Upon the face of the earth there was not a slave. A primitive communism prevails through both savagery and lower barbarism that is at once simple and lofty in its beauty and in its brotherhood. Private property in the means of production was unknown. All had access to the sources of food supply. But wealth was increasing, and the end of the old freedom was in sight.

The middle stage of barbarism is marked by agricultural advance. Irrigation ditches, adobe bricks, and stone houses appear among the ruins. Social production was beginning. This was in the New World.

In the Old World the folk became nomadic and followed the herds, engaging in agriculture only incidentally. Here and there slavery appears, but the slaves are tribal property, not individual property. Work in copper and bronze begins.

In the upper stage of barbarism the iron plow share appears. Permanency of residence becomes possible. Herds and flocks increase greatly. Ownership of the means of life gradually passes into the hands of the males. The far-reaching revolution in the relations of women and men that came as a result of these industrial changes are dealt with by Engels fully and need not here be discussed. Suffice it to say here that the evolution of the family and new marital relations had for their propelling force the evolution of industry and with it the social division of labor and the rise of private property in the means of food getting.

When man dropped down from the tree tops and on through the countless years of savagery and early barbarism the social groups that were formed, the gentes, the phrateries, and the tribes, were based on blood ties. All men were as brothers within certain circles. Government was unknown. But the minute a subject class appears the State begins to shape itself for its bloody work of class subjugation. In the upper stage of barbarism it comes into view, a creature of economic origin made to serve the economic interests of the ruling class, the beginning of an earthly hell.

Up to this time, from the time he came down out of the trees, had made use of the principle of mutual aid in his struggle for existence. The group worked together as a unit. If famine came all starved together. The brutal scenes of today where men and women starve in the very shadow of bursting warehouses filled with food could not be enacted then. Such vicious cruelty would be inconceivable to the knobby skulled ancestors of ours who lived in the old Neander Valley. But into human history there came inventions that enabled men to produce more than they consumed, and strange to relate this very mastery of the food getting process made slavery possible and inevitable. It developed on one hand a property owning class and on the other hand a slave class. It degraded women to the position of a serf to man. And it established political government based on territory instead of the old

social regulation of the genus through a free democracy.

No man was to blame for this mighty change. It came about as silently as the coming of night. Unseen forces working through the centuries had made it imperative. What forces were these? The transforming forces that lie dormant in every new invention, in every new method of production. Every human relationship, every new institution, every new mental attitude can be traced more or less directly to something new in industry.

We have seen now how the history of man from protozoon up to the dawning of civilization was a material struggle, a struggle for food and for the chance to enjoy food and propagate the species. Through long processes of organic and social evolution we have traced him. The struggle for existence has permitted only the adaptable, the progressive, to live and propagate. At last in the dim Java forest we see a creature that looks like man. In caves again we find creatures that look more like men and that were men. They held in their hands weapons which became tools. Since then human progress has been measurable by the evolution of these tools. Life at the beginning was a chemical process. At its apex it is still dependent upon material change. The history of the cell and the history of man is primarily a material struggle for food.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY.

First read over last month's lesson again, laying particular stress on that part of it that pertains to the materialist conception of history. Do not fail to get the three books mentioned for study in this lesson. They are thought-provoking books. Read them carefully and make notes as you read. From time to time stop reading and try to reconstruct the text from the outline that you have been making in your note book. Get into arguments with your shop mates concerning the matters discussed. Refer them to the books. Study stores up potential energy; discussion sets it free. Have you organized your club yet? Go after it.

Questions for review: (Write answers to these before coming to the club.) (1) What is the materialist conception of history? (2) What relation exists between this conception and the theory of evolution? (3) Can it harmonize with divine creation of institution? (4) Can it harmonize with the idea of freedom of the will? (5) What physical law compels the polar fox to be white? Has this coloration anything to do with his success in food getting? Cite other cases. (6) Construct the genealogical tree of man from the protozoon

up to Pithecanthropus. Give reasons for believing that each arch-type named bears an ancestral relation to us. (7) Draw on a large sheet of good paper the embryos shown on pages 87 and 88 in *The Evolution of Man*. Discuss similarity and differences. (8) Give some geological proofs of evolution. (9) How would changed geological conditions affect the development of new species? (10) What embryological proof have we that our remote progenitors were water creatures? (11) Give reasons for the belief that our ancestors were

once tree dwellers? (12) By what means were they enabled to come down and live in caves? (13) What social changes were brought about by the invention of improved weapons of the chase? (14) What social changes were brought about by the domestication of animals. By the development of agriculture? (15) Compare the social organization of the gens with the political state. (16) What economic reasons can you give for the social degradation of woman that accompanied the rise of the political state.

ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC.

(Continued from the January REVIEW.)

Tone

IN forming the voice the principal object is to convert the breath into pure tone.

As in burning gas to produce light and heat, the object is to get a perfect combustion, because light and heat travel with a velocity that gas cannot attain, and thus produce results that cannot be produced by gas in its unconverted form. So we aim to get a perfect combustion or explosion of the breath into tone, and the more perfect the conversion the more perfect and pure the tone.

Tone or sound travels with a velocity and acquires a power that is impossible for breath. A man could hardly make his breathing heard twenty feet away; but vocalized it creates vibrations that travel to the gates of eternity.

It is therefore not a question as to the volume of breath expended, but of the amount perfectly exploded. The amount of pure tone formed, and its intensity, determine its traveling power. In a whistle a small amount of air forced through a narrow opening and made to react on itself produces vibrations that are felt miles away.

We frequently see people with small chests whose voices are clear and can be heard a great distance, while others, with powerful lungs, cannot be understood half as far. This is largely due to perfect explosion of breath into pure tone in the one case, and imperfect explosion in the other. The test of pure tone applied by musicians is to hold a lighted candle to the mouth

while running the scale. If the light is not blown out the explosion or conversion is perfect.

I have spoken only of pure tone, because in most cases this is all that an orator needs. When once master of it he can easily give other tones, such as the nasal and guttural.

Articulation.

Distinct articulation is the diamond of uttered speech. Without it there can be no sparkling sentence and no flashing epigram.

Without distinct articulation it is difficult to understand a speaker even when near by, and impossible to understand when a little distance away. The audience has to labor to catch his words, and this destroys the effect. Without distinct utterance it is impossible to reach the sensibilities and arouse the finer emotions.

Defective articulation admits of absolutely no excuse. Everybody can overcome it by making the requisite effort, and no man has a right to appear before an audience who is not willing to make every effort that is necessary to his success.

We are told that emphasizing vowels makes words carry. While this is true, it is no less true that unless the consonants also are distinctly uttered the words cannot be understood.

Daily practice in pronouncing the different letters of the alphabet will rapidly improve the articulation.

Writing of Speeches.

"In writing are the roots; in writing are the foundations of eloquence."—Quintilian.

Should a speech be written? Yes, emphatically yes. It should be written several times. Should it then be read to the audience or should it be committed to memory? Neither. When read it becomes simply an essay and is not an oration; and when committed to memory and then delivered, it is simply declamation and not oratory.

Besides, unless a man has a phenomenal memory, he will not be able to recite a speech, and will break down.

What, then, is the purpose of writing it? It is to become accurately familiar with the subject—to become steeped in it and saturated with it.

We may have a talking knowledge of a subject, but when we undertake to write upon it we soon find that there are many things which we must investigate further. Writing upon a subject tends to make it clear to the mind. It fixes the boundaries, brings to light the subdivisions, their relative importance and their relations to each other.

After we have written upon a subject we have a more accurate conception of it than before. And when we have written upon it the second or third time, ideas come to us that had eluded us before.

Though in the end the written copy be thrown into the fire, the writer will be repaid a hundred fold, for when he faces his audience he will be much better qualified. He will be more confident, and therefore more aggressive. Even if he does not use a single sentence of what he had written, he will make a much better speech than he otherwise could have made. The subject-matter will be larger, the presentation clearer, and the language more elegant.

After determining definitely what subject to discuss, the best way to prepare a speech is to get a definite idea of the boundaries and natural subdivisions of the subject and the relations they bear to each other. Having these things once clearly in mind the subject naturally unfolds itself, and the speaker will be carried along step by step, without having committed his speech to memory.

Accuracy in the use of language will in time become a habit, so that when the ideas and their proper arrangement are once fixed in the mind the language will come unconsciously.

We sometimes hear a speaker say that he does not know what he is going to talk about until he gets on his feet. This is a humiliating confession. It is an admission that he has not worked, and it means that it is impossible for him to reach a high standard of art. Generally this class of speakers follow the Frenchman's formula for writing a love letter: "Begin without knowing what you are going to say, and end without knowing what you have said."

Art does not admit of random touches. It demands entire accuracy. In music the singer is not permitted to be guided by his feelings in dropping or adding notes; the laws of harmony must be followed, and like fidelity is demanded in speech.

The mere fact that a speaker can work himself into a glow of excitement does not by any means prove that he is eloquent. Generally this is simply rant and wearies the audience.

No talk is eloquent unless it reads well. Literary excellence is the very breath of eloquence.

To attain this it is indispensable that the speaker know exactly what he is going to say and how he is going to say it. Otherwise he will fail to make a logical argument, fail to make his sentences epigrammatic, and will consume the time with tiresome repetitions.

The fatal mistake lies in the assumption that by working himself into a glow of excitement he can deliver himself of ideas, of logic and of language that are not in him. No man can get anything out of himself that is not in him.

All that the inspiration of any occasion can do is to enable a man to rise to his best.

Let it be said again that the inspiration of the greatest occasion cannot help a man to give an audience something he does not possess. He can give it neither wit nor wisdom, neither learning nor eloquence, neither pathos nor beauty.

All that can be expected is that the occasion may enable him to give and to do his best. But the stream will not rise higher than its source, and the very best speech cannot get above the accomplishments of the speaker; hence the necessity of thorough preparation. It is an insult to an intelligent audience for a speaker to appear before it without preparation.

(To be continued.)

EDITORIAL

Socialist Unity Inevitable. There have been substantial economic reasons for the bitter disputes within the Socialist movement over questions of tactics. But today there is plenty of evidence that new economic changes are sweeping away the basis for these disputes and are making Socialist unity inevitable. We have been divided into three sections, the Center, the Right, and the Left. The comrades of the Center have always been the most numerous, and while their theories have been hazy, their instincts have been sound. They want Socialism, and are willing to get it in any way that looks possible. When burning questions of tactics arise, they vote sometimes with the Left, sometimes with the Right, as each concrete question shapes itself in their minds. Economically, they are recruited mainly from the farms and the smaller industries where the wastes of competition and the lack of modern machinery still loom large, and they have thus far been without first-hand experience of the economic struggle between big capitalists and wage-workers. This lack of experience has at times prevented them from grasping the real issues at stake in any particular controversy; at the same time it has kept them free from any bitter prejudice against either the Right or the Left. Their ideal has been the Cooperative Commonwealth,—to be reached no matter how, but at least *to be reached*. They are always ready to “dig up” thousands of dollars for a campaign, or tens of thousands for a big strike. Any fight for the working class, political or economic, looks good to them. They make plenty of mistakes, but as a whole they never get very far from the right track.

The Right Wing. The vital element of the right wing of the Socialist movement in this country consists of those who are, or hope to be, in control of the policies of the old-line craft unions, which unions are largely made up of non-socialists. These unions have been in the past meas-

urably successful in keeping up their own wages, regardless of what happened to the rest of the working class. They have also succeeded in getting certain laws passed by making various deals with old-party politicians. (That the capitalists do not necessarily obey these laws is a great truth which is gradually beginning to dawn on the craft unionists.) The craft union Socialists of the Right Wing are unionists first and Socialists afterwards. They have shown little realization of there being anything radically wrong with craft union methods in the twentieth century. On the contrary, they have bitterly resented any criticism of these methods on the part of their Socialist comrades, because such criticism made it harder for them to induce other craft unionists to vote the Socialist ticket. In the Socialist party these craft union leaders were not slow to form an alliance with a small but influential group of writers and speakers who were ambitious for fame and office, and this alliance has for the most part shaped the official policy of the party. This it has been able to do because its leaders have been clever enough as a rule to shape each referendum in a way to catch the votes of the Center, and have been able to keep members of their own little group in the limelight so that the comrades of the Center would naturally support them for the positions of responsibility to be given out by the party. The Right Wing contains some self-seekers, with a much larger number of comrades whose own personal experience has in the past led them to believe that the old line unions were doing about what was needed on the economic field, and that the Socialist party might expect to achieve the emancipation of the working class at the ballot-box.

The Left Wing. The vital element of the left wing of the Socialist Party of America consists of the rebellious workers outside the privileged crafts, who through their own bitter experience know

that they have nothing to hope from the old-line trade unions and that very little can be directly accomplished by officers or legislators elected by Socialist votes. A large part of these workers are disfranchised through following their elusive jobs from city to city and from state to state, but they are all the more fully imbued with the sense of working-class solidarity. "One Big Union" is their watchword. Their daily work by which they live places them in the very front of the fight between the big capitalist and the proletarian. In their experience the State cuts little figure, except where once in a while the policeman's club or the soldier's rifle forces them back to work on the capitalist's own terms, and even then they often find hired detectives and gun-men performing the same function equally well.

Meanwhile they realize that they are being left in the lurch by the craft unions, tied up as these are by time contracts with employers, and they sometimes grow bitter both against these unions and against the Socialist Party leaders who seem to them to "cater to" the craft union officials. Their views, their feelings, are as natural and inevitable an outgrowth of economic conditions as are the views and the feelings of the comrades of the Right Wing. And the significance of the feelings of these rebels of the left wing is by far the greater, since they represent a far larger proportion of the working class, a group which is only beginning to think and speak for itself. Thus we have shown the economic basis of each of the three important groups within the Socialist Party. That they have clashed is not the fault of any individual. That unity is almost in sight is not the merit of any individual.

The Growth of the Capitalist State. Ever since the days of Marx and Engels, we Socialists have recognized the State as the managing committee of the capitalist class. But a generation ago it did the work of its masters mainly by providing prisons, police and punishments to keep the workers in subjection while individual capitalists exploited their labor. Gradually the capitalist State has enlarged its functions, especially in Europe, and signs are not wanting that there will

be a swift enlargement of these functions in the United States. Henceforth, the State will be not merely a policeman, but the greatest of employing capitalists, with a plant and output growing at an astounding rate. It is still owned and controlled by the capitalist class, but over the working class it will soon be exerting a double power. Soon the proletarian will not merely have to "keep off the grass" and "move on" as directed by the state-policeman. He will also soon be dependent on the state-employer for his job, and if he does not like the wages, hours and shop-rules, and goes on strike with his comrades, he will find himself a "criminal," with his life and liberty at the disposal of a judge who owes his position to the ruling class.

In this new situation toward which resistless forces are carrying the United States of America, all the hitherto burning questions which have caused dissensions among the members of the Socialist Party are fading away, and new and greater issues are shaping our future course. The craft unions must transform themselves into industrial unions or disappear, not because Socialists desire it, but because former union methods will become futile and absurd. All our party planks looking to the enlargement of government functions under capitalism will become obsolete because the capitalists themselves will have perceived the superior efficiency of government ownership in an increasing number of industries, and will go ahead and make it a fact. On the other hand, direct action without political action will become unworkable, because the coercive power of the capitalist state over the individual will be ten-fold more effective than the present power exercised by private employers and the state acting together. Free speech and free assembly will be menaced, and political action will be the most effective way of protecting them. The working class will be forced in fighting for its life to organize in one big union on the economic field and in the Socialist Party on the political field, both working in unison. And the issue will not be government ownership versus corporate ownership of industry. The question over which the great battle will come is whether the conditions and

the rewards of labor in the state-owned industries shall be determined by the bondholders and bureaucrats or by the workers themselves. The final victory will mark the end of State Capitalism and the beginning of Socialism. Things are moving swiftly. If we Socialists want to be an active factor in the impending social changes, we must stop fighting each other, adjust ourselves to the new battle-lines, and give ourselves with renewed energy to the work of Socialist education.

The Dublin Strike. Once in a while, as now, we need to remind our readers that each contributor and associate editor speaks for himself individually, and that

the editor is responsible only for unsigned opinions. In this issue Comrade Haywood expresses one view of the Dublin Strike in his article and Comrade Bohn another view in his International Notes. Each comrade had before him certain data that the other lacked, and neither of the two knew that the other was writing. We believe it best to let each speak for himself, and suggest that any reader who may disagree with one view read the other before writing a letter to the editor. At least we all agree that Comrade Larkin and the Dublin strikers have put up a splendid fight, and that whatever the immediate results, it has been a long step toward working-class solidarity.

For 14 Years.—"Please do not let me miss a copy of the REVIEW as I have a complete file which I do not wish broken."—R. A. Huebner, Springfield, Ohio.



Helen Keller's "Out of the Dark"

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Historic Trades Union Congress against Larkin.—Perhaps there was no one to blame, but few have been able to conceal their disappointment over the outcomes of the great English labor conference which met to consider Jim Larkin's proposal of a sympathetic strike. The meeting was in London on December 9. It was called by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions. In addition to the unions, the Independent Labor Party and the Fabian Society were represented. The forces of organized labor have seldom been better represented anywhere. And the problem faced was such an immediate and practical one, and withal one of such far-reaching importance, that the occasion was nothing short of epoch-making.

The thing which gave the discussion a wrong twist from the beginning was the peculiar relation which had been brought about between Larkin and the English unions. Larkin, as has been previously recorded in *THE REVIEW*, was at first hailed in England as a great labor Messiah. Everywhere he was greeted by cheering thousands. The cheap capitalist yellow press used his meteoric popularity to swell its circulation. He was pictured and interviewed and idiotically discussed, much as Coxey was in his day in this country. All this was bad. Larkin is a fine representative of his class, an intelligent man and a true man. He suffered bravely for his class in jail and led it bravely out of jail. But under the tremendous strain of his heart-rending labors and sudden popularity he lost his head. This is the most charitable interpretation which can be put upon the facts which it is necessary to record in these paragraphs.

Larkin went to England to advocate a general sympathetic strike. When he arrived there was, apparently, much support for this proposal. The great English unions are comparatively conservative. The miners were contributing a thousand pounds a week to the strike fund, but they were in no hurry to go on strike. This proved to be the case with other great unions. Larkin, in the midst of his triumphal tour, took for granted that the applause of his audiences

meant support for his proposal. He was assured that many of his auditors were non-unionists, or that they were carried away by his oratory, rather than by his strike plan. But he got the idea that the rank and file of the unions were being held back by their leaders. So his speeches degenerated into heated denunciations of these leaders. The leaders may have deserved much that he said of them. Nevertheless, he was in England, asking the English to come to the assistance of the Irish, and he spent much of his time denouncing the elected officials of the English unions. Whether we blame him or not, we must confess that this was a poor preparation for the conference which was to consider his proposal to call a sympathetic strike.

The conference first heard a report of a delegation from the English Joint Board which had been in Dublin attempting to mediate between the Transport Workers and the employers. This delegation, as is well known, failed in its attempt. The employers would not agree not to discriminate against union men. They stuck to the proposition that "every employer shall conduct his business in any way he may consider advantageous." The delegation could not, of course, go to the strikers with any such statement as this.

Before the conference Larkin had criticised this delegation for acting over the heads of the strikers. This charge the delegates formally denied. After the reading and explanation of the report of the delegation, Larkin came forward to speak. His friends cheered wildly. Here was a great labor crisis and here was their labor hero. He began: "Mr. Chairman—and human beings!" This was a false start, and what followed was not calculated to bring about a better understanding. James Connolly, when he had opportunity, spoke in a different manner. "What he said was good," reports "T. D. H.," in *Justice*. And the correspondent of the Berlin *Vorwaerts* says that many in the hall were heard to remark that it was a pity he was not the accredited leader of the strike instead of Larkin. Comrade Connolly attempted to bring back to

the minds of those present the fact that they were there to fight for 100,000 people in the city of Dublin.

It is unnecessary to put down here all the more or less incoherent arguments that were made pro and con. Two resolutions were finally adopted. The first, introduced by that indefatigable militant, Ben Tillet, deplored and condemned the attacks made on British trade union officials and expressed the belief that an honorable settlement could be negotiated if an end could be put to the divisions among those supporting the Dublin strike. The second called upon the government to refuse to give police and military aid to the employers. An amendment to the first of these resolutions, providing for a refusal to handle goods from Dublin, was defeated by a vote of 2,280 to 203. By some this was taken as a measure of the strength of syndicalism in England.

This is the end of the tale, a sad one, it must be confessed. It is one of the tragedies of the labor movement. The only good thing about such an event is the discontent and disgust it is bound to arouse. Perhaps, with all the other occurrences which are now treading upon one another's heels in England, it may do something toward bringing about mutual understanding and firmer union.

Toward Socialist Unity.—The Socialist forces of England are more sadly divided than those of any other important country. Besides the British Socialist party, the Independent Labor party, and the Fabian Society, there are innumerable independent local groups. Unity has been one goal of the efforts of a vast number of our English comrades for years past. It was in order to bring about unity of all those outside the Labor party that the leaders of the old Social Democratic party joined with some others to form the present British Socialist party. The attempt was honest and energetic, but according to the editor of *Justice*, it has succeeded "only to an extent." All the prejudices against the old organization have been inherited by the new one.

When, therefore, the International Socialist Bureau began six months ago to take steps looking toward Socialist unity in England it had the support of B. S. P. comrades, as well as of the other groups. The bureau laid down as the only possible basis of union the proposal that the B. S. P. should join the Labor party. This is the

very thing which it has refused to do since its foundation and which the S. D. P. refused to do throughout its history. So the sessions of the bureau were looked forward to with little hope. They have, however, resulted very favorably.

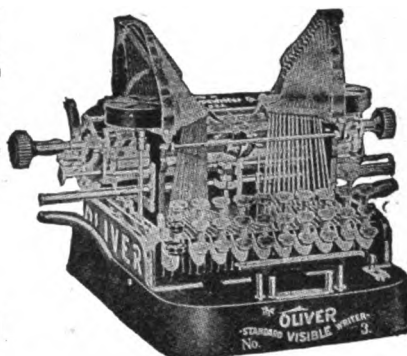
The representatives of the B. S. P. requested of the I. L. P. and the Fabian Society a pledge that they would join in a demand that the Labor party allow its candidates to run as Socialists. Hitherto, as is well known, they have not been allowed to use any label but "Labor." The organizations appealed to agreed to the granting of this request. A session of the representatives of the three English Socialist bodies passed a resolution calling upon their respective organizations to decide whether they would make this demand of the Labor party congress at its 1915 session. It was arranged to call great mass meetings all over the country to carry on a propaganda in favor of Socialist unity.

At the present writing I have not seen the comment of any English comrades on this conclusion of the conference, but I take it for granted that it is satisfactory to the representatives of the B. S. P. If this is the case, this body will probably join the Labor party as soon as suitable arrangements can be made. Surely if this is the outcome, all the world will join in congratulating both the International Bureau and our B. S. P. comrades, especially the latter. They have shown throughout the negotiations a commendable spirit of reasonableness. No one need fear that this new step means any watering down of their revolutionary spirit. No such suspicion will cross the mind of any one who has followed their work for any length of time. And, it must be remembered, they will keep their own organization intact. The step may prove a mistake; the party may have to withdraw at some future time. On the other hand, it will form in time a firm relation with the I. L. P. and, it is to be hoped, in the future these two Socialist bodies will act together. United they can make a strong fight for Socialism within or without the Labor party.

Military Despotism in Germany.—A citizen of Germany may be shot for laughing at a soldier. This is not because German soldiers are not laughable, but because the military power is now recognized as supreme in the Fatherland. Last month all

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the world was informed that the Imperial Reichstag is little more than a club for the discussion of public affairs; this month it learns that the officers of the army are the rulers of Germany.

The "Affair Sabern" turns out to be vastly more important than was at first suspected. Readers of *THE REVIEW* will remember how a twenty-year-old lieutenant, von Förstner by name, won undying fame by beating with the flat of his sword a lame cobbler, who was trying his best to get out of the way, but could not by reason of his lameness. Later reports added the edifying details that the cobbler was held by two soldiers and surrounded by others at the time the titled lieutenant performed his heroic deed.

During the month of December this lieutenant, another named Schad, and the colonel in command, a certain nobleman named von Reuter, were tried before a court martial. It was proved that when the civil authorities of Sabern protested against the molestation of citizens, von Reuter answered: "I am in command now." He took complete responsibility for the deeds of his subordinates. According to his own testimony, he ordered the troops to carry loaded weapons and charge crowds with fixed bayonets. It was according to his order that Lieutenant Schad broke into private houses, carried off citizens, and imprisoned them all night in the cellar of the barracks. To show how far this attack was provoked by the people of the town, the citizens proved that this cellar had been previously emptied of coal in order that there might be room for the prisoners. When the doughty colonel was informed that the people had merely been standing about, he said: "I intend to prevent this standing about at any cost. I do not intend to let the people laugh in this way. If it continues, I shall order the troops to shoot."

At the conclusion of the first trial von Förstner was sentenced to forty-days' imprisonment and the others to a few days each. The capitalist organs, excepting a few of the extremest conservative sort, accepted this as a vindication of the government and the military. The officers of the army, however, were openly rebellious, and von Jagow, chief of the Berlin police, wrote a denunciatory letter to the papers. Now, just as *THE REVIEW* goes to press, comes

the news that a higher military tribunal has acquitted all the officers. In declaring its findings, this court justifies in detail everything that was done. Von Förstner, for example, is declared to have been quite right in beating the lame cobbler, because this wicked cobbler had a penknife in his pocket. Colonel von Reuter is said to have done quite right in putting citizens in the coal cellar, for the King of Prussia in 1820 decreed that military officers could do as they pleased without consulting civil authorities.

The significance of these facts lies in the revelation they give of the nature of military power. Military organization means tyranny and stupidity. It means this same thing everywhere and always. Our own Caraboa heroes are enough to remind us that what is true in Germany is not untrue in America.

Railway Strike in the Transvaal.—It is only six months since the strike of the South African miners ended in blood, and now a great strike of railway workers is on. The cablegrams with regard to the situation are so fragmentary and unintelligent that it is impossible to give any connected account of the matter at the present writing.

It is clear, however, that the strike covers the Transvaal and Orange State provinces. At first the railway workers struck alone and were on the point of failing. Then the Trades Federation came to their support, and the affair took on a different face. There has been as yet no general strike, but there may be one. The government has proceeded in the most high-handed fashion. According to the cabled reports, the cabinet of the South African Union is going to fight the Trades Federation "to a finish." Federation and railway union officials have been imprisoned on the charge of "sedition." Sixty thousand militiamen have been called to the colors. In addition to these measures, the government and the employers are resorting to a measure already made familiar in South Africa. They are attempting to arouse race hatred as a means of dividing the workers.

If the men can hold out for only a few days, they will succeed in tying up the whole traffic of South Africa and reducing some of the cities to a state of starvation.



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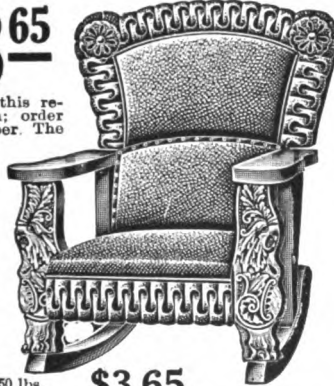
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NEWS AND VIEWS



GOTTFRIED SANDBERG.

From Away Up North.—Comrade Sandberg of Dawson sends in \$21.25 with a list of sixteen new *Review* readers. If the southern comrades were only half as wide-awake as the revolutionists are in the frozen north it would not be long before there would be "something doing in this land of the free and the home of the slaves." In his letter he says, "It takes a little time to get acquainted, and I have lately discovered the greatest field for propaganda in all the North, and I cannot resist this burning temptation. The sentiments for Socialism are here, and it is for us to give them the right kind of literature. There is a lot of work to be done, and hard work, but we have a wide-awake bunch and if we all dig in and do our duty, something is going to happen very soon." Which shows that we have comrades working for the Revolution even in the Land of the Midnight Sun.

That Tonopah Tango Hall!—It seems that the Gov't is certainly cutting up some fancy didoes in Tonopah these days. Reports come to us that things got so bad at "Wilson's Dancing Academy" that the County Commissioner felt impelled to withdraw the Government's (or Receiver's) license for GAMBLING Nov. 11th, 1913. Everybody is asking what

has happened to the Federal Courts. It would seem that the honorable (?) gentlemen are using the Bench for a nap that would make Old Rip Van Winkle look worse than a selling plater among a bunch of stake horses. Won't somebody put a copy of the *Review* under their Excellencies (?) and find out who's DEAD?

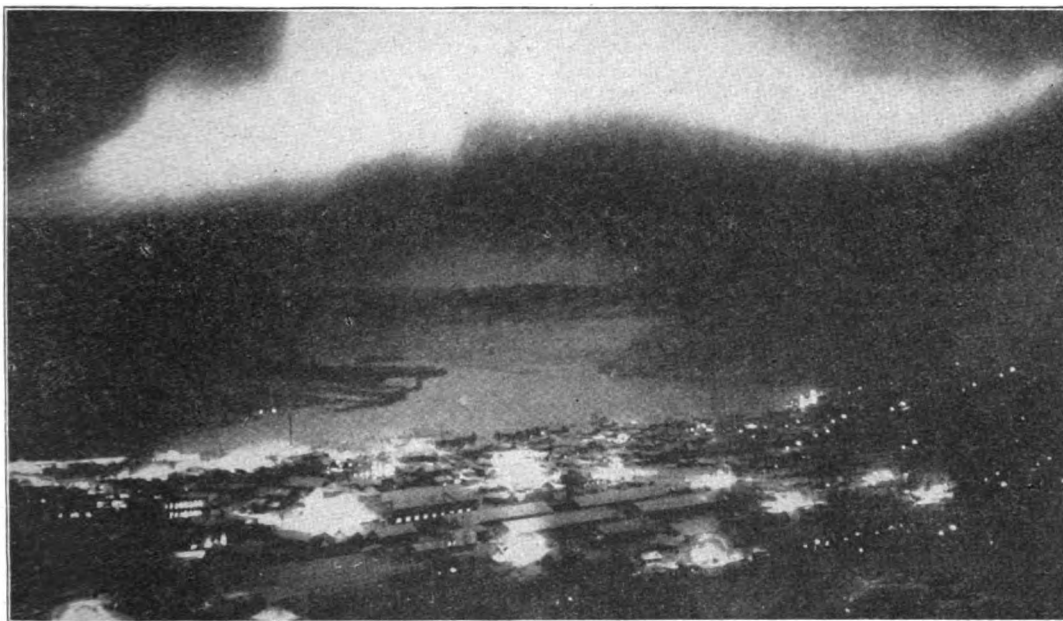
450,000 W. F. of M.—Last month through an error at the printers we stated in the *Review* that there were 45,000 members of the Western Federation of Miners. This should have been 450,000. More power to the boys! May they soon be a million.

From the "Live Ones."—The following comrades have sent in 10 or more subs. during the past month:

Philips Hagman, Struthers, Ohio.
H. M. Davis, Marshall, Texas.
J. T. Smith, Hoodspout, Wash.
John Quinn, Chicago.
Martin Elschlager, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Jennie Arnott, Palo Alta, Cal.
I. J. Bloer, Coulterville, Cal.
Roy A. Harold, Terre Haute, Ind.
Ernest Morgan, St. David, Ill.
John McEntee, Boone, Iowa.
Minnie Wyman, Atlanta, Ga.
King O. Thurmond, Roosevelt, Alaska.
H. C. Hard, Rawhide, Nevada.
Louis Shadar, Marlboro, Mass.
W. M. Boyd, St. Louis, Mo.
Wm. Leslie, Buffalo, N. Y.
O. D. Gunn, Calexico, Cal.
J. C. Hansen, Peoria, Ill.
W. Lowell, Seattle, Wash.
Arthur M. Butler, Alexander, Iowa.
E. Morgan, St. David, Ill.
P. Rosinbaum, Atlanta, Ga.
J. Keller, Ludlow, S. Dak.
E. F. Wagner, Bird City, Kans.
R. J. Krause, Dehesa, Cal.
Mrs. L. Osborn, Petaluma, Cal.
C. E. Wallgren, Orville, Mont.
O. L. Carpenter, Boston, Mass.
Dr. L. H. Gibbs, Scranton, Pa.

The Plebs Club and Institute of Tonypandy, England, sends in their proxy authorizing Comrade Mary E. Marcy to represent them at the coming stockholders' meeting and also encloses a big book and *REVIEW* order and best wishes to all the comrades on this side of the pond.

From Jim Larkin.—We have to thank Comrade Jim for sending us a book of Will Dyson's famous cartoons that have been appearing in the greatest working class daily paper in the world—the *Daily Herald*. We hope to fill several pages of the *REVIEW* elsewhere in



DAWSON CITY BY THE LIGHT OF THE AURORA BOREALIS.

this issue to show you just what our comrades across the water are doing. Copies of the cartoons can be secured in book form for 40 cents. Address *Daily Herald*.

From England.—Comrade Jack Wills writes "Bill Haywood is doing yeoman work here. He is already a great favorite with the English and Irish comrades. Every word from his mouth is real meat and our brothers have the right digestive powers to assimilate them. It will not be long before the proletarians of this country will be supporting the greatest publishing house in the world. Your literature has given me a clear outlook and I want to get your books circulated wherever I can."

From Frisco.—"Having already sold my bundle of eighty REVIEWS I herewith enclose \$2.00 for forty more copies of the January issue."—C. Blomquist.

From Pittsburgh.—"Please mail fifty more January REVIEWS at once."—Schafer News Co.

From Sawtelle, California.—"I received twenty copies of the Fighting Magazine Saturday evening and sold them all Sunday and could have sold as many more, so find \$1.00 for another twenty and increase my order to fifty copies per month."—J. A. Williams.

From a Socialist Doctor.—"Find enclosed \$1.00 for your excellent magazine. I asked Mr. Stephens what I should give him for Christmas. His reply was 'Give me magazines, and don't forget to put the REVIEW at the top of the list!' We have enjoyed it so much, and we think it gets better as it gets older."—M. P. S.

Minot Workers Protest.—To Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, Washington, D. C. Sir: As is well known to every

interested person in the United States, working men are today deprived of the right to keep and bear arms, of the equal protection of the law, of a speedy and impartial trial by jury, and of other constitutional rights, by the mine owners of Michigan and Colorado, through the state governments of those states.

Therefore, we five hundred working men and women of Minot, N. D., in public meeting assembled do protest to you against the infamous uses to which the state governments of the above named states are put in the unequal struggle between capital and labor in the strikes now in progress, all of which is contrary to the express provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

We further declare that we believe all of these facts are well known to you, and that if there be no legal machinery by which the Government of the United States can enforce the supreme law of the land in favor of working men, their wives and children, that such machinery of law be made the immediate subject of a special message to Congress by you, to the end that the working class of the United States may be permitted to retain both the intelligent use of their faculties and respect for law.

We most respectfully suggest that tariff and currency laws will avail nothing to murdered miners and their families, and that if we have any law higher in power and responsibility to the working class of the United States, than the law of insane greed of the mine owners, which so far is ruling working conditions in the copper and coal mines of Michigan and Colorado, that NOW is the time to demonstrate that fact, and that the Chief Executive

of the Nation is the proper official to put that law in motion. We therefore most respectfully represent that conditions in Michigan and Colorado are infamous and intolerable, and request that all the powers of our Government be immediately brought to bear, to put an end to the murder of the Constitution of the United States, as well as of the miners and their wives and children, by means of state laws. Respectfully submitted, Arthur LeSuer, Chairman, H. G. Teigan, Secretary.

More From Comrade Stark.—"I wish to inform Comrade Mary E. Marcy that to her is due the credit and honor of devising one of the greatest methods of education that has ever yet been published for educating and training members of the S. P. in the science of Marxian Socialism.

"Her little book, 'Shop Talks,' is increasing in popularity and attracting the attention of members of the S. P. all over the nation,

"From far away Washington comes the information by letter to me from reading my letter in the November REVIEW that they have adopted 'Shop Talks' as a text book and 10 weeks' class work has been the means of increasing their membership and aiding wonderfully in establishing harmony in the local."

Comrade Stark of Louisville promises to aid us in getting out some additional questions on economics that will prove invaluable to study clubs.

Praise From the Enemy.—Comrade Sutton of Tacoma writes: "As soon as the working class enemy begins to find any good in the Socialist movement, I will know that it is no menace to it. Since one and all condemn the REVIEW, I know you are doing good work. The photographs of the class struggle which you use in the REVIEW must make the capitalist class squirm. And every Red likes to see the real educational literature sinking into the bone-heads."

Correction.—Owing to a printer's error in the January REVIEW, Comrade Caroline Nelson

was misquoted. What she said was "This is not to be wondered at when the German capitalists see their own labor leaders denying strike benefits to the workers who go out on strikes without their consent, in this way forcing them back to work."

Oklahoma State Convention.—Comrade Oran Burk reports that the Oklahoma State Convention was held in Oklahoma City, December 29-31. It was a rousing affair. Over sixty delegates attended. A delegation of railroad men was received to ask the support of the S. P. in preventing the importation of gun-men during strikes, the use of the militia and policemen against workers during strikes and lockouts. The convention promised to do all in its power to help abolish these evils. It was moved to punish employers paying female workers less than \$9.00 per week as white slavers, also that the miners have mine inspectors of their own choosing to be paid by the state. It was inspiring to find the comrades promising to do their utmost to help the railroad men, the miners and the working class in all its struggles against the capitalists.

The Wage Slave.—Philadelphia can now boast one of the best working class monthly papers we have ever seen. It presents news from the class struggle point of view as very few papers do and contains snappy propaganda and educational matter. It is going to be a real weapon in the fight. We want to congratulate Comrade Ed. Moore on his work as editor. This paper is published at 6333 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia. When you are making up your magazine and newspaper list for 1914, send 50 cents to *The Wage Slave* and get something big for your money the coming year. With a REVIEW sub., only \$1.25.

From a Canadian Rebel.—"I have worked for 52 years in the industrial hell holes and this cursed system has squeezed and sucked me dry. I wish the REVIEW had a circulation of 300,000 a month."—John Staples.

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Always take a Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablet after meals or just before bed time. By doing this you will be acting wisely and playing safe. Go to your druggist anywhere and buy a box now. Price 50 cents.

Socialist Movies.—The past year the Tyomies Publishing Co. (Finnish) has had a lecturer on the road with a stereopticon and moving picture equipment. The object was education and increasing the circulation of good Socialist literature. Believing that the results of this propaganda have produced good results, the Tyomies people propose to widen their field and to send out an English speaking comrade, Ellis B. Harris, of Superior, Wis., to accompany our Finnish comrade, Martin Hendrickson, well known as a forceful speaker among the Finnish people. The English lecturer will confine himself to the interests of the English Socialist papers and other literature. Everybody remembers the militant Socialist who accompanied Debs in his last national campaign. State and local secretaries are asked to co-operate with the Tyomies comrades in this splendid work. Those who want to see the Tyomies pictures, hear their lectures and spread the propaganda of Socialism can arrange to do this and at the same time INCREASE the circulation of your favorite Socialist paper or magazine in your vicinity at the same time. Write for dates and terms and state what you want to push in your neighborhood. Address the Tyomies Pub. Co., Hancock, Mich.

A New Russian Paper.—Comrade Jos. B. Polonsky is the editor of the new weekly Russian paper, "The Ray," published at 417 Free Press Bldg., Detroit, Mich. The aim of this new revolutionary organ is to carry on an educational campaign among the 50,000 Russians and Ruthenians who live in Detroit and to bring them into the Socialist movement. Comrades all over the states will want to avail themselves of this new weapon. Send 5 cents in stamps for a sample and follow it up with a few subscriptions for your Russian and Ruthenian friends. Congratulations to the Detroit comrades. May the New Year bring them the success they deserve in this new field of work.

A Pippin.—Comrade Brillhart, of Omaha, writes: "A Merry Christmas and a happy New Year to everybody in the REVIEW office and a prosperous year to the Fighting Magazine of the working class. Your January number is a pippin! I heartily agree with Comrade Hardenburg in his article entitled 'A Study in Platforms.' We must educate the rank and file. If you will have this article printed in leaflet form, I will take 500 copies to start."

Schenectady Strike Settled.—The value of a Socialist administration to striking workmen is well illustrated by the recent strike at the General Electric Company in Schenectady. There was a walkout of 15,000 men and the situation appeared serious. Mayor Lunn preserved absolute order by making some of the strikers deputy sheriffs. There was no clubbing of strikers and no attempt to stop them from picketing. The result was, an agreement was reached and the strike settled in less than a week.—*Party Builder.*

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THE MASSES PUBLISHING COMPANY
91 Greenwich Ave., NEW YORK CITY

From the West.—"I just got back from the mountains to find my sub. has expired. Never stop it, for I wouldn't miss it for the world. It is the best rebel magazine in the country."—Wm. Sanders.

From Milwaukee.—"Please send me by the next mail a bundle of the splendid magazine, the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, January edition."—Geo. Nero.

From Erskine.—Comrade Wm. Hoffner sends in \$8.40 for yearly subscriptions and a bunch of books. The demand for revolutionary Socialist literature is certainly on the increase in Canada and the REVIEW seems to be hitting the bull's-eye so far as the comrades are concerned.

From Pennsylvania.—"Enclosed find \$1.00 for twenty January reviews. I get more information out of the REVIEW than all other magazines combined."—P. E. Maurer.

Enters the Contest.—Comrade E. J. Hoffpauir of Abbeville, La., writes as follows: "As a good resolution to begin the new year I have resolved to go to Vienna. Send samples and blanks P. D. Q."

Educational.—The Samuel W. Ball Correspondence School for Socialist speakers and writers has enrolled from the ranks of the workers some able talent and we learn of several students who are making splendid progress under Comrade Ball's guidance. Comments from the farthest advanced students indicate that beginners no less than the experienced speakers and writers are finding in The Winning Method just what they have needed to enable them to make best use of their knowledge and ability. It is hoped and confidently expected that an educational campaign through these specially trained educators and propagandists will result in immeasurable good in advancing the cause of Socialism. Names of students in England, Canada and various parts of the United States will be sent to inquirers on request. If you want to know what this course of instruction will do for you write for circulars and references, addressing Samuel W. Ball, 6442 Bishop St., Chicago, whose announcement is found elsewhere in this magazine.

Important From San Antonio.—"We are fighting hard here for the release of Rangel, Cline and their comrades, but the fight is a hard one. The authorities are doing their best to suppress free speech here, have broken up a meeting held in a perfectly orderly manner the 28th of Dec. in Houston, Texas. They have also arrested J. A. Hernandez, secretary of this committee, twice, once they held him eight days on no charge and last Monday he was rearrested and is being held on a vagrancy charge while Spanish letters found in his pockets are being translated for the perusal of the district attorney. Please give this publicity and invite protests to the Governor of the State (Colquitt) at Austin, Texas, and the President. Yours for the Revolution. Charles Ashleigh, Representative of Mexican Liberal Party and Rangel-Cline Defense Fund of Los Angeles. Box 1891."

From a South Dakota Secretary.—"The Review is good. It deserves a wide circulation. Shall do more for it hereafter than formerly. —Yours for the Revolution, Ingmar M. Iverson, Madison, S. D."

From Philadelphia.—"Find enclosed \$1.00 money order for 20 copies of the January Review. With best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a successful and prosperous New Year for the best magazine that was ever issued are the wishes of the 36th Ward Branch."—B. K. Perkinson.

A Brooklyn Red.—"Wish I could send you large order, but business is showing the rotten side of its hideous nature at this end of the world, the wretched army of the unemployed is increasing daily, and the heads of the firm where I wage-slave go through the offices several times a day, evidently inspecting the victims destined for slaughter the first of the year. Their evil glance has rested upon me too often for Christmas cheer and comfort, and I can almost see my head resting cosily in the basket."—E. R. A.

From a Pennsylvania Hustler.—"Enclosed find \$1.00 for which please send me twenty more copies of the January Review. I sold my fifty copies in a few hours last night and need more for my regular customers."—A. E. Brown, Fayette City.

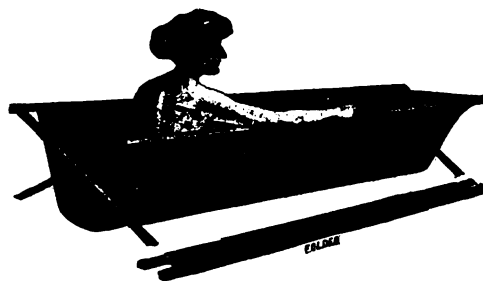
A Washington Red.—"Comrade Gissler fires in a five spot for Review subs. and books and an interesting letter with "Long live the Review."

From a New York Red.—"I think the Review is the greatest fighting magazine of the laboring class and I wouldn't get along without it."—Octave Bartson.

Stanford University, Cal.—"Enclosed find check for \$1.00 for my renewal to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for the coming year, 1914. Even if nothing more could be said of the REVIEW (and a lot more can be said), it certainly is an interesting magazine."—Herbert E. Knollin.

State Secretary Tiegan, of North Dakota writes, "The Review is surely developing into a splendid publication and is deserving of the support of all loyal Socialists."

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Annual Stockholders' Meeting.—The annual stockholders' meeting of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held at 118 West Kinzie street, Chicago, Ill., on January 15, 1914, at 3:30 p. m. Out of the 3,770 shares of stock issued by the company, 2,362 shares were represented either by shareholders or proxies. Among those present were: Comrades Walter Lanfersiek, national secretary of the Socialist party; Stephen M. Reynolds, A. W. Ricker, L. H. Marcy, R. B. Tobias, Dr. J. H. Greer, C. C. Goldberg, Raymond Beauregard, Herbert T. Root, J. O. Bentall, Guy Underwood, state secretary of the Socialist party of Illinois; Charles H. Kerr and Mary E. Marcy. Comrade Charles H. Kerr presided and Mary E. Marcy acted as secretary. President Kerr read the following annual report:

ANNUAL REPORT

The year 1913 has been a year full of difficulties for all Socialist publishers. The natural reaction after the strenuous year of the presidential elections, the near-Socialist policies of President Wilson, which distract the interest of many sympathizers not well grounded in Socialist principles, and especially the bitter controversies within the Socialist party over questions of tactics—all these things have greatly increased the "necessary social labor" involved in circulating a given quantity of our literature. In view of all these difficulties, the figures in our annual report are extremely gratifying, since they show that we have not only held our own but have improved our financial position. Here are the figures:

Receipts for 1913

Book sales	\$31,848.89
Review subscriptions and sales.....	15,017.76
Review advertising	3,252.60
Donations	60.00
Increased value of books on hand.....	962.24
Total	\$51,141.49

Expenditures for 1913

Manufacture of books.....	\$11,417.21
Manufacture of Review.....	9,304.39
Wages	10,623.77
Postage and expressage.....	9,185.15
Advertising	3,034.87
Review circulation expense.....	145.57
Review articles and photographs....	971.82
Authors of books	1,242.95
Books purchased	820.46
Rent	1,200.00
Insurance	110.25
Taxes	155.26
Miscellaneous expense	1,169.33
Interest	127.19
Depreciation on furniture.....	152.80
Profit	1,480.47

Total **\$51,141.49**

Assets, Dec. 31, 1913

Cash on hand	\$ 112.87
Books, bound and unbound.....	11,987.69
Electrotype plates	14,258.78
Copyrights	8,752.74
International Socialist Review.....	5,000.00
Office furniture and fixtures.....	611.20

Accounts receivable	922.29
Bills receivable	499.10
Real estate	450.00

\$42,594.65

Liabilities, Dec. 31, 1913

Paid-up capital stock.....	\$37,700.00
Co-operative publishing bonds.....	800.00
Loans from stockholders.....	3,935.12
Accounts payable	159.53

\$42,594.65

In our estimate of assets, the books are for the most part figured at the actual cost of paper, press work and binding. The books now on hand would sell at our average prices for over \$30,000. We are now valuing the copyrights at only \$8,752.74 as against \$15,278.36 three years ago, although their actual value has increased rather than diminished. The copyrights as well as the electrotype plates are necessary for the publication of books, but as they could be turned into cash only at a sacrifice we think it better to put a conservative valuation on them.

The capital stock now paid up amounts to 3,770 out of the 5,000 shares which our charter authorizes us to issue. Our hope is during the year 1914 to place nearly, if not quite, all of the remaining shares, and to hasten this we are offering \$10.00 worth of books with a \$10.00 share at \$11.20 cash with order if the purchaser pays the expressage, or \$12.00 if we pay it. This, of course, means selling the first lot of books for less than the actual cost of manufacture, but we shall save the amount in the course of a year or two by using the \$10.00 to pay off loans which now bear interest; moreover each new stockholder is likely to buy more books at our usual stockholders' prices, which include the cost of selling as well as the cost of printing.

Our indebtedness is much less than at any time for the last fifteen years, and nearly the whole of it is to stockholders who have agreed to give thirty days' notice before withdrawing their loans. If the comrades respond as we hope, to our new offer of stock with books at less than cost, we shall be enabled to take up these loans when they mature without making new ones, and thus put the publishing house on a cash basis.

The past year has not been a favorable one for the publication of new books, and, apart from pamphlets, we have issued only two, "Economic Determinism," by Lida Parce, and "The High Cost of Living," translated by Austin Lewis from the German of Karl Kautsky. We have in press, however, an important work by Gustavus Myers, entitled "History of Canadian Wealth," and will follow this with other books as fast as new stock subscriptions provide the necessary capital.

The International Socialist Review has survived the attacks made upon it by those who regard offices as more important than Socialist education, and it is one of the few Socialist periodicals which have not found it necessary during 1913 to fill their columns with appeals for help.

So we look forward to the new year with confidence in the rank and file of the revolutionary movement, and with the hope that during 1914 we can make the publishing house more useful to the movement than ever before.

It was moved by Dr. J. H. Greer that the report be accepted; seconded by Secretary Walter Lanfersiek; carried.

It was moved by A. W. Ricker and seconded by State Secretary Guy Underwood that the directors of the company be re-elected for the coming year. The motion was carried unanimously. The directors for 1914 will therefore be: Charles H. Kerr, Walter Huggins, L. H. Marcy, Dr. J. H. Greer, J. O. Bentall, Jacob Bruning and Mary E. Marcy.

It was moved by Dr. J. H. Greer and seconded by H. T. Root that a vote of confidence be given President Kerr. The motion was carried unanimously.

At the meeting of the directors which followed the stockholders' meeting, Charles H. Kerr was re-elected president, L. H. Marcy, vice president, and Mary E. Marcy, secretary of the company.

Circulating Libraries.—Comrade Barzee, of Portland, Oregon, has evolved a splendid plan for Socialist circulating libraries which the comrades have found practicable in his home city. Comrade Barzee looks over the registration lists and sends a simple booklet to those he feels will be interested. He suggests that "WHAT SOCIALISM IS," by Charles H. Kerr, is a good book to begin on. Upon request several Socialist booklets are sent the reader and he is asked to pay for them if he desires to keep them. All books sent out are charged to the recipient. If they are not desired, he is asked to return them and the account is cancelled. If the reader becomes interested and wishes to have more books to read, he can return those he already has in his possession and exchange them for something else. This keeps the reader interested and keeps the comrades in charge of the Circulating Library in touch with the new people. It costs very little and does great work for Socialism.

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made by Jos. Hancock, Lamoni, Iowa. Scheerer, Montana, made \$22.35 in 5 hours. Miller, Iowa, made \$13.65 in one afternoon. *We have proof of this and hundreds of similar reports. No matter who you are or where you live, here's your chance to double your present salary or income, working during spare time or permanently as a one minute photographer. No experience needed. A new, live business of big cash profits. You can work at home or travel, enjoy the healthful, outdoor work and become independent in your own business. Invest one cent for a postal—ask us for proof of what others are doing—of what you can earn with a*

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SAMUEL W. BALL, 6442 Bishop St., Chicago

FREE SPEECH FIGHT IN KANSAS CITY

KANSAS CITY is in the throes of a fight for the "constitutional right" of free speech which promises to add another bloody chapter to the annals of capitalism. Eighty-five members of the Industrial Workers of the World are in jail for speaking on the streets. The number is increasing daily with men who come from different parts of the country, some of them from as far as Great Falls, Mont., beating their way, braving the cold and snow, to fight and suffer for the right to agitate and educate the workers for the overthrow of capitalism.

The first arrests were made December 4, when the police broke up a street meeting held in behalf of the Wheatland prisoners. Five men were sentenced to 200 days in the workhouse. The others have been sentenced to similar and even longer terms.

Many men have been clubbed on the way to jail and after they were locked up. Three men arrested Thursday night were kept in the holdover without trial until the following Monday on bread and water. Twenty-four men arrested Christmas eve at a big meeting celebrated Christ's birthday in the holdover with nothing to eat.

On two occasions the police have clubbed the speakers off the street, refusing to arrest them. Then they would break up the crowd, clubbing right and left. Several men have been badly hurt in the brutal onslaughts. The local headquarters has been

raided five times and property and literature confiscated.

Of conditions at the workhouse a worse story is to be told. E. W. Brink, a man 60 years old, has been confined in the dungeon on bread and water ever since his arrival a month ago. Others have been clubbed and so badly injured that they had to be taken to the hospital.

Much more could be told of the maltreatment suffered by the brave men who dare to speak against capitalism. The story of Spokane, Fresno and San Diego is being written over again in Kansas City. But here, as in the other places, a body of resolute rebels have determined to have free speech at any cost. To meekly surrender the right to carry on agitation and education means to abandon the idea of the abolition of wage slavery. Only by determined struggle can any right left to the workers be maintained.

The fight before us is a hard one. Its severity and tenseness increases every day. Men are needed at once. Money is needed to furnish tobacco to the men in jail and to feed those coming in cold and hungry from the road. This fight is the fight of every rebel. A decisive victory in Kansas City will make it unnecessary to put up a fight in other places, especially in the East and Middle West.

Send communications to J. P. Cannon, Secretary I. W. W., 1022 Garfield avenue, Kansas City, Mo.

From Oklahoma.—"Enclosed please find P. O. money order for 50 cents, for which send me November and December and the remainder of the following six months' subscription to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Must say that the REVIEW is in a class by itself."—V. P. Saunders.

Butte Stationary Engineers' Union No. 83.—"Enclosed check for \$12.00 to renew our bundle order to the REVIEW for the coming year."—A. C. Dawe, Fin. Sec'y.

Butte Workingmen's Union.—"Enclosed please find check for sixty dollars to renew the bundle of 100 REVIEWS to the Butte Workingmen's Union for one year."—J. F. Mabie.

From a Utah Red.—"The REVIEW is the best yet."—Carl M. Bjork.

A Red from Idaho.—Vincent Aldrich of Arrowcock sends in \$7.80 for subs. and Helen

Keller's new book, "Out of the Dark." He also renews his subscription for another year.

From California.—A. G. Allen of Mono Lake sends in \$6.50 for REVIEW subs. and Helen Keller's new book, "Out of the Dark." There is certainly a big family of REVIEW readers in the Golden State.

A Colorado Red Writes.—"Your stand on industrial organization is correct beyond the shadow of a doubt and you are to be complimented on such an article as 'Utopian Socialism' by Sinclair. Hope to get far enough ahead on flour and bacon to spare an X for stock in your publishing company next year."—W. O. Roberts.

From a Canadian Red.—"Even if we run short on 'pork and' at Christmas, we must have that REVIEW." So writes Comrade Kinniburgh, and he also sends along another dollar for stock.

Socialists! Move With the Movies!

It is said that American Workers spend Five Hundred Million Dollars annually in twenty thousand Picture Theatres. The Social Revolution must be represented! A company is now being organized to manufacture Socialist films. More capital is needed. One Dollar will make you part owner of this company. Let your money work for Socialism while it is working for you. BIG PROPAGANDA! Shares \$1 each. Send money at once with full name and address, stating number of shares wanted. Information and references for stamp. Address

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4. **Evolution and Revolution**, by Mark Fisher.
5. **The Question Box**, by Frank M. Eastwood.
6. **The Strength of the Strong**, by Jack London.
7. **The Rights of the Masses**, by George D. Brewer.
8. **The Socialist Movement**, by Charles H. Vail.
9. **The Catholic Church and Socialism**, by Father McGrady and Frank Bohn.
10. **Class Struggles in America**, by A. M. Simons.
11. **The Right to Be Lazy**, by Paul Lafargue.
12. **The Social Evil**, by Dr. J. H. Greer.
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14. **Socialism Made Easy**, by James Connolly.
15. **Industrial Socialism**, by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn.
16. **The New Socialism**, by Robert Rives LaMonte.
17. **Socialism; What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish**, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.
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19. **No Compromise, No Political Trading**, by Wilhelm Liebknecht.
20. **The Communist Manifesto**, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

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THE FIGHTING MAGAZINE
OF THE WORKING CLASS



COMRADES

YOUR BRAIN IS YOUR HOME

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THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives LaMonte, William E. Bohn,
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DEPARTMENTS

Editorial: Connecticut Socialism : Reform from Above

International Notes : News and Views

Published Monthly: Subscription price, \$1.00 a year, Canada \$1.20, countries \$1.50

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Drawn by Arthur Young
From the Masses.

MOTHER JONES: "COME ON, YOU HELL-HOUNDS."

THE MINE GUARD

By a Paint Creek Miner

You cur! How can you stand so calm and still
And careless while your brothers strive and bleed?
What hellish, cruel, crime-polluted creed
Has taught you thus to do your master's will,
Whose guilty gold has damned your soul until
You lick his boots and fawn to do his deed—
To pander to his lust of boundless greed,
And guard him while his cohorts crush and kill?

Your brutish crimes are like a rotten flood—
The beating, raping, murdering you've done—
You sycophantic coward with a gun:
The worms would scorn your carcass in the mud;
A bitch would blush to hail you as a son—
You loathsome outcast, red with fresh-spilled blood!

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

MARCH, 1914

No. 9

CLASS STRUGGLE NEWS



PARADE OF STRIKERS' WIVES—TRINIDAD.

The Latest from Trinidad

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW,
Chicago, Ill. Dear Comrades: Replying
to yours of Feb. 5, regarding a letter to
Mother Jones, I must say it is impossible.
She is held absolutely "incommunicado"—no
one having seen her since incarceration except
Horace Hawkins, attorney for U. M. W. A.,
and his admission was since the Congressional
investigation was approaching. I enclose you
clipping from yesterday's daily showing how
even medical advice from outside was denied
her. "Military discipline" and general condi-
tions are softening down much since the in-
vestigation has become a certainty. This puts
new hope and courage into us all.

Yours for Socialism,

GRACE B. MARIANS,
Local Secty., S. P.

Feb. 10, 1914.

Mother Jones Parade

On January 22 a women's parade was formed
to make a demonstration protesting against the
imprisonment of "Mother Jones." The line of
march was to proceed from Castle Hall up Com-
mercial street, along Main to the postoffice, and
then return to Castle Hall. One of the leaders
was an Italian woman, who did not speak or
understand English well. She was carrying an
American flag in the form of a large banner.
Not knowing that the parade was to turn at the
postoffice, she led the parade towards the hospi-
tal where Mother Jones is held. A block from
the postoffice the parade was met by a troop of
cavalry commanded in person by General Chase.
The soldiers immediately pulled the flag out of
the woman's hands. Other women ran up and
demanded the return of the flag. This was finally
returned to them amidst cheers.

On receiving the flag the paraders re-formed,

turned around and started back to the hall. They had not proceeded a block when the troop of cavalry, who had now been reinforced by the infantry, charged at full gallop with drawn sabers. Women were rode down, others flocked to the sidewalks. The cavalry then charged the sidewalks, beating the people with the flat of their swords. One woman received a gash on the hand from the saber stroke. Mrs. Margaret Hammond was struck by a militiaman with his fist, cutting her forehead above the left eye and blackening both eyes. Any person objecting to the treatment was immediately seized and taken to jail.

The infantry backed up the charge with drawn bayonets, forcing the people before them. Private lawns were invaded and any persons standing on them were herded off. Even government property was not sacred. The troops drove people from the postoffice steps.

A number of people were injured in this charge, mostly women, and eighteen were taken to prison. The streets were then blocked by the militia and no person was allowed to pass up or down them without permission of an officer.

Governor Ammons upheld General Chase in his chivalrous attack upon the women of the community.

Calumet and Colorado

TO ring the old year out, an "Alliance" of the godly and the respectable and the socially conscious in Calumet, Mich., hired a gang of outlaws to beat up the president of

the Western Federation of Miners, and shoot him, and run him out of town, because he was cheering the oppressed and downtrodden of that town to stand up and fight for liberty.

To ring the New Year in, the saintliest woman in this land, 81 years old, surrendered body and soul to the service of man, was received by the United States Militia in Trinidad, Colorado, at the point of the bayonet, bundled contemptuously back into her train, and shipped out of the strike district like a bag of potatoes. Violation of liberty, violation of age, of womanhood, of heroism! Violation of constitutional rights! Violation of everything that anybody with a thread of human feeling holds sacred. Violation, unformed, brass-buttoned, armed, and sanctioned by us all. Perpetrated under, by, and with the consent of our United States Government, acting in the defense of capital against men whose crime is that they refuse to have their blood sucked by capital.

This rings in the year of our Lord 1914. This is the news of the hour. It is the news that cuts to the heart of those who feel.

From The Masses.

Blood?

MARK TWAIN was not thinking of the revolution still to be won among his own people, when he wrote these words:

"All gentle cant and philosophizing to the contrary notwithstanding, no people in the world ever did achieve their freedom by goody-goody talk and moral suasion: it being



Photo, International News Service.

Mother Jones and 500 Miners Marching to the State Capitol at Denver, Colorado, to Present Their Grievances to Governor Ammons Regarding Sending Militia to the Southern Coal Fields. The Ludlow Battle Flag was Carried at the Head of the Column.



LAW AND ORDER IN TRINIDAD.

immutable law that all revolutions that will succeed, must begin in blood, whatever may answer afterward. If history teaches anything it teaches that."

He was not thinking of the Social Revolution. But he might well have been. For there is no question that much blood will be shed ere the working class wins its liberty. There is no question that much blood *is being* shed.

There is a question, *how much?* And the answer to this question is that the longer our "virtuous" people, our idealists, our enthusiasts for democracy, continue to tinker with the Reform Machine, and the longer our churches continue to sit on the necks of the people and sing "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men," the more blood will run before liberty is achieved.

For my part I would rather have a little red on my hands than have on my conscience a New Year's prayer like that of Cardinal Gibbons. "We thank the Lord for the prosperity that abounds throughout the length and breadth of this great land of ours," when more men are out of work and hunting for it hungry, than at any time before since the tragic weeks of 1907.

"We thank Him that we are particularly at peace within our own borders," three days after the leader of that two months' fight against tyranny in Calumet was knocked out and shot in the back by fifteen ruffians hired by the godly and respectable in alliance for the perpetuation of slavery in the copper mines.

The people who, when we say Revolution, gaze with unfocussed eye into the dim future, and ask us if we *expect* violence, are the queerest fools in the world. Let them pick up their papers every morning and look for news of the beating up, or shooting, or forcible imprisonment of a striker, and if they look in the papers that carry truth, they will not be disappointed for one single morning in the whole year. The main trouble with the persons who are supposed to be thinking about these problems is that they have read history until they are half asleep.

From The Masses,

The Delusion of "Safety First"

NOWADAYS the railroad companies are vying with each other in advertising campaigns in which they claim that the first concern of their respective corporations is SAFETY for the passengers and for the trainmen.

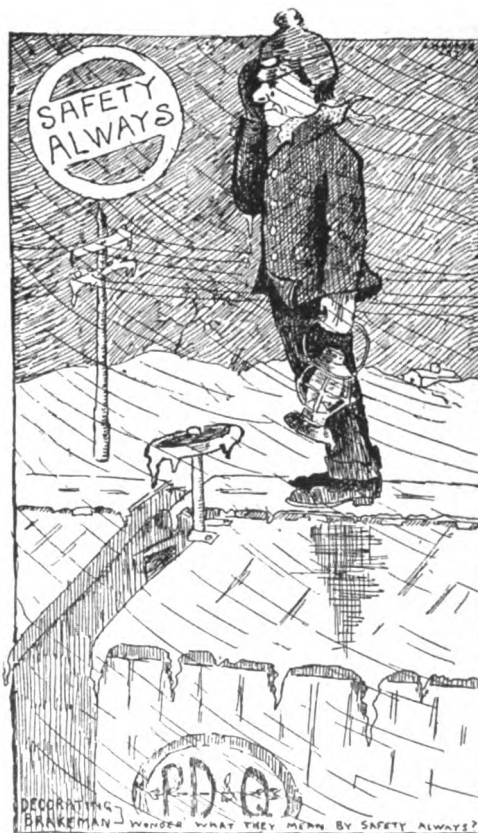
But it is amusing to note that almost all the money expended by the railroads to "promote safety" (?) IS in the advertising columns of the papers and magazines. Perhaps it was decided that it would pay better to put the money into advertisements than in equipment.

So persistently have the roads drummed in the slogan "Safety First" that some of them have almost deceived some of their own employees.

The office force of the REVIEW has enjoyed the pleasure of several visits this month from railroad boys who have shed a little light upon a very dark subject.

They tell us that the railroads have the trainmen so bound up by rules and regulations that, no matter how many accidents may occur, nor how they may occur, the blame may always be laid upon the men and the companies exonerated. The rule system is worked down "pat." Upon every single run the men are forced and expected to VIOLATE the rules in order to make it, but when a wreck occurs the officials may always point to the company rules and shift the blame onto the men.

Brakemen are still compelled to go onto the top of airbrake freight trains, when such a risk



can be of no possible good to the company property, to the public, nor to anybody else. This old custom arose at a time when trains were stopped by hand brakes instead of air. Every month sees a heavy toll of brakeman whom an outworn and useless custom has added to the great list of unfortunates.

The very simplest precautions could prevent the rear-end and head-end collisions that still cause the greatest number of train wrecks every year.

We understand that in Michigan and Indiana the Michigan Central uses a block-behind-passenger-train system of signals in which the train dispatchers show signals to prevent rear-end collisions.

In a wreck which happened recently three miles from Jackson, Mich., a train crew received the goahead signal and proceeded full speed ahead. They had been assured by the dispatcher's sign that there was no train ahead for them to rush into. At the other end of the line the trainmen on a passenger received similar signals and the two trains rushed together, met in a terrible head-on collision and several people were killed. If the company had inaugurated a block system for signals *before* trains as well as *behind* them, the accident could not have occurred.

The boys, who were of the first train crew above mentioned, had not been on the run in many weeks. They had been sent from one division to another, their chief run being into another state. As they pulled out the engineer told them they had a clear track to station X. No orders were given them; no instructions were passed.

But there was a "Sunday only" (mentioned on the time card) which they were expected to pass on a siding.

The sixteen-hour law has been passed which makes it illegal for the railroad companies to work trainmen more than sixteen hours straight at one stretch. But it has been interpreted by the companies to mean working the crews sixteen hours a day.

The railroad boys on the Sunday run had been working sixteen hours every day for months. So had the engineer. None had regular runs, but went from division to division as ordered. The block-behind signal said "there's no rear-end for you to run into." But there was a head-on collision in which several persons were killed and injured.

Of course, the railroad officials threw up their hands and blamed the trainmen. "The Sunday only" was mentioned in the time card, they said. It was true that the men had received no orders to look out for the passenger. It was true that if the passenger had been run as an "extra" orders would have been issued for everybody. It was admitted that the men were not on a regular run. But, the Sunday only passenger was printed on the time card, said the officials, and the crew should have known it.

When they cross-examined the engineer, he said, "I didn't realize it was *SUNDAY!*" Why should he? How can any workman remember the holy Sabbath when it is precisely like every other day in the week to him?

The railroad workers have long been fighting

the companies for safety precautions. The brunt of the burden has fallen on them. We must join hands with them in demanding safe conditions of labor for themselves and for every railroad passenger.

The Shoe Workers

WE WANT to tell the boot and shoe workers that their officials are again serving the bosses who exploit the workers. This time the trouble comes in St. Louis. In that city there are members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and a strong organization of the United Shoe Workers of America. The companies whose products bear the stamp of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union pay their cutters from \$15 to \$18 for a 59-hour week. The Hamilton-Brown Company shoes, bearing the United Shoe Workers' label, have been receiving from \$21 to \$30 a week.

The Hamilton-Brown people finding that the militant United Shoe Workers' organization was gaining ground steadily in its factory, decided to call in the officials of the Boot and Shoe Workers, who have notoriously served the bosses at the expense of the shoe workers in every known instance. They recalled the letter sent the shoe manufacturers by President John Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers in which he said:

"In view of the fact that you can use the stamp without in any way surrendering control of your business or placing yourself to the least disadvantage, either as **TO WAGES OR OTHERWISE**, there appears to be no good reason why you should not secure the use of the union stamp immediately, which you can do by addressing a letter to the undersigned, who will be pleased to furnish you with all necessary information. We have made the splendid record of having gone through the last four years . . . without a strike in any department in any factory throughout the entire country where the union stamp is used. . . . It is perfectly **SAFE TO DO BUSINESS** with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, no matter what may have been your disappointments in doing business with any past organization in the shoe trade. We stand ready to take your factory at its existing scale of wages and issue our union stamp under an arbitration contract, **WHICH ABSOLUTELY PROTECTS YOU AGAINST BEING REQUIRED TO PAY ABOVE THE MARKET RATE OF WAGES.**"

The Hamilton-Brown people decided to call in the Tobin **WAGE REDUCERS** to help them in cutting down the wages of their working force. They immediately laid off all their employees and later sent word that they could return to work, one department at a time. The *Boston & Fitchburg Leader* says:

"The officials of the Boot & Shoe Workers are in and out of the Hamilton-Brown factory daily, trying their utmost to hold in check the few that have gone back to work. Fifteen thousand shoe workers, union men, have been forced by conditions for which the B. & S. are responsible into the independent field in order to **HAVE A VOICE CONCERNING THE**



ON THE PICKET LINE—ST. LOUIS.

WAGES, HOURS AND CONDITIONS OF LABOR. Tobin has appealed directly TO THE MANUFACTURERS offering them terms injurious to the members. The officials of the B. & S. have conspired with the manufacturers to *reduce wages and employ scabs.*"

The 5,000 employes of the Hamilton-Brown people have refused to surrender to the bosses and the officials of the Boot & Shoe Workers' Union. They know surrender means longer hours, scabbery, lower wages and disruption of a bona fide union that seeks to better the conditions of the shoe workers instead of improving the profits of the bosses. There have been but six desertions from the ranks of the strikers.

Strike benefits are being paid all and the United Shoe Workers will allow nobody to suffer. The officials of the Boot & Shoe Workers are scouring the country to secure scabs to help break the strike. Twenty-five so-called shoe workers have been sent in. The Tobin traitors have paid their railroad fare and told them to take taxicabs to the best hotel in town, where general vice-president of the B. & S., Collis Lovely, entertains them until they are taken to the factories.

A concerted effort is being made to kill the new REAL union. The workers in the B. & S. will soon see that the United Shoe Workers' Union is the only one that can really serve their interests and will refuse to take the places of their brothers and sisters on strike who belong to this organization.

Strikes have been forced on the United Shoe Workers in Lynn, Stoneham, New York, Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis and the Boot & Shoe Workers' OFFICIALS are trying to send men to fill the places of the strikers. You B. & S. men, DON'T SCAB. Rather leave the organization which your officials is using as a scabbing agency. The Boot & Shoe Workers' Union officials are LOWERING WAGES. They are tying you up with contracts that will force you to SCAB. They are helping your bosses to INCREASE HOURS.

The United Shoe Workers of America are organized to HELP THE SHOE WORKERS. They have raised wages, shortened hours. Get in the real organization that fights the battles of the workers.

The shoe strikers in St. Louis are putting up a glorious fight. They intend to win and then they mean to win all the shoe workers to the organization that the workers control. They have seen John Tobin helping the bosses long enough.

These striking comrades are now out in the streets doing picket duty in St. Louis, while the Tobin strikebreakers are inside planning how to help the bosses to beat them.

You shoe workers, take this matter up in your local union and join the United Shoe Workers which serves the workers all the time and the workers only.

A Lynn (Mass.) newspaper says: "The A. F. of L. is constitutionally barred from recognizing the two organizations and is prevented from taking away the charter from the one that has ceased to be a legitimate labor organization and alienates a large body of workers who have organized and maintain a bona fide union."

Amilcare Cipriani

Seldom since the formation of United Italy, more than forty years ago, has there been such a genuine wave of enthusiasm sweeping Italy as at present. And all because Amilcare Cipriani, the veteran revolutionist, has been elected to the Chamber of Deputies by the Socialists of the sixth district in Milan. As the news of Sunday's working class victory spreads from the snowy banks of Lake Como in the Alps to the salt city of Trapani, at the extreme toe of the "boot," parades, speeches, fireworks and all manner of demonstrations by Socialists and union men show the joy of the awakening proletariat.

The Socialist press is jubilant, *l'Avanti*, the principal party daily, proclaiming the election of Cipriani as the greatest triumph won by the Socialist movement in Italy. On the other hand, the organs of the government are furious, and fairly froth at the mouth in an effort to prove the old communard a villain of the deepest dye, whose election is invalid and who will never be allowed to take his seat as the fifty-fourth Socialist deputy.

La Tribuna, the semi-official evening paper of this city, characterizes Cipriani as the very embodiment of a revolutionary movement that will

end in a catastrophe on the barricades. *Il Corriere della Sera* of Milan, the most powerful bourgeois paper in Italy, declares that Cipriani is ineligible to the chamber.

The upper class women wore sashes of red, white and green and appealed to the voters to vote for the government, while the working-women wore sashes of red and worked for Cipriani. Cipriani is one of the Socialists most feared by the government.

The Wheatland Boys

HERMAN Suhr and Richard Ford, leaders of the strike on the Durst Hop Ranch at Wheatland, have been convicted of murder in the second degree, in the trial for the murder of District Attorney Edmund Manwell, killed in the raid of the sheriff's posse on a peaceable meeting of men, women and children strikers. William Back and Harry Bagan, who stood trial with them, have been released "on account of insufficient evidence."

Ford and Suhr are convicted of murder. But they are not convicted of actually having murdered Mr. Maxwell. They are convicted of conspiring to murder, of being accessory before the fact.

The evidence of several eye witnesses proved that the District Attorney was killed by a Porto Rican, who came to the rescue of his fellow strikers. But the Porto Rican was killed himself; Ford and Suhr were not killed. And, as Prosecuting Attorney Carlin says, "The blood of Ed Manwell cries from the ground for their conviction." The employing class cry for their conviction, Mr. Carlin might have added, with less false sentiment and more truth. For these men, Ford and Suhr, were strike leaders, and their strike promised to be successful, had not the sheriff's posse acted as strikebreakers for the Hop Barons.

These are the reasons for the conviction of Ford and Suhr. The precedent of a conviction of a labor leader for conspiracy to murder, of being accessory before the fact to any violence fomented by the employers in time of industrial trouble, is choked down the throats of the working class in California. And a staggering blow is given of the organization of the migratory workers, in whose vast army they urge toward organization had just begun to take embryonic shape.

Immediately behind the four prisoners during the trial sat Mrs. Suhr and Mrs. Ford, each with her two children. Suhr is desperately broken by the tortures of the Burns detectives, and even wiry, spirited hopeful Ford shows the long imprisonment and the strain. But the men show their ordeal hardly more than their wives.

As they sat before the twelve men who were to decide their fate, it was difficult to imagine a situation where justice would be more bitterly impossible to secure than in this county of Yuba, from which change of venue had been denied the four prisoners. Not a man in the jury who would not consider (however falsely) that his financial interests would be more secure for the

conviction of these men. Not a man there who knew them or had ever looked upon their faces before. Not a man there who did not know at least by reputation, the dead man, his widow and orphans. Not a man who had not read the bitter attacks of the local press, condemning these men to the gallows before they were even brought to trial. Not a man who had ever read a word favorable to them (the reading of the pamphlet sent into Yuba County by this league having been declared by the judge to disqualify a man from jury service). Not a man in the jury, probably, who did not share the prejudice of the man with a home, against the so-called hobo.

Austin Lewis' plea for the defense was brilliant, profoundly human and convincing. It took the evidence, as given by both sides and utterly demolished the case of the prosecution with the sword of cold reason, slashed the cowardly Stanwood for his persecutions of helpless prisoners, and then flung itself upward in such an appeal to the blood-kindred of all men in aspirations for betterment and freedom, such as the strike on the Durst Ranch, as must have stirred the blood of every listener. But Lewis was a stranger to the jurymen, and their petty life in an agricultural community rendered it impossible for them to judge in a case involving an industrial question.

Prosecuting Attorney Carlin, who followed, had set his stage well. Opposite the jury sat the widow of the dead man with her six children. Intimately, as a man might talk to them leaning over the front fences, Carlin drove his plea home to the jury, every man of whom knew him, and many of whom, it is stated, were under obligations to him. Analysis of the testimony there was none; argument there was none; reason there was none.

A poor, shabby, cowardly speech, vulgar and dull. But it did not have to be very clever. All was well prepared without a clever plea. The judge read to the jury instructions from the law exactly covering a conviction for conspiracy in these cases, and hastily skipped over the instructions which would have freed the men by showing that Ford and Suhr did not aid and abet the Porto Rican who did the shooting.

The crooked, brutal case was about finished. The prophecy of gentlemen intimately associate with the ever clever Burns detectives to the effect that the verdict would be brought in at 1:30 p. m. on January 31, was correct. Society women and social workers who had come up from San Francisco, representatives of the press, investigators from the new Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, townsmen and townswomen crowded the courtroom. And the impious mock dignity of the law went on its wind-inflated way, to free the two men whom it dare not hold and to pronounce guilty the two whose sole crime was that they rose to lead out of the darkness, a helpless crowd of men, women and children,—to convict these men who used what talents were theirs to voice the will and aspirations of these people for clean and decent conditions and a wage sufficient to allow them to hold up their heads as men.

Their cases will be appealed, and the storms of protest and wrath will not be downed until they are free.

THE MINERS' CONVENTION

Hubert Langerock

ANOTHER miners' convention has come and gone and again arises the selfsame question: What has it proved, to what extent is it an index of the power of working class action in the United States?

Any one of the acts of such a convention can be lifted out of the proceedings by a prejudiced mind and used to some advantage by a prejudiced mind to bolster up a pet theory. But to what conclusion do the events of the convention taken as a whole lead the average working-class onlooker who has nothing else to further than his own material interests merged into those of his class?

Let us see. If numbers are an index of the strength and value of a gathering, this was certainly a great meeting. It was so large that it was unwieldy. It had a mania to get afire too easily. It could be swung from one extreme to another. Its mass psychology could have been higher.

The delegates came directly from the locals and there is a probability that these picked the best timber they could afford, as in all conventions, a lot of valuable educational work resulted from the comparing of notes and data on labor conditions, prices and methods of administration.

A composite picture of the eighteen hundred delegates would show a sturdy type of some five feet six inches high, square of shoulders, slightly stooped, but on the whole fairly successful in defending his physical individuality against the occupational diseases of a dangerous and unhealthy calling.

In the conquest of this condition the union has been the most efficient weapon and the beneficiary does not seem likely to forget it. He loves his union to such an extent that, if you are not a diplomat in showing up its weaknesses or the possibilities for improvement, he may become suspicious and refuse to listen to

you any longer. It is a noble sentiment and—like all noble sentiments—liable to be abused. In Indianapolis the union-feeling was running riot. The stage had been set just for producing such an effect, there were improvised flags used in real battles with the armed thugs of the companies and a tent riddled with bullet holes by one of the militia machine guns had been set up on the stage.

Not in the waves of negative enthusiasm running over the convention in heartfelt storms of indignation at the recital of the sufferings and the wrongs inflicted upon the strikers in violation of the law could the capacity of the convention be determined—from that point of view achievements only speak. What counts is the success achieved in settling the delicate and complex questions which the convention had to solve.

There is, for instance, the ever necessary watchfulness against the inroads of professionalism. Professional deformation is ever present in the economic organizations of labor. It develops, in the chosen leaders, the mentality of a petty bourgeois of the middle class. Through long and steady performance of the daily grind of his routine work, the union official is prone to forget the fundamental reason for his existence and ends by making of himself an end instead of a means to an end. Thus he slowly begins to subordinate in his personal vision all necessary social transformations to the defense of his job, and later, of the system which makes his job a necessity through his implied necessity of collective bargaining. Only too often have the selfish calculations of such labor professionals been the only obstacle to the readjustments of labor organizations required by a change in the mode of production.

Taking the working conditions of the coal miners as they are today, it is only too true that their industry offers the most fertile field for the spread of pro-

fessionalism amongst the leaders. Employers have been for years pitting nationality against nationality. A dozen tongues in a coal camp is not an uncommon sight, and for this Tower of Babel the union's headquarters and agents are the clearing house, the instrument of working class unity of purpose.

No wonder, then, that under such conditions the most short-sighted and hence the most individualistic of the union leaders do use their jobs as stepping stones to political preferment at the hands of the capitalistic class parties or to smuggle themselves into the ranks of the smaller operators, where by the grace of the railroads, some two by four coal companies are allowed to scramble along with their life at all times at the mercy of the bankers and the men who control credit.

Now, let it be said in honor of the delegates that they saw the breakers ahead and effectively undertook to steer clear of them. There was a healthy demand for decentralization of power concretely uttered in the shape of a demand to reduce the number of delegates to the convention. There was a strong demand voiced without bitterness or personalities, to regulate and define the power of officers, and the small majority by which the increase of the president's salary was carried must be quoted as the sanest instance of the necessity felt by the rank and file for a keener control. The best criticisms of both the union and the convention were brought out by the miners themselves in resolutions offered to the convention itself.

That effort at self-improvement showed itself in the demand for suppression of the commissioners. Commissionerships are the little backdoor through which checkweighmen and union officials stealthily sneak in to sell to the operators the capacity for handling men which they have developed in, through, and often at the expense of the union. To the same line of self-criticism belongs the well deserved slap at Secretary Wilson.

With all this capacity for collective introspection the convention was easy to sway. The miners were in a joyful mood and it is part of the trade secrets of the skillful manipulator of men and crowds to turn such conditions into channels of irrational emotionalism, regardless of the

better guidance of principles coldly but logically worked out.

There was a woman who had received permission to run a restaurant in the lobby; she could not run it alone, she had to have help and used non-union help. Union cooks and waiters protested, the woman was called upon for an explanation; she happened to be somewhat of a speaker, and told the average middle-class, looking-for-sympathy story of a home half paid for, about to be lost and now to be rescued through this restaurant venture, and she won out. Emotion triumphed over economic considerations so sound that no delegate would have dared to contradict them in a private conversation.

Another instance: the old and the new charity, the Little Sisters of the Poor and the Volunteers of America, those who help the poor and those who live off the poor, made a plea for a collection and got it; and who would not have hated to be the one chosen to remind this proletarian gathering of the degradation of charity and the necessity for all conscious workers to reject it with contempt both actively by refusing their mite, and passively by not lowering themselves to accept its doles.

These were real emotional mistakes, hampering the convention in its task, seriously reducing its capacity for its main task: the translation of the wishes and needs of 450,000 miners into the constructive policies of their union.

The shortcomings were real, but they did not overshadow the collective capacity of the gathering. The leaders became aware of it, and to such an extent that they made unlooked-for confessions and promised not to let their petty personalities stand in the way of much needed improvements in organization. As a result, amalgamation with the Western Federation of Miners is in sight, a committee has been jointly appointed by the two organizations to draft a working agreement within a given time.

Such are the possibilities of industrial unionism, of the one big union idea, when it is sustained by a strong revolutionary feeling. It is the best school where the rank and file can learn to express their will and bring it into execution, and the convention, although it proved that the

miners as a whole had still their economic education to complete, demonstrated also that real progress had only come with a form of organization in harmony with the mode of production, and permeated with the spirit of proletarian revolt.

In routine work the convention was at its best, working in a matter of fact way, very much like a stockholders' meeting or a board of directors driving a hard bargain.

In the handling of legislative problems the delegates seemed less at home. Their lack of training cropped out in the handling of the immigration problem. There was a vague demand for a check on the influx of foreign labor-power, but the convention seemed at a loss to find a suitable method to put its wish into execution.

The climax of the whole proceedings came when the report of the delegates to the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L. was taken up. It did not take long before the debate was widened into a discussion of the whole problem of working class organization on both the political and economic field with all their mutual relations and reactions. The attack on the A. F. of L. was more outspoken than ever. Fossilized, dead, rotten, incapable of a forward move, opposed to an adequate form of unionism; such were a few of the expressions used, and then as the final thrust, came the personal attack upon the leaders of the Federation, as a gang of booze-fighters.

A statue higher than that of George Washington was promised to the man who could break down the barrier of resistance erected by the conservative element of the Federation. The futility of the "reward and punish" policy as a substitute for political class-action was not even mentioned, being a foregone conclusion. There were demands for an endorsement of the Socialist Party and others for leaving the Federation. None of them prevailed. Avowed Socialists feared to look as if they intended to drive men into a political party whose principles they did neither understand nor accept. Perhaps they forgot that right today the Gompers machine, making of the Federation the tail of the Democratic kite, is putting them in that very position. As for leaving the Federation, this was

against the unity of the working class on the economic field, and therefore taboo. Delegates seemed to look upon this unity as upon a fetish and not the least radical wished with almost superstitious timidity to leave to somebody else—probably the Catholic church through the Militia of Jesus Christ—to assume the historical responsibility of smashing the unitary frame of present-day economic organization.

It cannot be disputed that, although the charges of MacDonald were equivalent in substance and form to those made by Haywood, for instance, the fact that they were uttered under the Federation's own roof increased their gravity and will cause them to bear deeper results.

Gompers was sent for and appeared before the convention. He did not have the courage to fight openly against industrial unionism, and gave most of his time to personal matters. His efforts fell flat. The stock arguments, so often used with telling effect at the general conventions and always applauded with automatic energy by the closed ranks of the Federation's professionals, seemed to have lost their efficacy; they seemed to fall on deaf ears. Gompers was the most confused man in the hall. He stammered and stuttered. Never before had he appeared so pitifully small and so mercilessly ridiculous, unless it be in Paris, a few years ago, when the Austrian weaver Huebner answered his jingo subtleties about the peculiarities of the American Craftsman by an impatient invitation to go back and sit down.

Not even in his personal defense against the indifferent charge of habitual drunkenness was he able to enthuse his sympathizers in the audience. Perhaps too much has been made out of that incident. An excess of drink is within the consequences of the petty bourgeois frame of mind and the gompsonian notion of success, but the editorials in the *American Federationist*, for instance, are of such a degree of stupid pedantry and childish metaphysics, that it matters mighty little whether their author was drunk or sober when he wrote them. And after all, who cares about the editorials, who confesses to have wasted his spare time reading them?

The convention turned against Gompers,

it was the conclusion of the dissatisfaction which started in Seattle, when White was not elected to take John Mitchell's seat as second vice-president, but was given the sixth or seventh vice-presidency, a berth which he refused, and which all the diplomacy of the person who writes Gompers' letters could not induce him to take.

Gompers' defeat alarmed the forces which benefit from his control of the Federation and help him to maintain it. The Democrats and the Catholic church grew anxious, there was talk of dispatching some of their big guns to the convention at once, but wiser ones warned the Federation machine against overshooting the mark and Senator Kern alone came. He has helped some unions, has introduced a couple of motions to investigate in the Senate and is an all around smooth politician. The ovation which he received proves the uncertainty of the mass-mind of the convention and how the education of the delegates ought to be looked after

by the rank and file to prevent the possibility of stampedes towards an individual or a personality.

A few years ago it was one of Gompers' hobbies that the creation of a political party of the working class would make the trade-union conventions the arena of politics and politicians and here was now the same Gompers throwing a trade-union convention open to the representative of that bourgeois party to whose security in power he would not hesitate to sacrifice the miners of Michigan and Colorado.

Kern came very near succeeding as far as a reaction towards Gompers was concerned. The glimmer of hope for a revolutionary industrial unionism through the internal evolution of the Federation died almost out, but taking the proceedings as a whole a real progress is noticeable. Those who had witnessed the previous conventions could notice the progress realized. Here is a ferment and a good chance that it will leaven the whole loaf before it is too late.

WAR IN MEXICO



AFTER THE BATTLE OF MATAMORAS.



VICTIMS OF THE MEXICAN OIL WAR.



ONE DIED FOR THE ENGLISH AND ONE DIED FOR THE AMERICAN OIL TRUST



"THE WORKERS AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT"

By John Wanhope

THE apparently insignificant and local strike of 138 mail wagon chauffeurs, which started in New York City during the last few days of October, has resulted in the establishment of a precedent which is of national importance to organized labor. The conviction of eleven union drivers, who were charged with "conspiring to obstruct the United States Mail," means that all Federal and quasi-Federal employees who seek to better their immediate condition through strikes, are liable to a charge of conspiracy.

This blow does not alone affect workers employed directly by the Government, but all workers employed by any private firm which holds a contract from the Federal Government. The right to or-

ganize is not denied, but any effort on the part of the workers to effect better conditions for themselves can be turned into charges of conspiracy.

Thousands of Government employees are thus denied the right to demand more bread and butter, and the precedent established by sending eight of the mail drivers to jail, tends to kill forever any germ of revolt that Federal employees may cherish and look forward to.

Organized labor has received a blow that it will take many years to recover from. The Federal Government, on the other hand, is becoming more bold, and will continually swing the club of conspiracy over the heads of those who would strike, and thereby hamper the workings of any Government institution.

Not alone will the club of conspiracy swing, but the Federal Government will go into the strikebreaking business with real earnestness. The power of the Government is far more effective than that of the private concerns engaged in the nefarious business, for the entire machinery of capitalist government can be used against the workers.

The Federal Grand Jury, the marshals, the district attorneys and the rest of the Government machinery is now enabled to break a strike, and can do it quicker and more effectively than the bullets and black jacks of private strikebreakers.

Under the pretense of preserving law and order, keeping intact the ancient traditions of private property, the Federal Grand Jury indicted eighteen union drivers, thereby breaking the backbone of the strike, and enabling a private corporation to get a tighter grasp on its wage slaves.

The municipal authorities also lent a helping hand to the affected firm, by placing policemen on the trucks of the company. Between the Government and the municipal authorities, the complete desire of the private corporation was effected. That desire was to reduce the workers to submissiveness and forever teach those employed in Government work that they cannot strike.

A clear statement of the facts about the strike and subsequent conviction of the mail drivers is ample proof of the power of a private corporation which is able to use the Government as a tool to effect its ends.

For the past ten years, Local 537 of the Mail Wagon Chauffeurs and Drivers Union of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters of the American Federation of Labor has had agreements with the various firms which transported the mails in New York City.

When the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., a newly formed body, received the contract for the handling of mails below 45th street, in New York City, it was the general opinion that little difficulty would be encountered in securing an agreement between the workers and the company.

The company began operations in August, two months after it had received the contract. More than one hundred immense automobile trucks were put into

commission, and the men employed by the previous contractor were continued in the employ of the new company.

Immediately, it was seen that a fight for recognition of the union was bound to take place. Members of the union were slowly but steadily being weeded out. Restrictions were placed upon the wearing of the union button, and other petty abuses and provocations were heaped upon the men. Efforts to remedy the situation were fruitless, and in desperation the workers appealed to Postmaster General Burleson, who offered no solution for the problem.

The climax was reached when Patrick Johnson, an ardent union man, was placed on the extra working list for apparently no reason. On October 26th the men held an indignation meeting at their headquarters, and it was decided to appeal to the firm for a final answer. Nothing came of the conference, and on the night of October 27th, every worker returned his truck to the company's garage.

They demanded that the working hours be decreased from 12 and 15 to ten, and that a minimum wage of \$3 per day be given, instead of the \$60 to \$90 monthly received before.

The company had evidently been prepared for the occasion, and at once manned its trucks with strikebreakers. Two hours after the strike had been called the company had appealed to Police Commissioner Waldo, who ordered cops to man the trucks and protect the scab drivers. Disturbances were few that night, but several strikers were arrested for daring to ask the men to leave the trucks.

The next day was disastrous for the company. Many of the trucks were disabled by the reckless and ignorant strikebreakers, and the company was in a bad way. The capitalist press was eager for a chance to take a crack at the strikers, and at once the cry of "sabotage" was heard in the columns of the daily papers.

One of the trucks was burnt that afternoon, near the union headquarters. A striker, it was said, had thrown a rock at the strikebreaker on the machine, and the cop gave chase. When he succeeded in catching the culprit he brought him back to the truck and locked him inside.

The scab attempted to start the machine, but found it impossible. An enormous crowd had gathered near it, and in a few moments the front of the machine was in flames.

The strikers, fearing their comrade would be burnt to death, freed him, and the rescue resulted in the arrest of another striker.

All day the trucks were continually being towed to the garage in a disabled condition. The cause, the papers shouted, was that sand had been mixed with the oil, that water had been poured in the gasoline, and that the magneto wires and gas lines had been cut. The trouble continued and the bought press was shouting that the strikers were un-American dynamiters, blackhanders, and thugs.

In the meantime, the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., had sought the aid of a Tammany leader, who was able to supply a large number of gunmen. The headquarters of these gentlemen was the company's garage, where they lived and planned the attacks upon the strikers. Each officer of the company had a private automobile, and these were used by the thugs in their raids. The officers of the company often personally directed the attacks.

It was noticeable that when these raids occurred the police were never on the job, but always far away from the scene of disorder. Election time was near and the Tammany boss apparently interfered in the behalf of the strikers. He accomplished nothing, and was always promising the "boys" that something would be done.

When election was over, the raids continued with renewed vigor. The strike headquarters at 28th street and Eighth avenue, were raided by the gunmen. Records were stolen, and three of the union men hurled from the windows of the place.

As a result of the raid the strikers were forced to establish headquarters in another part of the city. In this place the police continually watched. Several times all those inside the headquarters were lined up against the wall and searched by the cops, who were unable to find anything. As usual, the cry of dynamite went up, and another search

was made for the deadly explosive, but needless to say, none was found.

The Federal Grand Jury then began an investigation. Despite the fact that the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., boasted that the strike had not hampered the mails, eighteen indictments were returned against the strikers for "conspiring to obstruct the United States Mail."

Posses of deputy marshals, deputy sheriffs, headed by officials of the company, scoured the city for the men. They were hunted down like wild beasts, and often taken at the point of revolvers. Each day a few would be caught and held in \$5,000 bail each, by Commissioner Shields.

Although the workers were affiliated with a big labor organization backed by the A. F. of L., nothing was done to obtain the release of the men in jail.

The bail was reduced to \$1,500 each after the men had spent six days in the Tombs. Sixteen men had been caught and released. The indictment had the effect of breaking the strike. Many of the union men had in the meantime, gone to the District Attorney, who took statements from them regarding the strike. Many of these traitors were reinstated in the service of the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., later.

The union, unknown to the men, had been filled with spies who daily informed the company. Through the informers the district attorney was able to obtain confessions from about 75 men, and upon their testimony the indictments were handed down.

The indicted men, with the union treasury empty, needed a legal representative to appear for them at the coming trial. After weeks of begging from individuals and local labor unions, a few hundred dollars was obtained.

On January 6th, the trial was called in the United States District Court, and was postponed until the 13th and finally the 15th, when the jury was chosen.

The twelve "peers" of the drivers, who were finally chosen to try the men, were without an exception, business men, fairly well situated in life. Assistant District Attorney James Osborne made an opening speech to the jury, in which he painted the men as the blackest of all criminals, for they had sought to disturb

the peace of the community. One of the defendants was then discharged, the prosecution admitting that they had no evidence against him.

A number of officers of the company indignantly denied that gunmen had ever been hired to protect the property or beat up the strikers. In all about forty witnesses gave testimony for the Government. None of them could directly connect any of the strikers with the acts charged in the indictment. The prosecution, seeing that the case had fallen through, admitted that it had failed to make a clear case, and asked that circumstantial evidence be admitted.

Judge Killits of Ohio, who was presiding at the trial, showed his prejudice by continually overruling the objections of the defense and sustaining practically all of the objections of the prosecution. Killits decided to admit circumstantial evidence, over the objections of the defense.

The circumstantial evidence consisted of a number of broken gas lines, cut magneto wires, and other damaged parts of the disabled trucks. Not a defendant was directly connected with any of these depredations, but still the prosecution maintained that since these acts had been committed during the strike, that fact alone was enough to prove that the strikers were guilty of conspiracy.

When the fifteen defendants took the stand, the evidence of the government witnesses was shown to be untrue in every respect. One of the government witnesses had testified that he saw one of the defendants have a bomb. "It looked like a cigar," he said, "and had a fuse on it. It was wrapped in tinfoil, and when the defendant threw it out in the street it exploded with tremendous force." When the true facts were revealed it was found that the bomb was nothing but a five-cent smoker, broken in half and wrapped in tinfoil.

It was brought out in the trial that the Postal Transfer Service, Inc., had freely dispensed money during the strike to obtain statements about the workers. They attempted to bribe one of the defendants while he was drunk, and succeeded in getting a statement from him. This statement was used in the case but was not harmful to the defense.

Assistant District Attorney Roger B. Woods, in his summing up, asked in the name of "law and order," that the men be convicted. He declared them a "menace to the business fabric of the nation," and naturally such declarations before a jury of business men, had the desired effect. It took the jury only a little more than five hours to decide that eleven of the fifteen men were guilty as charged.

In his charge to the jury, Judge Killits emphasized the point that there are no classes in this country, and that the nation did not desire any. A Socialist reporter, in speaking to him during the trial had directed his attention to the fact that there were classes in this country.

The sentences were considered to be light, in view of the fact that the maximum is \$10,000 fine and two years' imprisonment. It is the general opinion that the Judge, in order to avoid an appeal, made the sentences as light as he could.

Of the eleven found guilty, William Simpson, Louis Terry and George MacGrath were given suspended sentences of one year.

The three union officers, David Hockberg, president; Timothy D. Kennedy, secretary and treasurer, and William Krall, recording secretary and Central Federated Union delegate, were given eighteen months each in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta. Charles MacCaffery, William Eusillius and Patrick Johnson received fifteen months each, while Tony Fasano was sentenced to one year and a day at the penitentiary.

Frank Gillece was given two months at Blackwell's Island. William B. Gluck, John O'Hara, Patrick Braanigan and George Canning were found not guilty. Patrick Donohue was discharged during the trial. George Hetherington and Thomas Fitzgerald were never apprehended.

The Judge, in sentencing the men, laid the cause of the trouble to the alleged fact that the men were free imbibers of drink, and that was the logic they used in the strike. Killits stated that after serving one-third of their terms all the men sent to Atlanta would be eligible to parole. He and the District Attorney will sign the papers for their release.

So ended one of the most dramatic and interesting trials in the history of labor.

"Justice" had been done. Eight men had been sent to jail on the testimony of gunmen, thugs, detectives and spies. The workers had been convicted of conspiracy, through the workings of the Federal and municipal authorities, and by a jury of their "peers."

Any member of a labor organization cannot speak to his brother unionist without being responsible for the other fellow's utterances. Labor unions can be

formed as long as they don't injure private property, and are not effective.

There is one moral to be learned, and it is this: "Don't demand more, if you are in any way connected with the Government, for it will get you no matter which way you turn."

And again: The Federal Government has gone into the strikebreaking business. It will fight for any private corporation, with indictments and not bullets.

The Land Without Strikes

By William E. Bohn

IF this were merely the report of a strike it would not be surprising. New Zealand has seen strikes aplenty before now. But the recently concluded struggle of the Waterside workers shows up New Zealand capitalism in a most astounding manner. They may not be more rapacious and cruel than others, but they are surely more devious and hypocritical. With the smoothest imaginable talk about the good of the community they have been using the arbitration law to break the back of the labor movement.

Their method should commend itself to capitalists in other countries. Let us say that a local union of two hundred members presents demands to the employers. The demands are turned down, and the men go on strike. The employers' federation declares the union non-existent because it has broken the arbitration law. Then they organize a new "union." That is, they get together a dozen or so of strike-breakers and have them sign up under the law as a union. According to the law any fifteen men can form a union of any trade. It is said that in one case during the waterside strike six men and a dog formed such a "union." Straightway the strike-breakers become the union men, and the unionists are advertised as outlaws.

So the arbitration law places unionism in the hands of the employers. No wonder that the General Laborers' Union, a rebel organization, has grown so amazingly during the past two years.

The following account of the Waterside strike is chiefly taken from a report of the great Australian union conference called to consider the struggle of the New Zealanders. The trouble broke out in October. The shipwrights of Wellington struck on account of a dispute in regard to a certain traveling time allowance. The Waterside workers, according to custom, held a stop-work meeting to consider the situation. Those who attended the meeting were immediately discharged, and this began a general fight along the waterfront.

The workers recognized that the employers were proceeding with a systematic union-smashing policy. In accordance with the method outlined above unions had already been destroyed at several places: A general Laborers' Union, at Auckland; an Engine Drivers' Union, at Waihi; Coal Miners' organizations, at Huntley and Kaitangata; a Waterside Union, at Timaru. In the present instance at Wellington the employers insisted upon dividing the Waterside Federation into branches and coming to separate agreements with each group. And this in spite of the fact that a committee of the men was forced to deal, not with their own employers, but with representatives of the Employers' Federation of New Zealand.

The struggle rapidly became general. Many trades came out with the "Watersiders." Among these were the miners. Many others, carpenters, bricklayers, etc., donated money and refused to use "scab"



Farmers Volunteered to Load and Unload the Ships and to Scab on the Strikers in Every Industry. They Acted as Mounted Constables and Proved Particularly Vicious in Routing Pickets.

materials. In Australia dockers and railway workers decided not to forward freight loaded by strike-breakers.

The government, representing the men as law-breakers, because they were outside the provisions of the Arbitration act, called out the police and soldiers. The Farmers' Union, of Auckland, sent a circular calling on its members to act as strike-breakers. And many of them did as they were requested. Practically every considerable town on the island became the scene of ruthless carnage. There are many tales of firing on defenseless crowds and not a few persons were killed and wounded.

A very characteristic story is that of the crew of the steamer *Opawa*. The *Opawa* arrived at Wellington from London early in the struggle. When the crew learned that the vessel was being unloaded by strike-breakers twenty-one of the men quit. They were haled before a magistrate and sentenced to two weeks' imprisonment. Despite this sentence they were immediately taken back to their vessel and the vessel was steered out into open water. The men still refused to work. The vessel was then brought back to port and the men were arrested

on the charge of mutiny on the high seas! They are now out on bail, but if they are convicted they will have to serve sentences at least a year in length.

A number of the strike leaders, including Harry Holland, editor of the *Maori-land Worker*, are in jail on charges of sedition. Their sedition seems to have consisted in advising the men to resist the violence of the police.

The great Australian strike conference is one of the significant signs of the times. It met at Sidney from Nov. 29 to Dec. 2. Some 200,000 workers were represented. Resolutions were adopted calling on Australian unionists not to handle goods loaded by strike-breakers and demanding of the employers that they allow the matters under dispute to go to arbitration.

News has arrived that the strike has been settled; on what terms does not yet appear. But at any rate the New Zealand bubble has been burst. The labor paradise has been lost—if, indeed, it ever existed. It is a great pity, for a small army of magazine writers earned a good living telling American employers how the class-struggle had been legislated out of existence.

A Plea for Solidarity

By EUGENE V. DEBS

"Solidarity—a word we owe to the French Communists and which signifies a community in gain and loss, in honor and dishonor, a being (so to speak) all in the same bottom—is so convenient that it will be in vain to struggle against its reception."—*Trench*.

THE foregoing Webster adds the following definition: "An entire union, or consolidation of interests and responsibilities; fellowship."

The future of labor, the destiny of the working class, depends wholly upon its own solidarity. The extent to which this has been achieved or is lacking, determines the strength or weakness, the success or failure, of the labor movement.

Solidarity, however, is not a matter of sentiment, but of fact, cold and impassive as the granite foundation of a skyscraper. If the basic elements, identity of interest, clarity of vision, honesty of intent, and oneness of purpose, or any of these, is

lacking, all sentimental pleas for solidarity and all efforts to achieve it will be alike barren of results.

The identity of interest is inherent in the capitalist system and the machine process, but the remaining elements essential to solidarity have to be developed in the struggle necessary to achieve it, and it is this struggle in which our unions and parties have been torn asunder and ourselves divided and pitted against each other in factional warfare so bitter and relentless as to destroy all hope of solidarity if the driving forces of capitalism did not operate to make it ultimately inevitable. This struggle has waxed with

increasing bitterness and severity during the years since the I. W. W. came upon the scene to mark the advent of industrial unionism to supplant the failing craft unionism of a past age.

But there is reason to believe, as it appears to me, that, as it is "darkest just before the dawn," so the factional struggle for solidarity waxes fiercest just before its culmination. The storm of factional contention, in which diverse views and doctrines clashed and were subjected to the ordeal of fire, in which all the weapons of the revolution must be forged and tempered, has largely spent itself, and conditions which gave rise to these contentions have so changed, as was pointed out by the editor in the February REVIEW, that unity of the revolutionary forces now seems near at hand.

Industrial unionism is now, theoretically at least, universally conceded. Even Gompers himself now acknowledges himself an industrial unionist. The logic of industrial development has settled that question and the dissension it gave rise to is practically ended.

For the purpose of this writing the proletariat and the working class are synonymous terms. I know of no essential distinction between skilled and unskilled salary and waged workers. They are all in the same economic class and in their aggregate constitute the proletariat or working class, and the hair-splitting attempts that are made to differentiate them in the class struggle give rise to endless lines of cleavage and are inimical if not fatal to solidarity.

Webster describes a proletarian as a "low person," "belonging to the commonalty; hence, mean, vile, vulgar." This is a sufficiently explicit definition of the proletarian by his bourgeois master, which at the same time defines his status in capitalist society, and it applies to the entire working and producing class; hence the *lower class*.

Such distinction between industrial workers as still persists the machine is reducing steadily to narrower circles and will eventually blot out entirely.

It is now about a century since a few of the skilled and more intelligent workers in the United States began to dimly perceive their identity of interest, and to band themselves together for their mu-

tual protection against the further encroachments of their employers and masters. From that time to this there has been continuous agitation among the workers, now open and pronounced and again under cover and in whispers, according to conditions and opportunities, but never has the ferment ceased and never can it cease until the whole mass has been raised to manhood's level by the leaven of solidarity.

The net result of an hundred years of agitation, education and unification, it must be confessed, is hardly calculated to inspire one with an excess of optimism and yet, to the keen observer, there is abundant cause for satisfaction with the past and for confidence in the future.

After a century of unceasing labors to organize the workers, about one in fourteen now belongs to a union. To put it in another way, fourteen out of every fifteen who are eligible to membership are still outside of the labor movement. At the same relative rate of growth it would require several centuries more to organize a majority of the working class in the United States.

But there are sound reasons for believing that a new era of labor unionism is dawning and that in the near future organized labor is to come more rapidly to fruition and expand to proportions and develop power which will compensate in full measure for the slow and painful progress of the past and for all its keen disappointments and disastrous failures; and chief of these reasons is the disintegration and impending fall of reactionary craft unionism and the rise and spread of the revolutionary industrial movement.

Never has the trade union of the past given adequate recognition to the vast army of common laborers, and in its narrow and selfish indifference to these unorganized masses it has weakened its own foundations, played into the hands of its enemies, and finally sealed its own doom.

The great mass of common, unskilled labor, steadily augmented by the machine process, is the granite foundation of the working class and of the whole social fabric, and to ignore or slight this proletarian mass, or fail to recognize its essentially fundamental character, is to build without a foundation and rear a

house of scantlings instead of a fortress of defense.

That the I. W. W. recognized this fundamental fact and directed its energies to the awakening and stimulation of the unskilled masses which had until then lain dormant, was the secret of its spread and power and likewise of the terror it inspired in the ruling class, and had it continued as it began, a revolutionary industrial union, recognizing the need of political as well as industrial action, instead of being hamstrung by its own leaders and converted, officially at least, into an anti-political machine, it would today be the most formidable labor organization in America, if not the world. But the time has not yet come, seemingly, for the organic change from craft segregation to industrial solidarity. There must needs be further industrial evolution and still greater economic pressure brought to bear upon the workers in the struggle with their masters, to force them to disregard the dividing lines of their craft unions and make common cause with their fellow-workers.

The inevitable split in the I. W. W. came and a bitter factional fight followed. The promising industrial organization was on the rocks. Industrial unionism, which had begun to spread in all directions, came almost to a halt. Fortunately about this time the mass strikes broke out, first in the steel and next in the textile industries. Thousands of unskilled and unorganized workers struck, and for a time both factions of the I. W. W. grew apace and waged the warfare against the mill bosses with an amazing display of power and resources. The important part taken by the Socialist party and its press and speakers in raising funds for the strikers, giving publicity to the issues involved, creating a healthy public sentiment, bringing their political power to bear in forcing a congressional investigation and backing up the I. W. W. and the strikers in every possible way, had much to do with the progress made and the success achieved during this period.

The victory at Lawrence, one of the most decisive and far-reaching ever won by organized workers, triumphantly demonstrated the power and invincibility of industrial unity backed by political solidarity. Without the co-operation and sup-

port of the Socialist Party the Lawrence victory would have been impossible, as would also that at Schenectady which followed some time later.

For reasons which came to light after the Lawrence strike, this solidarity was undermined to a considerable extent when the Paterson strike came, and still more so when the Akron strike of the rubber workers followed, both resulting disastrously to the strikers. Both of these strikes were fought with marvelous loyalty and endurance and could and should have been won.

Now again followed the inevitable. The ranks of the I. W. W. were depleted as suddenly as they had filled up. What is there now left of it at McKee's Rocks, at Lawrence, at Paterson, at Akron in the east; or at Goldfield, Spokane, and San Diego in the west?

Of course the experience is not lost and if only the workers are wise enough to profit by its lessons it will be worth all its terrible cost to its thousands of victims.

These important events have been rapidly sketched for the reason that just now I am more interested in the future than in the past. The conditions under which the I. W. W. was organized almost a decade ago and which soon afterward disrupted its forces and gave rise to the bitter factional feud and the threatening complications which followed, have undergone such changes that now, unless all the signs of today are misleading, there is a solid economic foundation for the merging of the hitherto conflicting elements into a great industrial organization.

The essential basis of such organization must, as I believe, be the same as it was when the I. W. W. was first launched, and to which the Detroit faction of that body still adheres. This faction is cornerstoned in the true principle of unionism in reference to political action.

In the past the political party of the workers has been disrupted because of disagreement about the labor union and the labor union has been disrupted because of disagreement about the political party. It is that rock upon which we have been wrecked in the past and must steer clear of in the future.

Like causes produce like results. Op-

ponents of political action split the I. W. W. and they will split any union that is not composed wholly of anti-political actionists or in which they are not in a hopeless minority. I say this in no hostile spirit. They are entitled to their opinion the same as the rest of us.

At bottom all anti-political actionists are to all intents anarchists, and anarchists and socialists have never yet pulled together and probably never will.

Now the industrial organization that ignores or rejects political action is as certain to fail as is the political party that ignores or rejects industrial action. Upon the mutually recognized unity and co-operation of the industrial and political powers of the working class will both the union and the party have to be built if real solidarity is to be achieved.

To deny the political equation is to fly in the face of past experience and invite a repetition of the disruption and disaster which have already wrecked the organized forces of industrialism.

The anti-political unionist and the anti-union Socialist are alike illogical in their reasoning and unscientific in their economics. The one harbors the illusion that the capitalist state can be destroyed and its police powers, court injunctions and gatling guns, in short its political institutions, put out of business by letting politics alone, and the other that the industries can be taken over and operated by the workers without being industrially organized and that the Socialist republic can be created by a majority of votes and by political action alone.

It is beyond question, I think, that an overwhelming majority of industrial unionists favor independent political action and that an overwhelming majority of Socialists favor industrial unionism. Now it seems quite clear to me that these forces can and should be united and brought together in harmonious and effective economic and political co-operation.

There is no essential difference between the Chicago and Detroit factions of the I. W. W. except that relating to political action and if I am right in believing that a majority of the rank and file of the Chicago faction favor political action, then there is no reason why this majority should not consolidate with the Detroit

faction and thus put an end to the division of these forces. This accomplished, a fresh start for industrial unionism would undoubtedly be made, and with competent organizers to go out into the field among the unorganized, the reunited I. W. W. would grow by leaps and bounds.

The rumblings of revolt in the A. F. of L. prove conclusively that the heaven of industrialism is also doing its work in the trade unions. The miners at their recent Indianapolis convention, in their scathing indictment of Gompers and his ossified "executive council," disclosed their true attitude toward the reactionary and impotent old federation. When Duncan MacDonald declared that Gompers and his official inner circle slaughtered every progressive measure and that the federation under their administration was reactionary to the core and boss-ridden and worse than useless, the indictment was confirmed by a roar of applause.

At the same convention Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, charged that if the strike of the copper miners in Michigan was lost the responsibility would rest upon Gompers and his "executive council." Gompers, notwithstanding this grave charge, left the convention without waiting to face Moyer. He had to catch a train. He remained long enough, however, to solemnly warn the delegates that the two-cent assessment asked for by the W. F. of M. to support the copper strikers would break up his powerful federation.

Almost eighteen years ago the W. F. of M. withdrew from the A. F. of L. in disgust because the financial support (?) it gave to the Leadville strikers did not amount to enough to cover the postage required to mail the appeal to the local unions. Today, when the W. F. of M. is again fighting for its life, the copper miners are told that a two-cent assessment to keep them and their families from starving would "bust" the Federation.

And this is the mighty American Federation of Labor, boasting a grand army of more than two million organized workers!

What has the A. F. of L., Gompers and his "executive council," done for the des-

perately struggling miners of Colorado and Michigan? Practically nothing.

Then why should the miners put up their scanty and hard-earned wages to support Gompers and the A. F. of L.?

The boasted power of this Civic Federationized, Militia of Christified body of reactionary craft union apostles of the Brotherhood of Capital and Labor turns to ashes always when the test comes, and a two-cent assessment, according to its national president, would kill it stone dead.

The United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners, becoming more and more revolutionary in the desperate fight they are compelled to wage for their existence, are bound to merge soon into one great industrial organization, and the same forces that are driving them together will also drive them out of Gompers' federation of craft unions. There are other progressive unions in the A. F. of L. that will follow the secession of the miners and augment the forces of revolutionary unionism.

The consolidated miners and the reunited I. W. W. would draw to themselves all the trade unions with industrial tendencies, and thus would the reactionary federation of craft unions be transformed, from both within and without, into a revolutionary industrial organization.

On the political field there is no longer any valid reason why there should be more than one party. I believe that a majority of both the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor party would vote for consolidation, and I hope to see the initiative taken by the rank and file of both at an early day. The unification of the political forces would tend to clear the atmosphere and promote the unification of the forces on the industrial field.

This article is already longer than I intended, but before closing, I want to say that in my opinion, section six of article two ought to be stricken from the Socialist party's constitution. I have not changed my opinion in regard to sabotage,

but I am opposed to restricting free speech under any pretense whatsoever, and quite as decidedly opposed to our party seeking favor in bourgeois eyes by protesting that it does not countenance violence and is not a criminal organization.

I believe our party attitude toward sabotage is right, and this attitude is reflected in its propaganda and need not be enforced by constitutional penalties of expulsion. If there is anything in sabotage we should know it, and free discussion will bring it out; if there is nothing in it we need not fear it, and even if it is lawless and hurtful, we are not called upon to penalize it any more than we are theft or any other crime.

The conditions of today, the tendency and the outlook are all that the most ardent socialists and industrialists could desire, and if all who believe in a united party backed by a united union and a united union backed by a united party, will now put aside the prejudices created by past dissensions, sink all petty differences, strike hands in comradely concord, and get to work in real earnest, we shall soon have the foremost proletarian revolutionary movement in the world.

We need not only a new alignment and a better mutual understanding, but we need above all the real socialist spirit, which expresses itself in boundless enthusiasm, energetic action, and the courage to dare and do all things in the service of the cause. We need to *be* comrades in all the term implies and to help and cheer and strengthen one another in the daily struggle. If the "love of comrades" is but a barren idealism in the socialist movement, then there is no place for it in the heart of mankind.

I appeal to all socialist comrades and all industrial unionists to join in harmonizing the various elements of the revolutionary movement and in establishing the economic and political solidarity of the workers. If this be done a glorious new era will dawn for the working class in the United States.

ALASKA AND ITS NATIVES

By Marion Wright

NO part of the world should afford more interest to those who believe in the ultimate and speedy coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth than Alaska, for it is here on virgin treasures, unspoiled by ravishing capitalists, that the Socialistic theories may find unhampered fields for development. Alaska is more than half as big as the United States, and is not nearly half so barren and frozen as it is popularly supposed to be. It contains forests enough to house the world for many years. Its coal and copper deposits are limited only by gigantic mountain ranges. Of its gold output nothing new can be said except that there is a new and rich "strike" every year. The waters of this wonderland already feed millions with their generous yield of salmon, cod and herring, and its seal rookeries furnish the magnificent coat for the boss' wife. The entire southwestern part of the territory is a good garden country for any kind of short season vegetable, and strawberries grow as far north as "63" as big as a *demi tasse*.

This empire, purchased in 1867 from Russia for \$7,200,000, was Uncle Sam's best buy, if we overlook the Louisiana Purchase.

Development, as far as it has gone in Alaska, has been of the usual capitalistic kind, except for the government experiment



NATIVE WOMAN OF ALASKA.

farms and stations and the telegraph lines, wireless stations and post roads which are managed by the army and navy. The fishing and canning industries and, of course, the mines are as hopelessly tied up, from a workingman's point of view, as they are in the states. And for the reason that living is so much higher than in the states, the wages paid to white laborers in Alaska for the past half dozen years are excellent reasons why the man who has nothing to sell but his labor should keep out of Alaska. When the masters get a man to where "he can't walk back," they usually have their own way with him, as many a discharged cannery hand or "railroad builder" on the docks of 'Frisco or Seattle will testify.

The types of Alaskan natives range from the pure-blood Esquimaux in the most northern part to a cross between the Esquimaux and Indian along the Aleutian



ALASKAN DOG TEAM.

islands and to a very nearly typical Indian in the southwestern section. The latter is very similar to the tribes of British Columbia, Oregon and Washington. The native population is roughly estimated at about 25,000, which number includes a great many mixtures in all degrees of Russian, Japanese and Anglo-Saxon blood. In some Alaskan towns there are no full-blood natives to be found. The typical inhabitant of the native quarter has a Mongolian face, framed by the black beard of a Russian, set on the squat, shapeless body of a Reservation Indian. Again in some villages situated near a cannery station or a part of call for shipping it is rare to see a child without a mixture of white blood. And it is claimed that this infusion of alien blood is all that preserves a vestige of the native race, for medical men have declared that it would be practically impossible to find an adult native of either sex without a taint of syphilis or consumption. The manner of living of the full-blood native renders him peculiarly susceptible to the ravages of both of these terrible diseases, and the inhabitants of entire villages have been known to succumb in one winter to tuberculosis.

In the comparatively mild climate of the southwestern part of Alaska the natives live

in shacks or small houses of wood or bark, often several families together. An addition of sod and skins renders these dwellings warmer through the Aleutian region, and in the most northern section the typical Esquimaux house of ice or stone is found. Formerly these people were well provided with food and clothing by hunting and fishing. They had excellent means of drying and preserving both fish and venison and oil from the seals furnished a kind of tinder and winter fuel. Warm furs were plentiful.

From a mighty race of hunters and fishers, the natives of Alaska degenerated with astonishing rapidity upon the advent of the white man. An entire village would no longer work months on a gigantic canoe, carved from the trunk of a single tree, and send its young men out to brave the dangers of the sea, or hunting parties would no longer risk life and limb battling the giant grizzlies, when food in plenty (temporarily) together with strong drink and gaudy clothes, could be obtained from the white strangers for no other effort than allowing them liberties with the women or exchanging furs and ivory. Instead of preserving their ancient industries and the purity of their blood, the Indians fell easily



ALASKA REINDEER HERD.

for the white man's tricks and readily assimilated his diseases. Less than three decades ago tales came down frequently from the great white North of whaling and sealing fleets sacking villages and towns of their furs and ivory and carrying off the young women.

The government at last took a strong stand against these atrocities. Revenue cutters were sent to patrol the coasts and the army was scattered over Alaska. But many tribes were found to be utterly helpless and demoralized. The men lacked both the physical strength and moral courage to battle with the harsh elements for a living as in earlier days. Whole tribes huddled in their huts, starving miserably and coughing their lives away. Once the government agents began in earnest, assisted by really well-meaning missionaries, a general improvement was made among the natives all along the coast. A sensible and systematic plan of dealing with their troubles, a watchful eye on the illicit rum seller, and free food for the starving gradually lifted the unfortunates from their slough of despair.

Especially among the coast tribes the typical Alaskan native of today would much prefer to pay 15 cents and take his salmon out of a tin than to lift it from the sea. A

broad-rimmed hat and Mackinaw coat made in Cincinnati is much more to his liking than the soft, warm, rich furs of his fathers. From a mighty hunter, he has fallen to an industrious curio-maker. Every visiting steamer is crowded by "curio" boats and her decks are overrun by squaws with an assortment of beaded moccasins, fancy baskets, beaten copper and silver bracelets and a variety of other trinkets, including the multi-colored miniature totem poles. Natives of the Far North make a specialty of ivory cribbage boards carved from walrus tusks. Hunting and trapping is carried on extensively by Indians of the interior and their valuable furs are sold at ridiculously low prices to white traders or are benevolently assimilated by brotherly missionaries. The Alaskan Indian is peaceful as a cow and has no fight in him. He has never given the authorities an uneasy moment by going on the warpath. In short, he is too dull to realize what "civilization" means to his class and accepts his troubles with stolid and stupid indifference.

The United States has been much more considerate of its Alaskan wards than of its "original Americans" in the states, due, no doubt, to the fact that no resentment has ever been aroused against the Alaskan In-

dian on account of hostile outbreaks. Within the past twenty years many experimental farms and stations have been established in the territory and every effort made to arrest the inroads already made on the native by the triple curse of the white man—whisky, syphilis and consumption. Of special interest and value was the introduction of the European reindeer into Alaska. But for this, thousands of natives would certainly have perished of famine.

The reindeer thrives from the Aleutian islands, northward. Despite the fact that it was the most useful animal known to man, the natives took little interest in the reindeer at first, and it was necessary to transport a band of Laplanders to care for the animals. So liberal were the terms offered by the government for the natives to adopt the reindeer that they were soon won over, and are now said to equal the Laplander in caring for the only animal that serves as horse, cow, sheep and goat combined. A certain number of reindeer are loaned, free of charge, from the government herd to a family, group or village and a trained attendant is furnished to offer expert advice on the care of the animals. The original reindeer remain the property of the government, but the increase belongs to the natives, and in this way each ambitious family may become the owner of a herd of valuable reindeer. The animals feed upon moss, lichens and leaves and there is no expense incident to their keep, other than careful herding. There are at present about sixty herds in Alaska, numbering some 60,000 animals, two-thirds of which belong to the natives.

In the southwestern section of Alaska, around Shakway, Juneau and Sitka, are found the Chilkats, Chilkoots, Stickene-Kloochees, and other tribes of equally immaterial and unpronounceable names. They are really all the same, save that they belong to different families or totems. About the only tribal habits or customs of particular interest to the white man is the symbolic totem poles in every village and the annual "potlatch" of all the neighboring tribes, providing "times are not too hard." This potlatch, which takes place during the summer, is a common meeting of all the tribes within reach. The inhabitants of an entire village may be seen, including the dogs, embarking in their long

canoes with all their possessions to set out for the potlatch, perhaps a hundred miles away. These huge canoes, some near a hundred feet long, and known to be more than a century old, are propelled by paddle and small, three-cornered sails. Being expert in their handling, the natives sail them boldly into the open sea when necessary, although the thousands of islands which dot the Alaskan coast afford an inland passage for most any journey undertaken in a small craft.

At the potlatch place a great circle of huts and temporary dwellings are erected and the natives spend several weeks around their fires, story telling, trading, gambling, drinking and feasting, and when the "party" breaks up all return to their former homes.

Natives of the Yukon country are invaluable as guides and keepers of dog teams. The wolf-like "huskies" or "mama-lutes" which pull the heavy sledgeloads of supplies over the ice, and draw the United States mails are all native to the country and are more amenable to the care of an Indian, although a white man can get much more work out of them.

If properly conserved for their rightful owners, the great seal rookeries of Alaska, and especially of the Pribiloff islands, would have made the Indian tribes of Alaska wealthy. An Indian may kill fur seal along the coast without restrictions for his own use as clothing or food, but they have reached the stage where the game is not considered worth the candle. As white men are not permitted to buy the pelts, the Indian will not brave the dangers for the doubtful pleasure of wearing a sealskin coat. After all, the value of a sealskin is only relative—it is by no means real. A bearskin or dogskin coat would be as warm.

The Pribiloff islands consist of St. Paul and St. George, with numerous small rocks and islets, and lie about half way between the Aleutian islands and Cape Nome. They are low, flat and rocky, the only vegetation being a thick moss growing in crevices of the rocks. During the winter the wind blows with terrific velocity, the inhabitants often remaining indoors for weeks. The population consists of about 200 government employes housed in twenty dwellings.

The Pribiloffs are the greatest seal rookeries known and are the summer home of the fur seal. In May, the seals begin to ar-



KILLING FUR SEALS ON THE PRIBILOFF ISLANDS.

rive by the thousands. Every precaution is taken to protect them and only enough are slaughtered on the islands each year to meet the expenses of the station. Several revenue cutters patrol the waters about the islands constantly to prevent seal poachers from killing inside the three-mile limit. Like a pack of starving jackals half a hundred small schooners are ever hugging the "limit" watching a chance to dash inside during a sudden fog or squall and to make a "quick kill and a get-a-way." If a schooner is caught inside the limit, she is scuttled or sold at auction and her crew, be they Jap, Russian or American are sentenced to from one to ten years in the federal prison. But seal skins are very valuable and the seal pirates take long chances.

The first to arrive for the season are the bull seals. These prepare the rookeries and when the cows arrive they are seized upon by the bulls and most jealously guarded. A bull captures as many cows as he can safely protect and establishes a "harem" which is separated from others by well-understood lines. There is continual fighting among the bulls until all the weak and unfit are

killed or else yield their ambition to preside over a "harem." The females are said to outnumber the males about five to one but often some giant bull will gather as many as twenty cows under his jurisdiction and woe betide the smaller bull who ventures from the straight and narrow path and attempts to "wreck a home."

Day and night is made hideous around the Pribiloffs during sealing time by the bellowing of the animals. When the young are born they are taught to swim and fish. The baby seal is helpless until his education along these lines is complete.

Quite a complete chain of missions is maintained by different religious denominations throughout Alaska and many of these offer educational opportunities to the natives. However, it is largely the children of mixed blood who show aptitude along these lines and there is little cheerful prospect from any viewpoint for the full-blooded Alaskan native. Like the American Indian and the Hawaiian, he will be numbered among the extinct races by the time our great grandchildren are ready to read his history.

An Appeal for Industrial Solidarity

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

TOM MANN'S visit to the United States brought no encouragement to the great English agitator. Indeed, his article in the January INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW leads one to believe that our friend departed the shores of America down-hearted and discouraged as to existing conditions in the labor movement of this country, and its immediate future. He had many well defined reasons for developing such disturbed feelings.

In the first place, his tour was badly arranged. Not being under the direct auspices of any organization, he was practically thrown upon his own resources. Second, but of most vital importance, his idea of industrial unionism is in the formative period. His policies, program and principles are in some ways at variance with the ideas of the people that he hoped to reach. Syndicalism, anti-parliamentarianism and direct action sound like synonymous terms, or at least like correlative forces, and perhaps if regarded in their broadest theoretical sense, would be so accepted. But when Mann presents the theory of syndicalism and advocates syndicalism, trade unionism *per se* as an advanced idea, or even the federation of federations as a practical progressive step, he finds no audience among industrial unionists who have for years been preparing the ground for a new structure of society.

Syndicalism as proclaimed by Tom Mann can be discussed and advocated inside the unions of the A. F. of L. without disturbing the equanimity of its present policies. Indeed, syndicalism such as exists to a large extent in France could be adopted and put in operation by the A. F. of L. without materially upsetting its present organism or the influence, salary and autocracy of its officials, and absolutely without making any improvement in the condition of the working

class. Such changes, or rather lack of change, is not what the Industrial Workers of the World aspire to effect. Were Mann an out-and-out industrialist, carrying the message of industrial unionism to the working class, showing them how to organize, not on craft, trade, guild, amalgamated, syndicalist or federation lines, but on industrial lines, as they have been assembled by the employer on the job, without regard to craft, trade, or size or shape of tool with which they work, whether it be lathe or broom, in one big union, urging industrial class solidarity, rather than federation craft consciousness, Mann would then, like other industrial unionists, find no place in the councils of the A. F. of L. But certainly a warmer reception to such principles would have been extended by the Industrial Workers of the World. Let us emphasize that federation of federations is not industrial unionism, and further make plain, that syndicalism is not industrial unionism.

Following the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, comes the next vital principle of the organization, no contracts with the enemy.

The industrial movement is based on the class struggle, which will certainly admit of no contractual relations with the exploiters, such as are endorsed though not regarded sacred by the syndicalists (trade unionists) of France and trade unionists of England, to say nothing of the iron-clad agreements among the unions of this country, where organizations boast of a score of years of unbroken contracts (and continuous scabbing), like the Boot and Shoe Workers Union.

Mann's firm stand against parliamentary action put him out of mortise with the political socialists. Likewise, the officials of the A. F. of L. would scarcely endorse the policy of no politics, as the

chief function of that organization is, and has been, political. Their headquarters are in Washington, D. C., where their political activity is promulgated through a well-established lobby, a similar institution being maintained by the Railroad Brotherhoods.

As to Direct Action, there are few labor organizations, if any, outside the Socialist Party, where sabotage and direct action will not receive an earnest hearing when these weapons of industrial union activity are rationally presented. Most organizations of labor have long employed these measures, usually for craft gain rather than the general working class interest.

These preliminary remarks are not intended to convey the idea that any trade unionist, syndicalist, or socialist from a foreign land, who tours this country, would necessarily leave satisfied with the activity developed in any one of these schools of thought or movements. However, we fail to recall any prominent representative of labor from a foreign land who has endorsed the A. F. of L. Karl Liebknecht's strong opinions on this question are not forgotten. It will be remembered by some that Karl Legien, president of the German Union, who came here under the auspices of the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, devoted considerable of his time to discussing syndicalism in America, of which he thought the I. W. W. was the embodiment. He came to condemn and detract. But his parting conclusions were to the effect that there was a potent force in Industrial Unionism, and that it would grow. This reminds us that Herman Simpson, one of America's greatest Marxian scholars, has remarked that "The Industrial Workers of the World is an imperishable ideal."

Without any intention of criticising Tom Mann's résumé of the labor movement, particularly the I. W. W., it is well to inform him for the sake of others, that in the historical development of labor organizations in the United States, none has exceeded the despised numerical growth of the I. W. W. in the same number of years. Certainly no ideal, such as its Manifesto, Preamble and the thought of One Big Union, industrially organized, presents, has so thoroughly permeated

and inspired the working class of America.

In fact, it has fired the imagination and broadened the vision of the toiling masses in every land where civilization has extended itself. It reached Australia, even while that was the temporary home of Tom Mann, and probably it was while he was languishing in jail at Broken Hill, that he was first inspired and his heart beat faster with new hope for the working class through the organization as it was conceived in the original Manifesto that was scattered by millions throughout the land. Not only has the working class been aroused, but every phase of society has been compelled to recognize the fact that such an organization as the I. W. W., with the numbers to enforce its purpose, would compel a complete revolution of all systems of existing governments.

That it develops the best that there is in humanity, brings about class solidarity and a feeling of fellowship among the down-trodden and oppressed, unskilled and unorganized, is unquestionable. It has developed among the lowest strata of wage slaves in America a sense of their importance and capabilities such as never before existed. Assuming control and responsibility of their own affairs, the unorganized and unfortunate have been brought together, and have conducted some of the most unique strikes, fights for free speech and battles for constitutional rights, as could not be conceived in any other part of the world, because, here were involved all nationalities, races, creeds, colors and customs, united in an almost invulnerable massed force. Often would they have been invincible had it not been for the scabbing of the highly-skilled, well-organized, better educated elements of the working class.

It is this attitude of the A. F. of L. that has been a potential force used against the submerged mass. Capitalism has used this force to keep the millions of unskilled and unorganized down to the lowest standard of living. There has been a pernicious spirit of patriotism cultivated among these American workmen, by which they have consciously been taught to despise the foreigner from all countries, and fight him.

The unions have been inoculated with

this spirit, which has made it difficult for strangers coming to America to enjoy what is often a necessity of life to the working man, namely, membership in a labor organization.

Mann says, "If the fine energy exhibited by the I. W. W. were put into the A. F. of L., or into the existing trade union movement, to hasten the day when Solidarity shall be shown, all my experience says that the results would be fifty-fold greater than they are now."

It might as well be said that if the fine energy exhibited by the I. W. W. were put into the Catholic church, that the results would be the establishment of the control of industry. This comparison is not as far-fetched as it might seem, as reports of the last convention of the A. F. of L., held at Seattle, will show.

Father Dietz of the Militia of Christ, which is an organization within the A. F. of L., a wheel within a wheel as it were, attended the convention and used all his power as an emissary of the church to prevent political or industrial solidarity. On one occasion he is said to have exclaimed in an angry voice:

"If you try anything that will tend to aid socialism, the Catholic Church will be compelled to disown the A. F. of L. and begin organizing Catholic Unions." It is strongly implied here that the A. F. of L. is now controlled by the Catholic Church.

But seriously, I want to say that Fellow Worker Mann has not "adequately weighed up the forces" that prevent the possibility of the I. W. W. serving as "a feeder and purifier of the big movement."

One might present as argument the statement of Duncan MacDonald, president of Illinois U. M. W. A. He says, "The A. F. of L. is fossilized, worm-eaten and dead."

To which he could have added, "church-ridden, and whether dead or alive, an auxiliary of the capitalist system, at present the political tail of the Democratic party."

But all these objections might be overruled. It may even be contended that the virility of the I. W. W. could breathe into the A. F. of L. a new life, and by a "holy crusade," drive out religious in-

fluence by attending strictly to economic principles. Such a course might be worth while if there were not real obstacles which prevent the working class from becoming members of the A. F. of L. These barriers have been raised by the trade unions and are insurmountable. Some have been mentioned, and here are others:

For example: initiation fees in some unions range from \$25, \$75, \$125, \$250, \$300—and even as high as \$500. It will be admitted that such fees are prohibitive, especially to the foreign immigrant with scarcely enough funds to show the entrance fee required by the government.

These exorbitant fees are not intended as inducements for new members, but for protection against increase of membership and against competition of labor. As, where the trade unions are strongest, no person can work without a union card. Being denied admission to the union, they are deprived of the right to earn a living.

A vicious system of apprenticeship is in vogue, which in many cases denies the privilege of learning a trade with official sanction, except to a favored few.

Technical examinations are sometimes resorted to, and when these are not sufficient to debar the willing applicant, books of some unions are deliberately closed against further membership.

To this add the restrictions and discrimination against women, and the absolute refusal of some unions to accept colored persons as members, although we have millions of the black race unorganized, who are competitors in the labor market.

The A. F. of L. extends no relief, offers no hope, gives no comfort to the submerged millions of unskilled wage slaves.

To these, the oppressed and down-trodden, the Industrial Workers of the World makes its appeal, fully realizing that within this mass of despised humanity there is a latent force, which if exerted by themselves, will arouse their consciousness, their love of liberty, will strengthen their bended backs, and lift their faces toward the sunlight of a new life of industrial freedom.

THE CONTROL OF CHILD BEARING

By Caroline Nelson

MY article in the October REVIEW on "Neo-Malthusianism" has evidently been misunderstood, judging from letters that I have received. A student from a university writes and tells me that he agrees with me and that he has found out from the medical profession about some preventive drugs. I wish to say that I do not want to be responsible for anybody losing their health and making fools of themselves. Neo-Malthusianism has nothing to do with drugs or abortion. Knut Wicksell, who has plowed the ground for the movement in Sweden, is a university professor, though he has always stood by the revolutionary proletarian, in opposition to his co-worker on the same line, Anton Nystrom, who is a state socialist of the reformistic type.

The preventive means are so simple that I could state them in one sentence, but the tyranny of the U. S. post office authorities silences me. In Europe books circulate openly that give the information, at least here in Denmark. In Sweden and France, where the work of the Neo-Malthusianists has been felt in the factories in the short supply of child slaves, laws have been instituted to prevent public information on that point. But in both Berlin and Paris the drug stores display the preventive means in their show windows, among other rubber contrivances. There is certainly no secret about it in that case. Nevertheless, the International Society for Humanitarian Child Bearing, in Stockholm, in a big, black-bordered space, on the outside of their paper, *Ny Moral*, tells the workers in cities and the country to apply to them, in confidence, for help. And the help has been so effective that a couple of months ago the capitalist press gave a yell of despair over the lowered birth rate.

As Neo-Malthusianists, we cannot go in the working class homes with the absurd proposition that man and wife must each have their own room, and only come together sexually when they want a child. We must do the next best thing, and that is to acquaint them with a harmless preventive means so that their burdens shall not increase and be laid at innocent lives.

As for the young, the Neo-Malthusianists aim to give them education on sex matters, and by right education help them over the dangerous period, where passion is apt to take possession of the reasoning power, chiefly on account of the secrecy and hypocrisy and general absurdity that our civilization throws around sex life.

To be a revolutionist doesn't simply mean to go and vote the Socialist ticket, or call for one big union; but it means make use of every means that we can lay our hands on to strengthen and inform the workers on all subjects that can help them in their daily, economic struggle. As fast as the workers become informed, so fast will the chains that bind them drop to pieces. The capitalist class have both the leisure and means to gather all the information that strengthens them and weakens the workers.

The workers on the different continents have yet a poor interchange of ideas. To a great extent they know nothing about their own literature and the culture that a small minority is in possession of. This holds particularly good when it comes to sex matter and the control of child bearing.

It is a pleasure to go through Paris in the poor quarters, compared to New York and London. In the first place, one sees comparatively well cared for children, and not very many of them, while in the two latter the crowds of half-starved, ragged, miserable children sicken the heart of everyone. He feels despair and hopelessness, for he knows they will be turned to advantage for the capitalists. Berlin and Stockholm also present a much better child condition in the poor quarters than one would expect. The French working class is evidently raising a superior class, both physically and intellectually, than they are themselves. One can easily see that as he watches the workers' little ones play in the numerous squares. These squares in Paris are not barred to the poor children like they are in the poor districts in East London, where there are signs at the entrances forbidding ragged and lousy individuals to enter.

If a man should raise pigs or cats or dogs

to starve and suffer, the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals would soon interfere, but the parents that raise children to suffer and starve get the blessings of the church, and keep the society woman, who uses preventive means herself, busy playing the angel of mercy. It also gives occupations to left-over upper-class women to start the numerous charity institutes—homes for children—where stupidities and hypocrisies are carefully drummed into the heads of the unfortunates to make them *good slaves*. And these good slaves go out in the work thinking of nothing but how to ape the fine ladies that constantly waltz before them, and they become scabs and fools.

"Think before you set life in the world!" is the Neo-Malthusian motto. And thinking people do not ruin themselves in debauchery, or with poisonous drugs, or use any other doubtful methods. But in this case, as in all other cases, a small minority will have to dig and toil to bring the right information to the majority.

That is not very easy. Women have been sex slaves for centuries. Many believe the number of children that they shall bear (in the married state) is something regulated by God. A woman gravely told me that the other day. In London's poor district, where those miserable, poor workers have families of from five to a dozen, I told a charity nurse what I thought about it, and I began to give her a piece of my mind one day for not informing the workers of the preventive means. She said:

"My dear, I cannot get the women to

listen to me. They think that it is a sin against God."

Many Socialist families are just as ignorant, and bring up their children just as ignorantly. Many others have learned of preventive means and refuse to inform others, while they laugh at the woman who is always a "sight," and the man that takes refuge in the cheap ale-house to escape the misery at home of squalling children and a scolding mother.

This must stop, comrades! Out in the light of the day, humanitarian child bearing must be fostered! Children must have a right to be born healthy and under proper conditions, *or they shall not be born at all*. Every woman who feels the mother instinct in her heart must plant her foot squarely on that proposition.

There are thousands of men and women in America who are anxious to help the working class, and sometimes do it badly because they are not sure just what to do. They sit down to evolve all sorts of vague and confusing theories. Here, at least, the matter is plain. Form societies to help the workers raise few and healthy, intelligent children, just as they are doing here in Europe.

This is not so very new. In the late 80's Mrs. Annie Besant published a book in London on how to prevent conception. Mrs. Besant was one of the most brilliant women in England. She was rewarded for her trouble by being called a "she-devil." Some years later Annie got religion, promptly recalled her book, and as promptly became respectable.

'BONES'

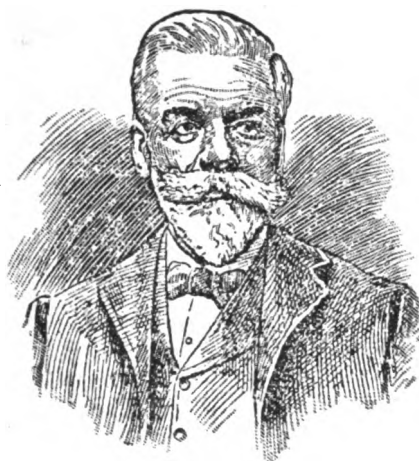
"CAPTAIN" GEORGE GATES, the well-known rebel who, during the first revolt in Mexico, confiscated an engine shaft and, though deep in the *bosque*, contrived to metamorphose it into a "Long Tom" for Madero, tells the following story:

"Once upon a time a man and his dog were lost in a far deep desert. They were without food. The dog was a good and *useful* animal and had always been a good pal. Consequently, though the man was consumed with a gnawing hunger, he did not want to kill the dog. Finally, he hit upon the scheme of cutting off the dog's tail—a large juicy one—and using it for food. Curtailment duly followed this economic discovery, and the tail was cooked and eaten. It was in this manner the man's life was saved. When he had picked the bones quite clean of their rich nutriment, he fed them to the dog, and thus saved its life, and——"

Well," questioned George's listeners.

"Well, those bones—their *wages*!"—FRANK PEASE.

A MILLION DOLLAR DONATION FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION



ERNEST SOLVAY

THERE can be no doubt that the gift of a million dollars made by Ernest Solvay, Belgium's foremost capitalist, to the Socialist party of that country for educational purposes, will receive an undue interpretation both inside and outside the Socialist camp.

Therefore a few details concerning the gift, the giver and the circumstances which surrounded the giving may be welcome to the readers of *THE REVIEW*.

Ernest Solvay is the inventor, together with his brother, Alfred, of the process now used all over the world in the manufacture of bicarbonate of soda. The Solvay process superseded the old French process invented by Nicholas Leblanc in 1812 and under which soda was manufactured by treating sea water with sulphuric acid. The Solvay process is in use all over the world. The Solvay Company owns plants in every European country and also in the United States, at Syracuse, N. Y., Detroit, etc.

The Solvay brothers were poor farmer boys and had an uphill fight to work their invention commercially and to protect it against the rapacity of the financiers on whom they had to call for funds. Unlike many an inventor, they succeeded in retaining for themselves most of the value created

by their discovery. It has been estimated that the saving annually caused by the Solvay process to the world at large is very close to fifteen million dollars.

Ernest Solvay has remained until today an inventor, a prospector in new fields of scientific discovery. This fundamental trait of his mentality prevented him from following the usual path of the successful manufacturer, which leads from active and technical participation in the processes of machine production to mere financial promoting. He has remained during his whole career an inventor.

A day came when he carried his inventive ability into the field of social investigation. He then evolved a system known as "social comptabilism," or social bookkeeping. It was largely based upon a criticism of the use of precious metals as mediums of exchange, and proposed to substitute therefor a system of bookkeeping to be carried on by the state, under which every citizen would make and receive payment by exchanging checks with other citizens, such checks to be recorded under the uniform system of bookkeeping carried on by the state.

The main advantage of such a system would, according to its author, have con-

sisted in the fact that at all times the state could determine the exact financial standing of every citizen. This was to be used as the foundation of a system of taxation of inheritances, based not on the fiscal necessities of the state, but on the theory that the state was the concrete embodiment of society and that, since no business was possible without the co-operation of society, society was a silent partner of every business man and was entitled to consideration as such in the reorganization of the partnership which was made necessary by the death of one of the partners.

All the inheritance taxes mentioned above were to be collected not in cash or the equivalent thereof, but in kind, i. e., in their form of active and existing interest, in all kinds of business enterprises. The state would thus cease to be a silent partner to become a real partner, and gradually all production and distribution would be concentrated into the hands of the state.

To bring about the realization of this scheme, its author created the Institute of Sociology. He wished to supply three scientists with an annual salary that would allow them to give the largest part of their time to the general study of economic and social facts and their bearing upon the practicability of the system which he had evolved. He stated that in no way did he intend to interfere with the conclusions they would reach, even if they were not favorable to his scheme. The three economists were chosen for this task solely on account of their value as scientists. They were all Socialists. Two of them, the late Professor H. Denis and Emile Van Dervelde, were Socialist members of the Belgian parliament. The third one, the sociologist, De Greef, was the president of the Belgian Socialist University. The social scheme of the founder of the institution was soon lost sight of, but some very valuable research work along economic lines was turned out.

From this incident dates the interest of Ernest Solvay in the educational work of the Socialist movement. A few years ago our Belgian comrades organized their educational work on systematic lines, centralizing it and putting a national director in charge with several teachers and clerical assistants. The system includes, besides sev-

eral resident schools, an extension department and a correspondence school. Its purpose is to give the workers an education along economic and sociological lines adapted to their degree of intellectual development, a condition which the party university, based on the possession by its pupils of a high-school education, failed to meet.

At that period of its development, the educational department was urgently in need of a building. The accommodations of the People's Palace had all been taken up by the unions and the offices of the co-operative institutions affiliated with the party. On being told of the party's needs, Mr. Solvay donated the building.

Of course, he has in due time, like every capitalist who wants to live up to the traditions of his caste, played the part of a Mécenas to various educational institutions, especially those located near the most important of his plants, which largely provided him with his technical employes. Last summer, while celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his main discovery, he made some very liberal donations to the universities of Brussels, Paris and Nancy. He announced on this occasion that he would later amply provide for a system of education adapted to the intellectual advancement of the working classes and for their scientific and economic education. A careful investigation satisfied him that the educational department of the Socialist party could not be improved upon as far as system and efficiency were concerned, and a few weeks ago real estate to the value of a million dollars was transferred to the party, the income to be used for the furtherance of the work of its educational department.

In marked contrast with many capitalists, Mr. Solvay does not want the news of his liberalities widely heralded abroad, but when it comes to a showdown, he never hesitates to state what he did and why he did it. From the particulars given above it will become evident that the giver knew what vehicle he was choosing to realize his purpose and also that in accepting the liberalities of the foremost capitalist of their country, our comrades across the Atlantic have not compromised any of their Socialist principles.



SELLING COCOONS.

MAKING SILK

By Ewald Koettgen

THE silk industry was considered, at one time, a luxury producer only. Through the tremendous development in recent years it has been possible to use silk in the manufacture of so great a variety of articles that we can hardly consider it an industry of luxuries today.

The process through which silk passes before it is put on the market is very interesting, and the thousands of people who handle silk fabric have not the faintest idea how it is produced. Raw silk is raised chiefly in Japan, China, Turkey, Italy and Syria. The best qualities used in the United States come from Japan. Silk worms are raised systematically in large numbers. They have the appearance of caterpillars and are a voracious

crowd. They gorge themselves on the leaves of the mulberry trees during their short lives. When they become cocoons they are from one to two inches in length and are white in color. In Turkey some reach the length of three inches. The cocoons are covered with tiny silk threads, and after they have been gathered they are sorted out according to their value. If they have developed too far towards the butterfly stage the silk is spoiled and these are used as stock for the next crop.

After sorting the cocoons they are subjected to an intense heat in order to kill the larva inside of them. With the aid of hot water the frail, thin threads are unraveled from the cocoons and wound into skeins. The silk in this state is full

of gum from the cocoons and when next it goes into throwing plants, the skeins have to be soaked in hot water over night before they can be handled. The large amount of gum stiffens the silk when it is dry.

The silk thread is then wound upon bobbins and the rooms where this is done are always full of steam to prevent the silk from becoming dry and stiff. Next the thread goes to the doublers, where two or three of the tiny threads are twisted into one in order to make them strong enough to be woven into cloth. The cheaper and plain color grades of silks are woven from the raw silk and the pieces are dyed after they are woven, but the better grades and mixed color are woven from silk that has been dyed in the thread.

When the silk is to be dyed in the thread it goes to the dye-houses after it has been doubled and there is where the adulteration occurs. Of this more will be said later. From the dye-houses it goes into the silk mill and the winders wind it again from the skeins onto bob-

bins. Then the warpers make the warps from the bobbins and the weavers weave the warps into cloth.

Machines have been introduced into all branches of the industry and have displaced the old form of hand production. When the silk industry was in its primitive form it was carried on in the homes of the workers. The hand loom weavers of thirty or more years ago were their own masters. They owned their own looms and were highly skilled mechanics. The work was hard and other members of the family had to assist in the labor. The weavers of old were compelled to do all the preliminary work. They had to make the warp, enter it through the harness and reed. If it happened to be jacquard work they had to build their own harness and cut the cards for the machine. The wife or children of the silk weaver had to do the quill-winding, when he did not do it himself. The motive power was supplied by the hands and feet of the weaver.

It required great physical exertion to turn a ribbon loom for ten or twelve hours



REELING RAW SILK FROM COCOONS.

and the wife of a ribbon weaver was often obliged to help turn it in order to make it possible for the weaver to endure.

While the old hand-loom weaver was his own master and comparatively free, the whole family had to work very hard and produced comparatively few yards of silk per day. The silk had to be of very good quality to stand the strain of the hand loom. It was unadulterated and was dyed in the standard colors only. A piece of silk cloth woven on the hand loom would not fall to pieces in a few months like the silk of today. It would last for many years.

When the hand-loom weaver was forced from the home and the hand-loom into the mill and became the power-loom the labor dividing process began at once. The weaver did nothing but weave at the loom. Other workers did the winding, the warping, the quill winding, the entering of warps through the harness and reed, while others twisted on the warps, or built the harness, cut the cards or fixed the looms, and so on.

After a while the weavers were given two looms to operate instead of one. Then the looms were made large enough to hold cloth of a double width, and today we find weavers operating four looms, and in some cases six. The greed of the silk mill owners has turned all the inventions and improvements in machinery to the benefit of themselves. To give an idea of what has taken place I might cite an example of a personal experience.

Fifteen years ago the writer was operating two looms, each loom containing 18 inches of cloth (a hand loom weaver operated only one loom of this kind), 60 reed, 3 threads in a dent, 90 picks to an inch, taffate weave, and was paid 10 cents per yard. Now a weaver is compelled to run four looms, 36 inches of cloth in each loom, 60 reed, 2 ends in a dent, 64 picks to an inch, and are paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents per yard. Six years ago messaline jobs were paid as follows: A weaver would run two looms, goods 36 inches wide, 64 reed, 3 threads, 5 shafts, 104 picks per inch, $11\frac{1}{2}$ cents per yard. Now a weaver operates four looms on the same kind of work and receives 5 cents per yard. At two looms a weaver could make 15

yards per loom per day, or 30 yards per day on two looms. This makes \$3.45 for 30 yards. On 4 looms a weaver can make about 12 yards per loom per day, or 48 yards per day. Forty-eight yards at 5 cents per yard makes \$2.40. In other words, a weaver produces 18 yards more per day and is paid \$1.05 less than before. It must be taken into consideration that there is no improvement on the looms. They are exactly the same as they were when they were running two instead of four.

The ribbon weavers have fared just as bad. The weaver of 1913 produced more than three times as much ribbon and was paid less than in 1894.

The 25 foot double deck ribbon loom is common today, while in 1894 the looms were half as long and single deck, or circular batton, as the weavers call them. It must be taken into consideration that the silk furnished is not as good as the silk supplied the hand loom weaver or the early power loom weaver. The mill owners, seeking always larger and larger profits, have resorted to adulteration of silk and are "sabotaging" the silk-buying public just as much as the woolen manufacturers who sell goods for "all wool" which is half shoddy.

Tin Silk.

The adulteration of the silk is done in the dyeing process, and is known as weighting. In order to make the readers understand the reasons for the weighting of silk it is necessary to explain. A piece of thin flimsy silk cloth contains not many threads of silk. If a heavier and more substantial piece of cloth is desired more silk threads must be used in its manufacture. The thinner the individual silk thread is, the more threads are required to make a substantial piece of silk cloth. Mixing other non-silk threads with the silk is an ordinary trick of the trade. Cotton threads are often mixed with the silk and woven into the cloth. But cotton will not deceive nor be concealed and the buyers want silk only. To thicken the individual silk thread and use less silk threads in a piece of cloth is the problem.

To swell the threads, the raw silk is put through a process known as dynamit-

ing. In this process the silk is put through a solution of tin, red iron and muriatic acid. This solution, in conjunction with the dye, sticks to the silk and makes the individual silk threads thicker. Less threads are required to make a substantial looking piece of cloth. But the acid soon eats its way into the delicate silk fibre and makes the cloth woven from such silk rot in a short time. To give the reader an idea to what extent this weighting of silk is carried on I will quote from the price list of one of the largest silk dyeing concerns in the country, the Weidman Silk Dyeing Company, located at Paterson, N. J.

In colors:

Tin weighted, brights and souples, one pound of raw silk is weighted up to 32 ounces.

Tin weighted twist to 38 ounces.

Umbrella dyes, brights and souples to 30 ounces.

Tailoring and hat-band dyes to 24 ounces.

In blacks:

Brights are weighted up to 44 ounces.

Spun and schappe to 40 ounces.

Spun and silk twist to 50 ounces.

Souple to 60 ounces.

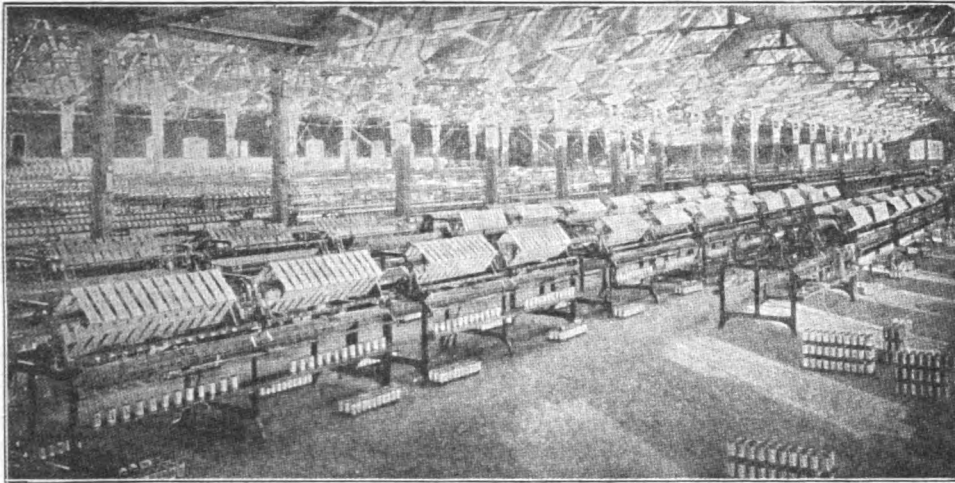
It should be stated here that the raw silk is put through a process known as stripping before it is dyed or weighted. This is done in order to remove the gum from the silk, and every pound of silk loses from 2 to 4 ounces in weight. So that when a pound is weighted up to 60 ounces there is only 12 ounces of real silk. When the "dear public" buys 60 ounces of the last named kind of "silk" they buy in reality 48 ounces of old tin and iron. No sabotage there! Those who do piece work, when using this kind of adulterated silk, must work so much harder, because the acid rots the silk and the threads break continually.

Inventions on looms are often nullified by adulterated silk. For instance: There is a contrivance in brood silk looms which will stop the loom automatically when the thread breaks. This would be an advantage to the weaver, but is not generally used because it requires good silk. The rotten filling furnished the weavers will not stand sufficient tension to operate the stopping apparatus,

and in consequence the weavers are compelled to run box-loom with from 2 to 7 shuttles with as many different colors of filling without this stopping apparatus, and what this means only a weaver can understand who has tried it.

The production of silk was at one time a man's industry, but it is rapidly becoming an industry of women and children. The number of women and children employed in the silk mills at the present time is at least 80 per cent. In the hard-silk plants women and children are employed exclusively. All the winding, quill-winding, blocking and picking is done by women and children. Most of the warping, three-fourths of the weaving, is also done by women, and now women are entering the dyehouses. Dyeing is the most unsanitary work in the mills. The rooms are constantly filled with steam and the floors are covered with water. The dyers are compelled to work with their hands in strong acids, and must wear wooden shoes weighing about 5 pounds each in order to keep their feet dry. They are subject to rheumatism and colds. The children receive as low as \$2.50 a week in the hard-silk, or throwing plants. The quill-winders, winders, blockers and pickers average about \$4.50 or \$5.00 per week.

The "labor laws" on the statute books of the various states are dead letters as far as the workers are concerned. Whenever Mr. Boss has plenty of orders they work overtime. Women and children often work twelve hours or more. In some cases a night shift is put on and it works twelve hours per night. The factory inspector usually gets no further than the office. It is useless to appeal to him. The state of New Jersey has a 55-hour labor law. According to this law neither women nor minors shall be employed in any mill or factory in the state for more than 55 hours per week. Some time ago a mill in Paterson, N. J., was working 70 hours per week. This mill employed women and minors only. The factory inspector was notified that this mill was violating the law. After "investigating" a couple of weeks he replied: That by "mutual agreement" between employers and employees the law permits the latter to work more than 55



HARD SILK PLANT.

hours per week. The mutual agreement consisted in the boss putting up the notice that the mill would run overtime until further notice. The workers, being unorganized, had to quit their jobs as individuals or work 70 hours. To work meant that they acquiesced in this "mutual agreement." And still we are told that we need more "labor laws."

The teaching of the I. W. W. that the laws of the mills and factories are made either in the office of the boss or in the hall of the union has taken strong root among thousands of silk workers. Since the big silk workers' strike of last summer the silk workers have come to realize that the old form of craft unionism of the American Federation of Labor with their divisions and their lobbying committees in the legislatures can never benefit the working class. They realize that all workers engaged in a silk mill should belong to the same union, from the engi-

neer and fireman down to the boy who sweeps the floor; that all the workers from all the silk mills in any locality should belong to the same local union under the same charter, and that the workers working in the mills must make the laws for the mills where they work and enforce them themselves, on the job. It is the mission of the revolutionary industrial organization, the Industrial Workers of the World, to drill the workers to control all conditions of labor in factory and mill as well as all products of labor. The workers must have complete control over industry. When this has been accomplished in the most important industries, the workers, through their economic organization, will be able to operate the industries for their own benefit, abolish the wages system, and establish the Democracy of Labor. The industrial union will take the place of the capitalist state.



STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON IV

The Materialist Conception of History

By J. E. Sinclair

THE materialist conception of history is the fighting philosophy of the working class. Not only does it solve the hitherto inextricable riddles of history and furnish us an insight into individual conduct, but it removes from the minds of the workers the illusions that have obscured their vision through long centuries of oppression. It reveals the material basis of life and lays bare "the economic law of motion of modern society." In the study of the materialistic conception we have seen (in our last lesson) how science furnishes the groundwork of facts for clear reasoning. We saw how its conquests had cleared the way for the REVOLUTION.

We have seen how man, struggling upward from the protozoan, became in time a tool-making animal and how human progress since then has been largely the result of technical progress, the discovery of new productive processes and the invention of new tools for the making of things useful to man. Just as we mark the successive geological ages by the successive layers of sedimentary rock so do we measure human progress above the mere animal plane by successive inventions and discoveries that usher in new institutions, new relationships, and profoundly affect the human outlook.

When the development of technic had reached the stage where each worker could produce more than was necessary to keep him in working trim and to raise successors to take his place, man became to a great degree master of nature. The old struggle for existence assumed a new guise. It became a struggle for the surplus.

The technical development that human

experience and human labor had brought about had enabled our ancestors to overcome the cave bear and the saber-toothed tiger and to master the food getting process so that there was an abundance. But the very inventive genius that had enabled them to overcome the beasts of the wild and to harness nature to do their bidding had created within their own species new monsters that preyed and still prey not alone upon other species but upon their brothers and kinsmen. The old blood ties that bound the primitive gens into a simple communism were shattered by this new economic force, this surplus-product of human labor-power. For the first time in human story there fell athwart the pathway of human progress the somber shadow of a slave, who was a slave not because he was a social misfit but because he had within him capacities that enabled him to produce a surplus upon which an idler might feed and over which he might dream of an eternity of ease.

On one side we have seen there came into being a master class, and on the other side a slave class held in bondage by the organized brute force of the masters, the state. This state protected and reflected the economic power of the masters. In order that it might do this efficiently it had to become itself an economic power holding property, collecting taxes, directing armies of conquest and subjugation. The old saber-toothed tiger had been vanquished, but the very process of his vanquishment had produced a new and more destructive creature, the saber-carrying man.

And it was all because of this surplus-product that labor was piling up day by

day. This surplus was a small thing at first, and yet around it and over it there began the long series of class struggles that have moved the world ever since. Let those who have preached that human nature is the same in all ages, that it never changes, contemplate the simple, childlike kindness that existed before the great social and economic changes caused by this growing surplus and compare it with what followed when the world became an armed camp, when brother was turned against brother, and even children were converted into slaves by their fathers that the surplus might grow yet greater. A world of free men was changed by a new set of industrial relations into a world of slaves ruled by a set of butchers. There had been war between groups before, between groups of strangers; but now with the creation of this surplus there began a war within the group in which the old blood ties of relationship had been severed and mangled by the transforming power of the new economy.

Such was the bloody dawn of civilization. No one was to blame. There was no plot to wreck the ancient democratic organization and thus sweep away the ancient freedom. Material conditions brought about by new industrial methods had been the silent, compelling force. Instead of a serpent with the tongue of a politician it was the accumulating surplus-product that tempted primitive man and he fell.

Yet after all was it a fall? When one contemplates the oceans of blood that have been shed and the fearful sufferings of the working class since the dawn of civilization every tender sentiment rebels against the monstrosity of it all. But the comparatively brief five or six thousand years that have elapsed since the beginning of slavery is but a moment in the life history of the race. It has been truly a terrible moment, the moment of maternal misery that precedes the birth of a newer and wider freedom than was ever possible in the unmeasured centuries of gentile freedom that hallows the childhood memories of the race.

But whether for good or bad the tremendous social transformation that succeeded the beginning of slavery was

brought about by underlying economic forces that to the actors on the human stage at that time were enveloped in a fantastic ideology sanctioned and sanctified by gods innumerable.

In other lessons we have seen the operation of these economic forces and have gained some conception of their marvelous operation in human affairs. The only danger is that the student may in his enthusiasm exaggerate the operation of this sociological law and thus make it appear ridiculous in the eyes of his shop-mates. It must be remembered that the materialist conception of history takes into consideration the fact that human life and human society is a process and that influences are still felt in our lives that had their origin before economic relations, as we know them, existed. It takes into consideration the animal origin of man and traces to that animal origin some of the most cherished virtues of the human family. It takes into consideration the fact that illusions have played a part in history, but it traces the perpetuation of most of these illusions to the economic necessity of some class. It recognizes the fact that moral tenets, ideas, and even institutions, while they are the off-spring of social relationships at some time or another, may perpetuate themselves in time far beyond the duration of the social conditions that gave them birth. It takes into consideration the geographical and historical conditions as well as the technical and economic relations that shape with irresistible force the birth of each succeeding social epoch in history and that is even now shaping a new society within the womb of an old and decrepit one.

Kautsky, in his book on "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," says: "The materialist conception of history is not only important because it allows us to explain history better than has been done up to now, but also because it enables us to MAKE HISTORY BETTER THAN HAS HITHERTO BEEN DONE."

Lewis H. Morgan, in "Ancient Society," although he had probably never heard anything about the materialist conception, shows that he recognizes its force in history. He says: "It fortunately

so happens that the events of human progress embody themselves, independently of particular men, in a material record, which is crystallized in institutions, usages and customs, and preserved in inventions and discoveries" (page 311). Although not a Socialist this great ethnologist, whose work under the direction of the Smithsonian Institute created an epoch in ethnological research, through years of patient study of prehistoric institutions and their relation to those of civilization, was compelled by the naked material facts that he discovered to condemn the present social organization and to recognize its transient character.

"Since the advent of civilization," says Morgan, in "Ancient Society," page 561, "the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property. . . . A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence; and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of (present) society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career CONTAINS THE ELEMENTS OF SELF-DESTRUCTION. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending."

No wonder that the ruling class tried to smother the masterpiece of this great and independent thinker. He foretold their doom.

The materialist conception is now recognized in all the great universities of the world as the science of history. Commonly called economic determinism or

the economic interpretation of history, it has won a permanent place in the laboratory of historical research. Scarcely a month goes by that some new book does not come out applying, although sometimes very poorly, this Marxian discovery to some historical period. It has given a tremendous impetus to the study of human relationships, and its acceptance is a tribute to the intelligence of the Socialist workingmen of the whole world who for years have been teaching this doctrine to their fellow workers while the learned lackeys of the rich were still mumbling a miserable idealistic cant that is still being mumbled by the ignorant.

We could go on through history and trace the successive changes brought about in government, in religion, in morals, and in ideas of every kind by the successive alterations in the processes of production and exchange; but the student is capable of reading history himself and in the light of the materialist conception history at last ceases to be a chronological table of kings, generals, and politicians. This froth that floats on the top is swept aside and the powerful stream of industrial life is revealed.

The student of history finds at last that the mighty forces in society are the silent ones, the economic forces that grow through long years and at last burst their integuments and change the course of what before was thought unchangeable. We saw as we studied the "Communist Manifesto" and "Socialism—Utopian and Scientific," how the bourgeoisie by the slow accumulation of economic power at last made itself the master of the political state, trampling the fine idealism of the feudal lords into the dust. Industrial evolution and the acquirement of economic power always precedes the acquirement of political power. Victorious classes seize political power so as to maintain the advantages already gained on the economic field and to keep in servitude a subject class that will produce a surplus for their rulers. The seizure of this political power accelerates the rate of exploitation. The political usurpation by the bourgeoisie is an example.

(Continued)

ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC

(Continued from the February Review)

Message to Audience.

SOME men are overwhelmed by the thought of trying to prepare a speech. It seems so different from the ordinary affairs of life.

The same men could call on a neighbor in regard to almost any errand and tell him their mission, without any embarrassment.

Let such men treat the prospective audience as they would treat the neighbor. Go before it on a special errand. Go before it because they have something definite to say—have a mission to present—and they can talk to an audience almost as easily as to a neighbor. No man should appear before an audience unless he feels that he has a special message for that audience. If he has this feeling, then he can make a good speech.

Newspapers.

A copy of a speech should be furnished each newspaper when it is desired to have it published. It is almost impossible to take a speech in shorthand in the average hall, late at night, and have it printed accurately the following morning.

In the first place shorthand notes have to be taken in poor light. It requires a relay force, so that one reporter can go and write up his copy while the other continues to take notes. The notes have to be transcribed in a hurry, frequently in a poor light, and as many shorthand marks are very similar it is a matter of frequent occurrence that one word is substituted for another. Then the matter has to be set up in a hurry, when there are almost no opportunities for correction. Everything has to be rushed.

Again, until an editor sees a speech he cannot tell how much of it he wants to use. Generally the forms for the press are made up early in the evening, leaving only a little space for new matter that may come in.

Under these circumstances it is unrea-

sonable to expect a paper to get and publish much of any address.

But if it receives a copy of it twenty-four hours ahead of time the editor can examine it and as much of it as he decides to use can be set up with care and published accurately.

In such cases all that is necessary is to write or print at the top of the front page a note stating that it is "the speech of.....to be delivered at.....at the hour of.....o'clock on the.....day of.....19...and is released after delivery." All honorable editors respect this note, and will refrain from using the copy before it is released.

Breakfast-Table Audience.

Modern oratory has to deal with an audience that the ancients knew not of, and that is the breakfast-table audience, which may number several millions, while the audience at the hall numbered only a few thousand.

To reach this breakfast-table audience, the orator must depend on his facts, his arrangement, and his literary excellence. Neither his voice nor his actions can reach these people.

Unless there is something above the ordinary in his speech the editor will not use it, and the public would pay no attention to it if he did.

The man who wants his speeches published must offer something that rises above the average; and that average in America is already high.

Literary Excellence.

Literary excellence is the robe of immortality without which no speech can live. The ideas may be great and the delivery may be impassioned, but if it lacks literary finish it will be ephemeral. The breakfast-table audience will not see it, and by the evening of the morrow it will be forgotten.

It was literary excellence that saved us the great speeches of antiquity. With-

out it they would have faded from the earth even before the generations that heard them.

Ever-living principles, genius in arrangement, and perfection of form, will keep a speech vital to the end of time.

We are told that the Greeks had no grammar. Instead of beginning with the rules as we do, they developed their wonderful language by a constant striving after clearness, brevity, smoothness, and rhythm. The eye and the ear were thus trained to demand excellence. The same practice now will improve any man's speech.

Demosthenes.

As an inspiration to the ambitious, I quote the following from Grote's History of Greece, relating to Demosthenes:

"He studied Thucydides with indefatigable labor and attention. According to one account he copied the whole history eight times over with his own hand; according to another, he learned it all by heart so as to be able to rewrite it from memory when the manuscript was accidentally destroyed. How much the composition of Demosthenes was fashioned by the reading of Thucydides, reproducing the daring, majestic and impressive phraseology, yet without the overstrained brevity and involutions of that historian, and striving to blend with it a perspicuity and grace not inferior to Lysias, may be seen illustrated in the elaborate criticism of the rhetor Dionysius. While thus striking out for himself a bold and original style, Demosthenes had still greater difficulties to overcome in regard to the external requisites of an orator. He was not endowed by nature, like Aeschines, with a magnificent voice, nor, like Demades, with a ready flow of vehement improvisation. His thoughts required to be put together by careful preparation; his voice was bad, even lisping; his breath short, his gesticulation ungraceful; moreover, he was overawed and embarrassed by the manifestations of the multitude.

The energy and success with which Demosthenes overcame his defects in such a manner as to satisfy a critical assembly like the Athenian, is one of the most memorable circumstances in the general history of self-education. Repeated humiliation and repulse only

spurred him on to fresh solitary efforts for improvement. He corrected his defective elocution by speaking with pebbles in his mouth. He prepared himself to overcome the noise of the assembly by declaiming in stormy weather on the seashore at Phaleron. He opened his lungs by running, and extended his powers of holding breath by pronouncing sentences in marching up hill. He sometimes passed two or three months without interruption in a subterranean chamber, practicing night and day, either in composition or declamation, and shaving one-half of his head in order to disqualify himself from going abroad. After several trials without success before the assembly, his courage was on the point of giving way, when Eunomus and other old citizens reassured him by comparing the matter of his speeches to those of Pericles and exhorting him to persevere a little longer in the correction of his external defects. On another occasion he was pouring forth his disappointment to Satyrus, the actor, who undertook to explain to him the causes, desiring him to repeat in his own way a speech out of Sophocles which he, Satyrus, proceeded to repeat after him with suitable accent and delivery. Demosthenes, profoundly struck with the difference, began anew the task of self-improvement, probably taking constant lessons from nature's models. In his unremitting private practice he devoted himself especially to acquiring a graceful action, keeping watch on all his movements while declaiming before a tall looking-glass. After pertinacious efforts for several years he was rewarded at length with complete success. His delivery became full of decision and vehemence, highly popular with the general body of the assembly, although some critics censured his modulation as artificial and out of nature, and savoring of low stage effects, while others of the same spirit condemned his speeches as overlabored and smelling of the lamp. So great was the importance assigned by Demosthenes himself to these external means of effect, that he is said to have pronounced action to be the first, second and third requisite of oratory. (Chap. 87.)

Utilitarian Talk.

Outside of the circle of oratory there is a great field of what may be called

"utilitarian talk." It is the world's everyday talk of its ordinary affairs, including politics, business, religion, etc. It includes the average speech-making, lecturing and preaching; and most of us are glad to be even a small factor here.

The American people average higher than any others as all-around talkers and stump speakers. This is due to the nature of our institutions and the fact that all the people participate in the discussions of every public question.

This utilitarian talk is useful, important, and even necessary; but there is no glory won here. It is the work of the everyday draft horse, indispensable to man's well being; but it is not the everyday draft horse that commands the world's interest or admiration. He has indeed done the world's work and makes the world his debtor, but he does not stir the blood nor arouse the enthusiasm of men. It is the carefully trained speedy horse that men go miles to see. Great speed is the result of the highest training.

Let it be understood that the so-called "strong speech," "able speech," "forceful

talk," "excellent points," etc., are all of the draft horse variety. They do not rise to the plane of true excellence; they lack art, and do not constitute oratory.

The knowledge displayed may be ample, the facts may be conclusive, and the fervor of the talker may be great; but so long as exquisite arrangement, elegance of language and high finish are wanting, the effort falls below oratory.

But let no man suppose that a speech should be simply an elegant or nice affair. Dilettanteism simply excites contempt.

The idea I wish to inculcate in the minds of the young is that they must acquire elegance of diction and nicety and accuracy of expression; they must cultivate the voice until they have a perfect command of it; they must accustom the mind to orderly and logical arrangement; and when they wish to discuss a subject get all the facts, not only into the mind, but into the very blood, then pour the whole soul into it, and they will approach oratory.

THE FREE TRIP TO VIENNA

SUBSCRIPTIONS have been coming in fast this past month from the hustlers who have entered the race for 300 yearly or 600 six-month REVIEW subscriptions for the free trip to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Vienna, Austria, August 23, 1914.

Everybody is united in saying this is the greatest offer ever made by any magazine. We ask our hustlers to send to us only 300 yearly or 600 six-month subscriptions at the regular cash rate of \$1.00 a year, and we pay railroad fare to New York and back from any point east of Chicago; steamship fares across and back, railroad fare to and from Vienna, and allow \$25 for hotel bills.

Comrade John Burns, of Wilkes Barre, Pa., heads the list for the past week, having sent in fifty-six yearlies in just seven days. This record almost equals the one made by Dr. Gibbs of Scranton, who secured three hundred yearly subscriptions in less than

one month and added another hundred in the succeeding two weeks.

Gust Nelson of East Rockford, Ill., has made a start in spite of the cold weather and expects to show his pace before the month is over. Kate Kidwell of Jackson, Mich., has added to her credit in spite of the railroad accident that upset her home city this month. E. J. Hoffpauir means to represent the southern rank and file, and from what we know of his past sub-getting record, we believe he will win easily.

Orlando Carpenter of Charleston, Mass., is today the fourth man in the running and ought to be able to have the required 300 subscriptions to his credit before the spring months. He will make an able delegate and everybody in his state is rooting for him and Comrade Olive S. Leavitt for whom the Central Socialist Club of her home town is soliciting subscriptions through the Bay State. L. T. Rush sends his in almost as regularly as a clock.

Others who have entered the lists during the past month are Bertha Caroff of Montana, Leroy Bruce, Pennsylvania, and a score of others who have not had time to report.

Now that it has been definitely decided to hold the International Socialist Congress in Vienna, starting August 23rd, many young Socialists, who are attending school during the winter, can enter the contest with the assurance that they may have a month after school closes to finish securing three hundred names.

We want to send fifty delegates from the rank and file of the Socialist Party. Any live Socialist can secure three hundred subscriptions and take advantage of this opportunity to attend the greatest International Congress the world has ever known. Such a trip will be an inspiration to you and to the comrades in your vicinity.

As stated in all references to this offer, you must send the subscriptions to this office at the regular cash rate of \$1.00 for yearlies

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Take this matter up with your local. Get the various comrades to take subscriptions and make the one securing the most out of the required three hundred—the local's delegate to Vienna. This is what some of our Ohio comrades are doing. Get the support of your Socialist newspaper. Write us for sample copies of the REVIEW and start NOW.

EDITORIAL

Connecticut Socialism. It seems a little hard on some of our Connecticut comrades to head this paragraph in this way, but after all these same comrades are responsible for the election of S. E. Beardsley as state secretary, so they must share some responsibility for what he has been saying. It was in an address before the Rand school, and the *New York Call* reports the aforesaid address at great length in its issue of February 1. In it he says:

"A speaker knows when he comes to Connecticut for the Socialist Party that he is to speak for political Socialism and not for the I. W. W. or any other economic body. . . . Nor is our speaker allowed to air his personal grudges against the church from our platform. . . . The first attempt made by a speaker to talk on the economic question or to assail the church, he goes out of the State entirely. This method has resulted in this—70 per cent of the members of the Socialist Party in Connecticut are Catholics, and 90 per cent of this 70 per cent are communicants. This we have done by just adopting the methods above mentioned."

In other words, the Socialist Party of

Connecticut, according to its secretary, has placed itself in direct opposition to the national platform of the Socialist Party of America, has set itself the task of vote-catching and office-seeking pure and simple, and has barred from the state all speakers who will not pursue the same tactics. And as a consequence of this policy the state secretary points with pride to the alleged fact—we hope his figures are wrong—that 63 per cent of the dues-paying members who control the policy of the party, are in the habit of confessing their sins to a priest, and look to a future life for their reward for docility to the priest during this life. Right here we will quote what the platform of the Socialist Party has to say on the questions involved:

"In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class, the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery,

and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist Party appreciates the full significance of *class organization* and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for *economic and political action*."

"The Socialist Party . . . is a party founded on the science and laws of social development."

These sentences were put into the party platform because they represent convictions that are absolutely vital to all sincere and well-informed Socialists. If Socialism means anything it means the march of the workers to the overthrow of the capitalists on both the economic and the political field. The economic struggle, as declared by the membership of the Socialist Party of America in 1912, is one of the means by which the working class is to break the fetters of wage slavery. And no one can have a clear conception of the origin or the aims of Socialism without a study of the "science and laws of social development," to quote the words of our platform. This means a study of evolution, as discovered and applied by Darwin in the field of physical science and by Marx in the field of social science. The Socialist Party welcomes new recruits, asking no questions as to their religious beliefs. But new recruits are a help to the party only when loyal to its principles. If Catholics capture a state organization and stifle the work of Socialist education, they are certainly doing good work for their clerical and capitalist masters.

Reform From Above. King George of England, according to a recent editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, has recently waked up to the fact that he is personally the owner of one of the worst slums in London. The *Tribune* continues:

The king now proposes to raze the old buildings in his slum holdings, widen the narrow streets, and construct in their stead "substantial, commodious, and comely dwellings." In these new buildings he will give every attention, it is announced by the sanitary engineers carrying out his wishes, "to the mainstays of domestic life."

It is encouraging to see the wave of reform penetrate even behind palace walls. The demand for social justice in the United States is being answered by capitalists in the United States with liberal plans for profit sharing and welfare work. Reform from above takes off

the edge of much of the class bitterness of the times.

Precisely so. If the wage-workers accept "reform from above" at its face value, smilingly, gratefully and uncritically, they will get it, in homeopathic doses, until they have gone to their last reward, while a generation of philanthropic reformers will have been enjoying the good things these same workers produced. And if the Socialist Party were to desert the battlefields of the class war, and set itself the task of urging on the very reforms which the more intelligent capitalists already see the necessity of conceding, it would be throwing away all chance of growth and usefulness, for it would become nothing but a weak echo of the "Democratic" or "Progressive" machines which are really doing some of the things we have talked about. The Socialist propaganda that will bring results today is an application of Marx's laws of economic determinism, surplus value and the class struggle to the United States of America in 1914. This does not mean long words and lumbering sentences, but neither does it mean a muddle-headed acceptance of reform from above as a step toward our goal. The American wage-worker today is producing \$10.00 worth of commodities a day and getting \$2.00. The reformers plan raising him to \$3.00 and increasing his "efficiency" so he can produce \$15 for the owners. The raise is a good thing, but let us think clearly about it and help other wage-workers think clearly also, instead of getting up and shouting for the reform. Government ownership of railroads and coal mines will certainly be a good thing for the little capitalists. How it affects the wage-workers will depend on who runs the government. Happily we of the Socialist Party can never go very far wrong for very long together. If we should go wrong for a little while the great mass of wage-workers, driven by unerring primitive instincts, would drift away from us, and our strength would dwindle until we steer once more on the straight course. And that is why some day we are sure to win, not with reform from above, but with revolution from below.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The Iron Heel in Africa. Everybody has been interpreting the bitter fight in the Transvaal to support his own theories. Here was a "general" strike, and it failed. What the workers lacked was industrial organization. What the workers lacked was political power. It is easy to prove anything on the basis of a struggle that occurred ten thousand miles away under conditions that most of us know nothing about.

The only thing that is clear to one who reads the reports from the Dark Continent is something that we all know very well to begin with. We know that in many parts of the world labor is oppressed to the point of desperation. We know, too, that philanthropic capitalists are willing to suspend constitutions and commit murder to save a shilling or two in wages. The only thing that makes the South African fight remarkable is the fact that it was more open and honest than most. It was also more bloody. Here, on the edge of civilization, the class struggle was as undisguised as any international war ever was. It must have been perfectly visible even to the naked eye of a political economist.

For a year past the South African government has been "retrenching" in the management of its railway system. Many men have been discharged, and before the strike broke out many more were slated to go. The men, on their part, maintained that many of those dismissed had been victimized for their activities in the labor movement. As a result of the general discontent which resulted from this condition a strike of railway workers began on January 8th. It spread so rapidly that within a few days Orange River Colony, Natal and Cape Colony were affected. A general strike was called by the labor council. The cables promised a general tie-up of industry.

The government acted "with energy." The Citizen Defense Force was called out and the country was placed under martial law. Here are a few of the regulations published and put in force: No political meetings to be held; persons in

possession of dynamite to be put to death; military authorities in complete control; words "scab" and "black-leg" forbidden.

Men were arrested wholesale. The climax came when about three hundred unionists were besieged in the Trades Hall at Johannesburg. They refused to yield to the soldiers. Mr. Bain, the secretary of the Trades Council? For several days they held out, and yielded only when a field gun was placed in position to fire on them and they were told that unless they yielded in fifteen minutes the building would be blown to pieces.

Under these circumstances the strike appears to have gone to pieces rapidly. But the government was not content with mere victory. It capped its outrageous procedure with an act which even outranks the recent kidnapping of Moyer in the Michigan strike. On Jan. 28th Premier Botha had ten strike leaders placed on board a vessel and deported. The whole thing was done secretly. The men themselves were not told where they were being sent until their vessel was ready to sail. Then they were given an hour and a half to write letters to their friends and relatives on shore. The vessel is not equipped with wireless. For months the men will be at sea entirely cut off from communication with the outside world.

Of course we are used to this sort of thing in the United States, but it strikes backward Englishmen as something novel and not at all agreeable. Only the most conservative English papers have the nerve to defend it. All England awaits with alarm the landing of the victims in London.

In the meantime Premier Botha has been violently attacked in the South African parliament, but the majority has supported him.

Of course it must be remembered that in this fight the union men had against them the fear that a general conflict would lead to an uprising of natives. This fear was skillfully played upon by the government. And the race division between the Boers and the English was a

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chief source of weakness. The burghers willingly answered the call to arms and served the ancient English enemy in most effective style. On the other hand it was demonstrated once more that the English working class gained nothing when the English government conquered South Africa.

Municipal Capitalism and the Workers.

The people of Leeds, England, know now that municipal ownership is not Socialism. At least they have had a good chance to learn.

Some two years ago the municipal workers of Leeds organized a branch of city Trades and Labor Council. Since then they have been perfecting their organization and working out a plan of action. They had been promised a liberal consideration of any demands which they might formulate. Finally, in December, they presented a general demand for a two shilling raise for all unskilled workers. The demand was met liberally. The municipality spent more than \$500,000 to keep the workers from getting their two shillings.

The strike was declared on Dec. 10th. Practically all the employes of the city walked out. The street car men voted 50 to 1 in favor of the strike. Special police were secured in great numbers. Scabs were paid high wages and cared for in the most lavish manner. All the hangers-on of respectable society came out to keep the poorest of the workers from adding two shillings to their weekly wage. The students, the clerks, the clergymen, worked shoulder to shoulder in this noble cause.

The street car men deserted first. They were told that their jobs would be taken from them if they failed to return by a certain day; and they returned. Soon after this practically all the skilled workers gave up. The others stood out so

bravely that the special committee of the municipal corporation was in end forced to grant them fairly decent terms. But the strike was lost and all respectable England breathed easy again. The unskilled workers did not get their two shillings a week, and the country was saved.

What a terrible commentary is all this on the reformism of which we hear so much from the liberal government!

And the workers lost because they failed to stick together. As was the case in South Africa, the workers used neither political power nor industrial power in any concerted or rational way. Solidarity is as yet a thing to talk about.

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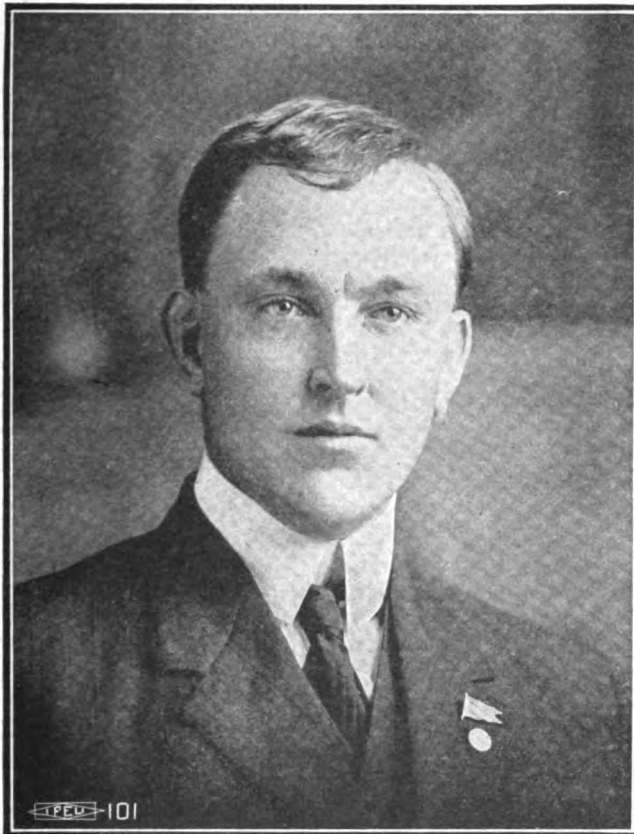


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NEWS AND VIEWS



ROBERT KNIGHT.

ROBERT KNIGHT, REBEL—Robert Knight, one of the most active workers in the American Socialist and labor movement, died January 31st, at the Deaconess Hospital, while attending the convention of the United Mine Workers as a delegate from Colorado.

The visiting committee appointed by the Socialist Party Local, of Indianapolis, called daily to see Comrade Knight during his illness, to offer their services. On the day before his death, the Committee left the hospital with the assurance that Comrade Knight was improving and would soon be able to bear arms again in the great Cause of Labor. His death on Thursday came as a great shock to them, and to the many friends who have for years fought side by side with Comrade Knight in his ceaseless efforts to educate and aid his own class.

Comrade Knight was President of Local 995 of the U. M. W. of A. He was born thirty-four years ago and spent his childhood in southern Indiana. He left school at an early age to help

support the family, and, as he said, "worked at almost every job that employs unskilled labor." From 1900 to 1907 he followed railroad construction work and caught the spirit of revolt that is growing so fast among proletarians the world over.

In 1907 he began studying Socialist literature and organized the first Socialist party local in his home town—St. Croix, Indiana. The ignorance of the native people and their prejudices against Socialism, stirred up by scarcely less ignorant Catholic leaders, resulted in the assassination of Robert Knight's oldest brother, and the family was forced to leave the town to save their lives.

They located in Longmont, Colorado, where Comrade Knight organized the Socialist local. Comrade Knight has been for some years a speaker of marked power and ability. Two years ago he toured the country as one of the Party National Lyceum Lecturers.

Readers of the REVIEW will miss an old

friend in losing his contributions from the REVIEW. Comrade Knight had promised to write up the U. M. W. of A. Convention for the March issue. He gave us the story of the Nine Sharpshooters which appeared in the February number, about which we have received scores of letters the past few weeks.

Robert Knight sprung from the rank and file of labor. Many times the love and trust of his fellow-workers for him was so great that they would have gladly lifted him to a position of what men call a greater distinction, but he preferred to remain in the ranks and fight. This was sufficient honor for him.

Comrade Knight never trimmed his sails to catch the breeze of any popular delusion. Modestly, quietly, faithfully he worked—asking no better than the poorest of his comrades received.

Greater than this can be said of no man: He was always faithful to the interests of the Working Class!

Wallace Miners' Union No. 17, W.F.M.—Comrade Sam Kilburn fires in a check for a bundle of REVIEWS during the coming year, as he is wise to the fact that our only hope lies in education.

Leeds, England.—Our comrades of the Armley & Wortley Socialist Club and Institute place an order for a standing bundle of ten REVIEWS and also order a bunch of books. More power to our British comrades.

W. F. of M. Order.—The Miami Miners' Union of Miami, Ariz., sent in a bundle order this month for five copies of the REVIEW a month for one year. The miners are always to the front in revolutionary activity!

From California.—"We are in the midst of floods and hard times, but we must have the REVIEW and Gustavus Myers' 'History of Canadian Wealth.'"—Comrade Nevins.

A Port Angeles Paper.—Word comes to us that the comrades have started the *Peninsula Free Press* at Port Angeles, Wash., a Socialist paper that is hewing close to the class struggle in all its news items and educational matter. Comrade Boomer, the editor, says: "This paper was started by Socialists and friends. The money was raised inside of a month and the building was put up by volunteer labor from the comrades. The *Free Press* has been practically self-sustaining since the first issue." Comrades who are interested in the movement in the northwest, take notice! Here is a chance to add a live one to your list.

From Roanoke, Va.—"The regular force of car builders here is working eight hours a day and only five days a week. The introduction of steel cars is smashing the car builders' craft, as the material now comes all ready to put together. It used to take a week to build the old-style wooden passenger coach; it now takes a little over two days. I look on your publishing house as the cleanest and most reliable Socialist institution in this country. Enclosed find ten new subscriptions besides my own."—Comrade Thierry.

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Watkins,	Wilburton, Okla.	17
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Postoria, Ohio.—"Our February REVIEWS are all gone and they are the real stuff. Please send more copies at once."—Hollenbaugh, Secretary.

Grand Rapids, Mich.—When Helen Keller was here she was asked, "How long have you studied economics?" She answered, "Two years in college and one year with my eyes open."

Calixico, Cal.—"Hurrah for the REVIEW! It is in a class by itself. Send it along for another year, as I am in the fight to stay."—Scott.

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M. D. BETTS, Sta. 451, Jackson, Mich.



In Oregon.—Your editorial, "The Growth of the Capitalist State" in January REVIEW finds an echo in the mind of every practical thinking Socialist. Government ownership—state capitalism—is coming. Nothing can stop the capitalist move in that direction. Nor is it wise to try to do so; but Socialists everywhere want to keep cool heads and not be carried away with their socialistic plan.

Political action, added to industrial action, through organized unionism, gives us power in government. We can, through political action, use the government for our purpose and seize the industries of the land through legal enactments. There are no policemen's clubs or bullets by this route. This is the way out of capitalism.

Working to this end there is being agitated the initiative of a proportional representation measure with good prospects for its becoming a law. Oregon, as you may know, is the most foremost state in the nation with democratic laws. The people here rule. The great trouble is that the workers (people) do not know what they want. The Socialist party in this state, as elsewhere, has been scrapping among themselves, and Socialist sentiment is far in the lead of the organized party work.

However, the movement for popular government has become so strong that a number of different organizations are considering the endorsement of a proportional representation measure that *their* organizations may be represented in the Legislative Assembly. This, of course, will land the Socialist party along with the balance of them and we are getting help from those who care very little about our philosophy.

Once this measure is launched, the Socialist party members will push the petition-getting to a finish. If we succeed in passing the measure we will put at least ten Socialist members in the 1916 Assembly.

From this vantage point we can teach the lessons of Socialist philosophy among the heathen in spite of the deceiving, misleading capitalist press.—C. W. Barzee, 68 E. 30th, Portland, Ore.

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For His Union Meeting.—"Send twenty REVIEWS at once, so that I can take them up to my union meeting on Wednesday night, as the copper strike will be discussed then. Am only sorry that I cannot make that \$10.00 in place of \$1.00."—Howe, Grand Rapids.

Away Up North.—Comrade James S. Robertson, organizer of Nanaimo local, S. D. P., fires in a telegram for 100 February REVIEWS. Our Canadian comrades are certainly "on the job" judging by the way orders are coming in for revolutionary literature.

Yukon Territory.—Comrade Sandberg of Dawson fires in fifteen yearly subs and writes: "I could not resist the temptation after sprinkling those sixty REVIEWS over town. Every one of the last subscribers has gotten his REVIEW and all are well pleased." Our Canadian comrades certainly appreciate the Fighting Magazine.

An Illinois Red.—"Enclosed find check for two REVIEWS a month for one year. I like the INTERNATIONAL better and better with every number. It is a dandy. I look for it anxiously near the time of its coming out. May its issue increase manyfold."—Geo. Schreiner, Austin, Illinois.

Proportional Representation.—I herewith present my ideas for a more equitable distribution of powers among the various constituencies of the Socialist Party. Proportional representation is the only system that can fit into the commission form of government, and will become one of the greatest campaign issues from now on. Our party platform contains a demand for such laws, but we have thus far made no efforts to practice what we preach.

The party has long practiced the initiative and referendum and the rank and file of the membership have a fair idea of its working, and constantly are improving by eliminating any imperfections in its construction. But we can not go into the legislative bodies of capitalist society and frame anything but clumsily worded measures for proportional representation. If for no other reason, that would be enough to make it our duty to elect our own delegate bodies by said method in order to acquire experience, and discover defects, so that we could go out and offer the non-Socialists a best possible plan.

My plan of electing the national executive committee of the Socialist Party is as follows:

An Executive Committee of five members and an Executive Secretary shall be elected annually by means of the initiative, preferential voting on the referendum and proportional representation. The call for nominations shall be issued during the first seven days in January to all the locals and branches. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, ten days for acceptances and declinations and fifty for the referendum. Each member of the party in good standing, certified by his secretary, may nominate as many candidates as there are positions to be filled. Nominations from five per cent of the membership shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. The ballots shall contain a list of candidates,

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two blank lines headed First Choice and Second Choice on which the voter may write the names of two candidates for executive secretary in order of preference, and five blank lines, two of which shall be headed First Choice and Second Choice, on which may be written the names of five candidates for executive committee. When returns are canvassed, the candidates are elected who: First, have not received less than one-sixth of the total first choice vote; Second, have received not less than one-sixth of the total first and second choice vote combined; Third, have received the highest number of votes among the remaining candidates, not counting by the preferential method. The next highest on the list shall be the alternates for filling vacancies. The executive secretary and committee shall assume office on the first day of June, following their election; Provided, that upon the adoption of this amendment a special election shall be held.

The National Committee shall be elected in similar manner as the executive committee, with this difference, that the next national committee meeting shall subdivide the territory of the United States into ten districts as nearly equal as possible in membership, and then the membership of the party residing in such districts shall each elect five members of the national committee.

Referendum: One per cent of the membership may initiate a referendum and when so initiated shall remain open for ninety days from the date of its first publication and unless it shall receive the requisite number of seconds within such period it shall be abandoned. Referendum elections shall be held in the months of June and December of each year; Provided, that upon demand of a majority of the national committee or ten per cent of the membership, the vote shall commence within ten days.

A Party Owned Press: Five editors in chief shall be elected at the same time and in the same manner as the national executive committee. The members of this press committee shall have equal rights and privileges regardless of differences of opinions, and shall constitute a committee on party owned press, and their duties shall be to bring as many Socialist periodicals as may be necessary under the protecting wings of the party, and under guarantee that such organs shall not be monopolized by any official clique, but shall at all times be an open forum for exchange of ideas, such as are held by the minority as well as those held by a majority.

Comment: Proportional representation is an effort of fellow thinkers to reach over narrow boundary lines and clasp hands in advocating their common ideas in mass meetings, and also to send their representatives to the city and county central committees, etc., so that all deliberate assemblies shall be a true reflex of the ideas of their constituents—a majority with ideas like the majority and minorities with ideas like the minorities.

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an official faction, which faction in its turn becomes orthodox and intolerant and tries to strengthen its unrighteous position of disproportionate power. In a proportionally elected body, any question coming up for solution would be considered more from all points of view, mistakes and crooked work would become less and the rank and file would be more satisfied. In all societies there are three mental factors: the standpat reactionaries, the conservative mass and the radicals. The radicals furnish new ideas, and it is our duty to listen to them and adopt or reject what they have to offer, so long as they act like gentlemen.

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On the Job.—"Enclosed please find check for eleven subscriptions to the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for three months each. Am sorry it is three months instead of one year. I hope every one will realize the value of one of the best magazines published, which I consider the REVIEW, and that the eleven parties become lifelong patrons to the REVIEW and Socialism. I will endeavor to be on the job when the three months expire. The ways of the Socialists here are as hard as the ways of the transgressor, but I am on the job and mean to hammer away at it as long as I live, and daily at that. Yours for success."—Brun-gart, Port Bolivar, Texas.

In the Dock.—The trial of Frederick Sumner Boyd comes up in a few days and the comrades must not forget that William D. Haywood will face charges on the old Paterson case with Carlo Tresca, Alexander Scott and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in the very near future. It takes money to fight these cases, and our friends want to remember to send a donation in care of the I. W. W. headquarters, 164 Washington St., this city, and help all they can. Art Young and Max Eastman are putting up a stiff fight against the Associated Press, but it is almost impossible for any one to win against the great news faucet of America. Better get your local to give a little entertainment for the benefit of the friends who are being victimized and rush the money in for their defense. Money for Eastman and Young should be sent care of *The Masses*, 91 Greenwich Ave., New York.

From a Socialist Doctor.—"The REVIEW has certainly improved greatly and I congratulate you."—Wm. L. Holt, M. D., Boston, Mass.

Victoria, B. C.—"Send twenty more copies of February REVIEW. They are going good this month."

Johannesburg, South Africa.—"Enclosed please find order for a bundle of fifty RE-

VIEW. Bundle of twenty went so easily that I am tempted to risk sending for fifty each month, so kindly credit me with the order enclosed. The REVIEW is waking the boys (and girls) up out here. Best wishes for a successful year for the REVIEW, Socialism and yourself. Yours for the Revolution."—Chas. B. Mussared.

From New Zealand.—"The REVIEW is greatly appreciated here. Wherever it goes it makes friends. My mates, who used to scoff at Socialism, now eagerly ask for the REVIEW."—Comrade Hanlon, Auckland.

In the Hospitals.—Comrade Lively, of Canada, suggests that the Socialists find out the visiting days at the hospitals and take in old Socialist books and magazines and gain new converts that will add to our fighting strength.

From the Frozen North.—One of the liveliest REVIEW supporters is Comrade Emma Mutchler, of Atlin, B. C., who has rounded up thirteen yearly readers during the past month and this in face of the fact that dollars are scarce up that way at this time of the year. She will receive a fine selection of Socialist books, free of charge, from the publishing house in a few days as an appreciation of her work.

New Zealand Socialist Party.—Auckland Branch sends in six pounds for books, and they are now taking a bundle of 100 REVIEWS each month.

From a Railroad Man.—On Russell's book, "Stories of the Great Railroads": "You will recall sending me two dollars and forty-four cents' worth of books about sixty days ago, among them being Charles Edward Russell's book, "Stories of the Great Railroads."

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From Johannesburg, S. Africa.—"The present industrial unrest in S. Africa renders it imperative that we push the REVIEW for all we are worth in order that the clear issue may be kept before the thinking section of the wage earning class."—A. C.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—"Enclosed find \$3.60 for subs., and I must say that your REVIEW has helped me a great deal in clearing up vexed questions, and I will do all I can to spread its circulation."—W. K.

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The Trial of a New Society.—The story of victorious industrial unionism in Lawrence, Mass. A vivid picture from the class struggle today. An invaluable historical document. By Justus Ebert. I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, 112 Hamilton Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 75 cents net.

Immigration.—The world movement and its significance in America; full of statistics for the student of this subject. By Henry Pratt Fairchild. The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. \$1.75 net.

Child Labor in City Streets.—A wealth of data on this vital subject—with the legal as well as the economic status and aspects. By Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y. \$1.00 net. This book is appalling in its revelations—a plea not for feeble regulation, but for the prohibition of a hitherto almost wholly ignored form of child labor.

The Electro-Individualistic Manifesto.—A prophecy that reminds us of William Morris. The author believes that an era of electrical supremacy is approaching wherein individual production will be stimulated through the use of small electricity-driven motors. An interesting and fanciful picture which we believe modern production will prevent materializing. By Heinrich Charles. Published at 115 Broadway, New York, N. Y., by the author.

A History of Freedom of Thought.—A gauntlet thrown to those who have faith in Authority. A criticism of modern education and a suggestion for a better system. "Distrust thy father and mother," says J. B. Bury, Litt.D., LL.D., the author, is the first commandment for the promotion of individual thought. Every Categorical Imperative should make this book his bed-fellow. Henry Holt & Co., New York, N. Y. 50 cents net.

Co-Partnership and Profit-Sharing.—A plan to transform autocracy and monopoly into democracy, gradually, peacefully, and with Profit to Everybody. A social myth. By Aneurin Williams, M.A. Henry Holt & Company, New York, N. Y. 50 cents net.

The Revolt of Democracy.—The last child of the mind of one of the greatest scientists of the age. A plea for democracy. The author, Alfred Russell Wallace, closes his Last Chapter with the following words of

counsel: "Any Government that will not abolish starvation in this land of superfluous wealth must be **Driven from Power**. The forces of Labor, if united in the demand for this one **Primary** object, must and will succeed. Then will easily follow the general rise of wages at the cost of our unprecedented individual wealth and the absorption of the unemployed in self-supporting communities, re-occupying our deserted land and bringing about a more general and more beneficial prosperity than our country has ever before enjoyed. May they (our statesmen) prove themselves equal to the great opportunity which the justifiable revolt of Labor has now afforded them."

It would be unfair to expect a man who had contributed so greatly to the scientific knowledge of the world in one field to bring a like vigor and perception into a new line of research in his declining years. Nevertheless, Dr. Wallace sees clearly the wrongs of present-day society. Had he brought the same keen vision to the study of politics that he devoted to biology in the old days, he would have realized that there is no disinterested man under the sun, and that the working class alone may be trusted to work out working class emancipation. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, N. Y. \$1.00 net.

Henry Dubb.—Open Letters, by The Vag. Dedicated to Ryan Walker, America's Rebel Cartoonist, 290 Wakefield St., Wellington, New Zealand. Every Socialist in America remembers Henry Dubb, originated by Ryan Walker, the cartoonist. "The Vag" of Wellington, New Zealand, has written a series of letters to "Henry" that make the cleverest propaganda reading we have seen in many months. The book contains brilliant cartoons and pithy arguments for Socialism—every one with a laugh in it. We need something of this sort in America, and suggest that the comrades who are looking for something clear and attractive will send an international postal coupon for 10 cents to "The Worker Print, 290 Wakefield St., Wellington, New Zealand," for sample copies. We believe these could be sent to the United States at 3 cents a copy. This little brochure is one of the Maoriland Worker pamphlets. We want to congratulate the comrades on their latest success.



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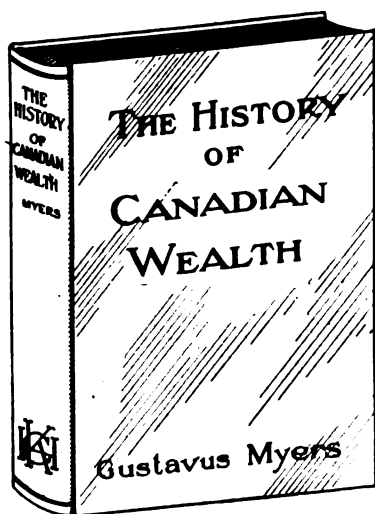
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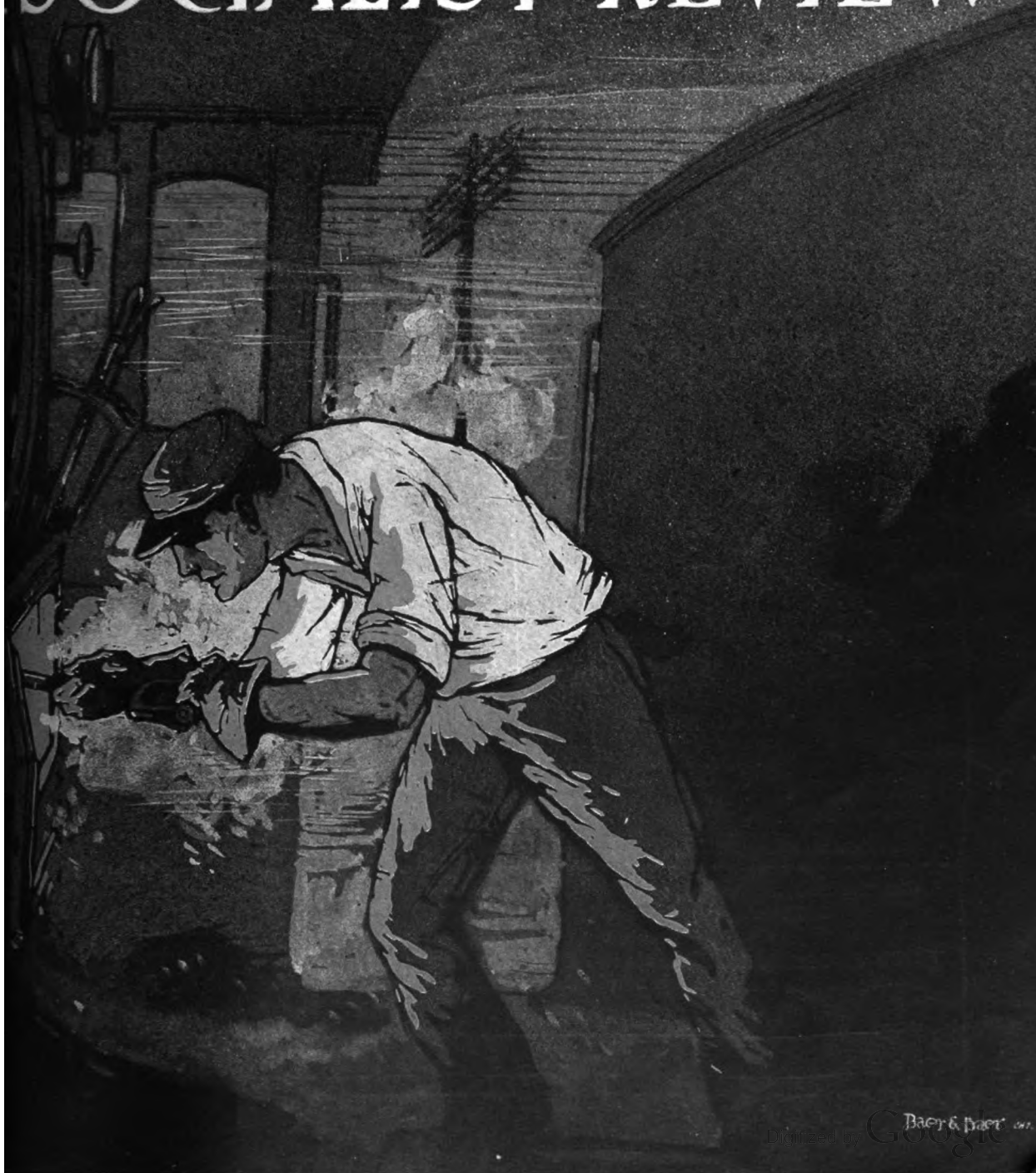
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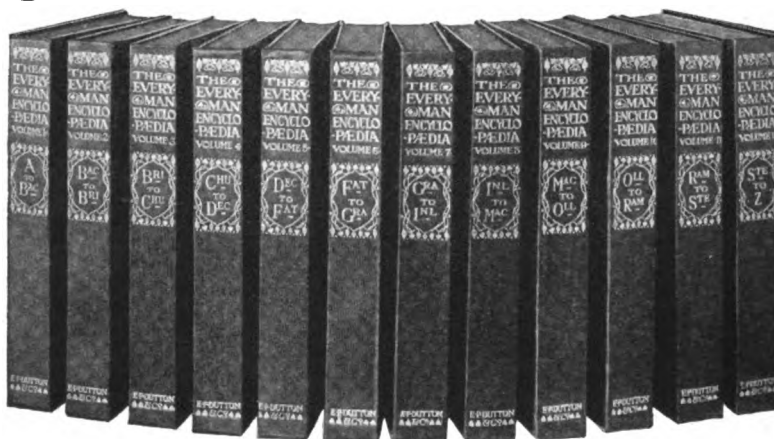
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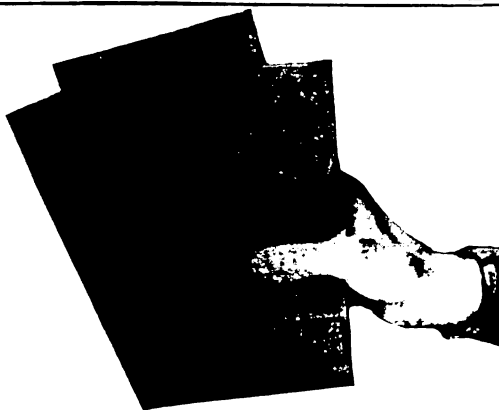
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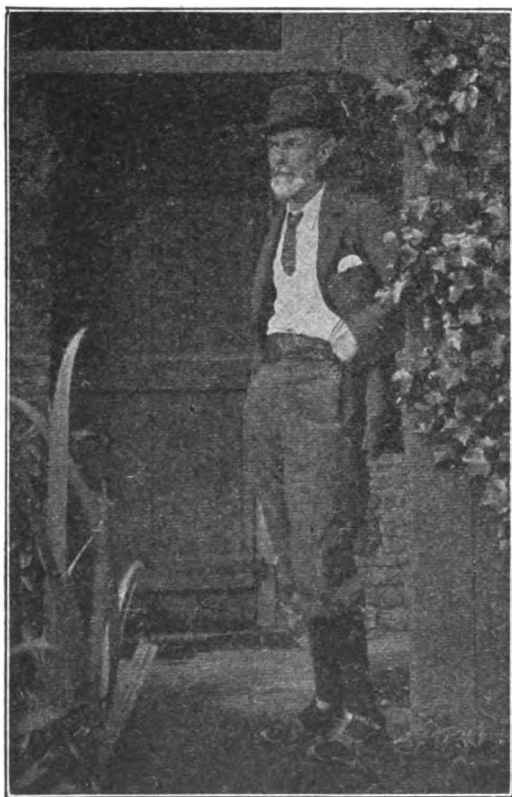
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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. XIV

APRIL, 1914

No. 10

LABOR'S BATTLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African Railway Nationalization and the Labor Movement

By "Ferdinand Marois"

SOUTH AFRICA is an enormous plateau with terraced tablelands rising one above the other, terminating in rugged mountains. The configuration of the land is such as does not allow of navigable rivers. Only two natural harbors exist, namely Saldahna Bay in the Cape Province, and Delagoa Bay in Portuguese East Africa. The fact that for generations the only means of transport was ox wagon accounts for the slow growth of South African colonization.

Before the discovery of diamonds and gold there was little to attract the greed of profit mongers. Factories could not be established because towns were few and far between and because the Boers and Kafirs were able to supply all their homely wants direct from the soil. Kimberley is about 700, and Johannesburg 1,000 miles from Cape Town, and the needs of a rapidly growing population of mining adventurers in these centers demanded a quicker and surer method of conveyance than the painfully tedious ox wagon. Railroads, therefore, became a necessity, but private enterprise would not undertake the risk of tapping what then appeared to be nothing but a desert. Thus it was forced upon the governments of the two British colonies and the two Boer republics to establish railway systems.

Railways are so intimately connected with the exploitation of land and labor that it is no matter for surprise that they should have been the dominant factor in bringing about South African Union. Capitalist development required uniformity of tariffs and regulations, and these latter required, a centralized system of control.

The evolution of industry under capitalism makes for more and more centralization of government. But the more highly centralized capitalist government becomes the more clearly does it reveal itself as an instrument for the subjection of the propertyless to the whims and caprices of the propertied classes of society. This increase of oppression deepened the hatred of the workers against their exploiters. In other words, capitalist development hastens the progress of working class solidarity.

Such centralization of capitalist government and concurrent increase of working class solidarity are well illustrated in the case of South African railways. In 1908, when the four South African colonies still had separate governments and separate railway systems, Natal railwaymen struck for abolition of piece work and for improvement of conditions generally. Railway workers on the three other colonial systems not only refrained



CLEARING THE WAY FOR THE RAIL.

from helping their Natal brothers but even acted as scabs to break the strike. They were "loyal" to their respective administrations. And the only reward of their "loyalty" was reduction of wages and speeding up when Union was brought about. Union broke down the barriers which had separated South African railwaymen into four watertight compartments. Hence, while Union increased the profits of the exploiting class, it brought about conditions which forced all railwaymen in the Union to take common action against a common enemy.

The government of the Union of South Africa now owns and operates some 8,000 miles of road. The capital account on the 31st December, 1912, stood at \$464,584,455, inclusive of \$58,222,830 for harbors, lighthouses, etc., which are also state property and come under the control of the department of railways and harbors. Earnings were \$70,000,000 and expenditures \$40,000,000. Interest accounted for \$20,000,000, leaving a net surplus of \$10,000,000. The sum of \$32,850,000 was dis-

tributed in wages among 61,063 employees, who were classified as follows:

Supervising officers	177
Clerical staff	4,408
Artisans and apprentices	5,738
Other white staff	15,744
White laborers	5,316
Colored and native laborers	25,830
Indian laborers	3,850

Total 61,063

The average yearly wage for railway and harbor servants, therefore, amounts to \$500 per employee. The munificence of this rate of wage may be judged from the fact that the railway clerical staff of the Transvaal recently submitted a memorial to government, proving by comparative statistics that a married man with two children cannot live comfortably in Johannesburg on less than \$2,100 a year. And the government employs thousands of white railway and other workers at from 75 cents to \$1.25 a day!

Under the pretext of "running the railroads on a business basis" it has been arranged for the surplus of \$10,000,000

over and above profits to state bondholders to be handed over to land monopolists, mine magnates and merchants in the shape of reduced rates for the conveyance of merchandize. It is claimed that this policy will reduce the cost of living. As a matter of fact the consumers (who are also workers) have not benefited one iota. The cost of living has risen instead of falling. In plain language South African state railways are an additional means whereby the exploiters can rob the exploited.

With the exception of locomotives, rolling stock has hitherto been almost wholly manufactured in state railway workshops at Pretoria (Transvaal), Durban (Natal), Nitenhage and Salt River (Cape Province). The railway administration has decided, however, to order \$2,500,000 worth of rolling stock from private British manufacturers, although the material can be put together in the local railway

workshops far cheaper and better. In view of the alleged government policy of "making South Africa a white man's country" through the encouragement of local industry, the only explanation of this curious departure is that some railway official or officials have received or been promised a handsome commission from the British contractors.

The creation of an artificial deficit owing to the handing over of railway profits to the property owning class and to the sending of work to be done outside the Union, caused the railway administration to adopt a policy of "economy"—at the expense of railway workers. Notwithstanding a large increase of goods and passenger traffic, it was decided to retrench a thousand employes and to reduce the wages of the remainder. The iniquity of such a policy is all the more heinous seeing that, pending the report of the commission recently appointed to



LAYING THE LINE—NATIVE CONSTRUCTION GANG.

inquire into railway grievances, it was agreed that neither the railway workers nor the administration should take any definite action.

As a protest against the Rand massacre of July, 1913, the men of the Pretoria railway workshops struck work for one day. Train service was entirely suspended at Pretoria and along the Reef; and Hoy, autocrat of railways, suffered the dreadful humiliation of having to beg permission from his slaves to send the train with over-sea mails to Cape Town. A few weeks afterwards the men of the Durban railway workshops struck for one day in order to attend the funeral of a *colored* shunter whose death was due to the culpable negligence of the railway authorities. In both cases the government gave out that the railwaymen had not gone on strike but had been granted a holiday!

These and other significant manifestations of revolt so alarmed the government that it announced the appointment of a commission to receive evidence and frame a report on railway grievances. One member of the commission was to be elected by ballot among railway employees. The government nominated one, Patrick Duncan, a tool of the Rand magnates, posing as a labor sympathizer. The railway and Harbor Servants' Union nominated their secretary, M. J. Poutsma, a Socialist, who had been exiled from Holland for inciting the wage slaves of that country to strike for better conditions of life. Poutsma was elected by an overwhelming majority. This victory was achieved in spite of the efforts of the government to intimidate or disfranchise those who were suspected of favoring the men's candidate.

Of course the object of appointing a commission was not to remove the cause of grievances. Railwaymen were under no illusions in this matter. They were fully aware that a capitalist commission on any labor problem serves two purposes only: One, to gain time in which to organize the forces of oppression; and the other, to provide fat billets for a few tools of the parasite class. But nevertheless the election of a member to the precious commission in the present case afforded the railwaymen an excellent opportunity of advertising the strength of their union. At the time of the Rand massacre it had

a membership of 5,000. At the time of the election a few months later its membership was 15,000.

The evidence put before the commission proved that South African railway employees were overworked, underpaid, had excessive hours of labor and, worst of all, were systematically spied upon and tyrannized over by pimps of the administration.

The time taken by this railway commission and by the Rand industrial commission to collect evidence enabled the government to perfect its plans for reducing South African workers into absolute slavery. The government, which was caught napping last July and which would have been annihilated but for timidity and treachery, had since then been secretly organizing for the inevitable struggle. The guantlet was thrown down when, immediately after the season of "peace and good will to all men," the capitalist press announced the proposed retrenchment of a thousand railway men. A united protest from the railway workers had the effect of causing Burton, minister of railways, to deny the truth of the alleged proposal and to explain that the dismissal of 500 men only was contemplated. A further united protest made Burton reduce the number to 75. In fact, he denied that the government was going to retrench any men at all; and yet a document was seen in his office with the names of some 500 railway employees who were to be discharged as a "first installment." The greater number of these names were selected from the staff of the Pretoria workshops upon whom the government was resolved to take revenge for the revolt of last July.

Finding the railwaymen to be thoroughly aroused, however, the government changed its front and adopted the following *modus operandi*: Men guilty of petty breaches of the thousand-and-one vexatious and tyrannical regulations which are supposed to be committed to memory were discharged from the service and then re-engaged at a reduced wage. The executive of the Railway and Harbor Servants' Union made written and verbal protest against victimization of this kind, but all to no avail. A list of demands was presented, asking for the immediate stoppage of retrenchment, the

reinstatement of those who had been victimized, the establishment of a minimum wage of two dollars a day for white railway laborers, and the abolition of the piece work system. The reply of Burton was that the demands could not be entertained.

On the morning of the 8th of January, 1913—a historic date in the history of the South African labor movement—the men of the Pretoria railway workshops, numbering over a thousand, assembled outside the station and were addressed by Messrs. Poutsma, Nield, Riley and other organizers. The meeting was perfectly orderly and the speeches exceedingly moderate notwithstanding the aggravation of a body of armed cossacks who guarded the approaches to the station. The men were reminded by the speakers that they, the most highly paid railway workers in the Union, were risking their livelihood on behalf of their brothers at the bottom of the scale. It was not a strike for more wages, but a strike to help the sweated slaves of the administration and to prevent further victimization.

The running staff remained working all day on the 8th, but toward evening the good news came that the drivers and firemen had unanimously decided to respond to the appeal for working class solidarity. Pickets were appointed and the railwaymen's committee began to sit in permanent session. Only eight men scabbed among the thousand odd mechanics and only one driver among the running staff. To protect these miserable traitors a cordon of armed foot police was thrown around the works and station. A few trains arrived from the south on the 9th and then traffic stopped except for a couple of scratch trains piloted by the chief mechanical engineer, the locomotive "expert," and a few pen pushers from the general manager's office. It is worth noting that the aforesaid "expert," whose business it was to lecture the men on the handling of locomotives, ruined a half a dozen engines while the strike lasted.

Meanwhile the strike had spread to Johannesburg, Bloemfontain, Durban, De Aar and Cape Town. Poutsma, Nield and others had proceeded by motor car to Germiston Station to organize things

there, when report came that they had been kidnapped by detectives and thrown into gaol. Following up this line of action the government broke open the offices of the Amalgamated Society of Railway and Harbor Servants in Market street, Pretoria, and carried off safe, books, correspondence, cash, etc. similar kidnapping and burglary took place in other centers of the Union.

The Federation of Trades Unions, whose headquarters are the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, resolved upon drastic action in the face of this coup d'etat. A mass meeting was called on Sunday, the 11th of January, in Market Square, Johannesburg (where the dastardly murders were committed by government in July, 1913) and some twenty thousand people applauded the revolutionary speeches which were made denouncing the cowardly, murderous gang of robbers who were using the powers of government in order to grind the workers of South Africa into the very dust. From Sunday, balloting for or against a general strike went on and on Tuesday it was declared almost unanimously.

On Monday evening, however, the government had already had proclamations printed suspending civil law and placing the country under military despotism. On Tuesday the people of South Africa awoke to find the streets and public building bristling with rifles and bayonets. All public houses were closed. No civilian was allowed in the streets after 8 p. m. without a permit. The committees of all the workers' organizations were kidnapped and imprisoned without trial. Public meetings were prohibited. Everywhere armed cossacks and foot police kept people on the move. Sixty thousand of the lately formed defense force patrolled the lines, bridges, culverts and public buildings. Machine guns were planted in all the railway stations and in and about the mines. No telegraphic or telephonic communication was allowed between the workers at the various strike centers. The government accepted money for the messages and then failed to transmit them. In addition to this the government sent messages to the various towns throughout the Union intimating that the strikers at all other centers had gone back to work. These messages purported to

have come from the men's organizers. Notices were posted at all railway stations stating that the normal train service had been restored. The capitalist press which, through some lamentable weakness on the part of the Typographical Union, was allowed to appear, published most atrocious falsehoods calculated to spread discouragement and confusion in the ranks of the strikers.

A few weeks before the railway trouble came to a head the capitalist press made mention of a persistent rumor that the Swazis were rising in armed revolt and forcing the Boers to flee into laager. On the morning of the 9th of January—the day after the declaration of the railway

bridges. Sticks of gelatine, fuses and detonators were continually being "found" by policemen and "loyal" railway servants.

The strikers were fighting against fearful odds. All their leaders had been kidnapped, their offices burgled, their cash, books and correspondence stolen. They were forbidden to meet in greater numbers than five. Picketing was prohibited. They could not communicate with their friends. The government went so far at Bloemfontein as to prevent strikers or their families from leaving their homes. No one was permitted even to assist the family of a striker who might be in want of food. The rooms of the committee



From the Illustrated Star, Johannesburg.

●●●● A Twelve-Pound Gun Trained on the Trade Union Hall, Johannesburg—The Strike Leaders Surrendered.

strike—flaring headlines announced that five thousand natives of the Jagersfontein diamond mine had swept through the town, looting and massacring in every direction. The origin and object of these lying statements became clear when the government called commanders of armed mounted Boers into the towns on the pretext that they were necessary to quell a native rising. Public opinion (i e., the opinion of the most ignorant, most cowardly and most reactionary people) was inflamed against the strikers through the publication of telegrams reporting alleged attempts to dynamite trains and

appointed for relief of distress were closed up and the food supply stolen. At Germiston the running staff were not allowed into their own homes to get food and were forced back to work at the point of the revolver. At Pretoria a man who smiled in Market street was arrested and thrown into gaol. The armed Boers in Germiston ran amuck and rounded up five hundred people and herded them promiscuously in a bull pen.

All labor newspapers were suppressed. A strike herald was started at Pretoria to give authentic information to the workers, but the printing press was confis-



THREE OF THE NINE "UNDESIRABLE CITIZENS" WHO WERE DEPORTED.

J. T. BAIN,
Organizer Federation of Trade
Unions and Strike Secretary.

ARCHIBALD CRAWFORD,
Socialist Editor.

R. B. WATTERSON,
Engineers' and Firemen's Assn.

cated and the editor, printers and publisher thrown into prison without trial. Savage sentences were served upon innocent people. A modern Judge Jeffreys with the name of Van den Berg took a fiendish delight in sentencing members of the working class to fines of from \$25 to \$100. A month or two months' imprisonment without option was a favorite device for getting temporarily rid of dangerous enemies of the robber class.

In these circumstances it was no wonder that workers at Cape Town began to lose heart and to believe some of the calculated lies spread abroad by the government and the servile press. The Cape Town men have been many years in the railway service and many of them were eligible for pensions which they were afraid of forfeiting should they continue to hold out when all other railway strikers had returned to work. The running staff especially were the first to surrender, and as the train service gradually increased the other strikers lost their nerve. Paid agents of the government mixed among them and whispered insidious treachery in order to stampede them back to work. The men had endeavored to establish a service of motorcycle dispatch riders and a pigeon post between the towns, but the former was stopped under martial law and the latter failed in a very few days for want of pigeons.

Of course it must be admitted that in spite of the conspiracy of force and fraud it would have been possible for the workers to have stood firm and won out. But in order to have done so they should each have been thoroughly class conscious and thoroughly aware of the nature of the enemy with which they had to deal. It was evident from the peaceful, orderly manner in which they carried on their agitation and conducted their strike that they expected a clean fight. This proves that they were pathetically ignorant. It is agreed on all sides, however, that the workers of South Africa have had such an experience as they will never forget. They saw the capitalist beast in all its loathsomeness. They went back to work as a result of lies and treachery, and their hearts are bitter. The mildest men have become fervent revolutionaries since the 8th of January, 1914, and an evil day awaits capitalism in the near future.

Capitalist parliament opened at Cape Town on the 30th of January, and, of course, the first measure to be rushed through was an indemnity bill to relieve Botha and his fellow tools of capitalism of the consequences of their illegal acts. This bill will be signed by the imperial liberal government (also "friends" of the workers) unless the British labor organizations paralyze them with a general strike. There is not much hope of that,

in view of the disgraceful treachery of British labor "leaders."

Three other measures will also be rushed through the South African Union parliament this session. One, for the suppression of free speech, free press and public assemblage; the second for the discouragement of strikes; and the third, for the establishment and maintenance of an organization of strike breakers.

Meanwhile, the kidnapped leaders of the South African Federation of Trades are on the high seas, bound for London, forcibly separated from their wives, families and friends. They have been found guilty (without trial) of the most terrible of all crimes—the crime of being loyal to their class. Loyalty to the working class in the twentieth century is a more heinous offense than high treason or blasphemy was in the tenth century.

The moral to be drawn is that the sooner we stop advocating state ownership and get

down to real business the better it will be for the working class. It is painful for us as class-conscious South African workers to hear of British and American Socialists lending themselves to a policy of "buying out" the present robbers, as if this would bring about proletarian emancipation. Diamond mines, railways, harbors, posts, telegraphs, forests, wine farms, book stalls, refreshment rooms, water supply, electric supply, breweries, abattoirs, tramways, etc., etc., are nationalized or municipalized in South Africa. And the property-owning class of South Africa are the most brutally vindictive spoilers of humanity that history can record. No! We workers do not want nationalization. What we want is the whole earth, and the only way to get it is to TAKE it—WITHOUT "compensation" to the present possessors and oppressors. Should we not be ashamed to think that we have less intelligence and less courage than the despised Mexican peon!

THE MENACE IN GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

By John McSlarrow

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP of the basic industries is generally acknowledged to be a logical, if not necessary, step in the evolution of society. And when we consider that Government, or the State, is nothing more than an Executive Committee of the Ruling CLASS, it is reasonable to expect that this class will eventually turn over the entire management of its affairs to its very efficient committee—the National Government.

As all signs point to such a transfer of executive power (in several industries at least) at no distant date, it is well that the workers should begin to look closely into the matter and determine, if possible, how best to shape events in a way that will aid them and their class in their revolutionary movement.

In making a plea for a Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the workers shall be owners of the instruments of production, we Socialists often refer to present Government owned enterprises, and

take pride in the efficiency and economy manifest in their management. The Postal Department, for example, is often used as an illustration of "what the people can do." While the speaker seldom intends to leave such an impression, people are so accustomed to regarding the Government as the representative of ALL THE PEOPLE that the average person goes away from the lecture under the impression that the speaker has offered the Post Office as an example of Socialism.

Knowing the true inwardness of the operations of the Postal Department, so far as the workers are concerned, I am not surprised that semi-informed persons regard Socialism as "the coming Slavery."

To use such illustrations has caused more confusion and called for more explanations than any other preachment ever made by a Socialist agitator. And the last condition of the student's mind is generally left more cloudy than the first. In my opinion, the time consumed

in such arguments and such illustrations could be used to far greater advantage if devoted to teaching the Class Struggle.

I was an employe in the Postal Department for a period of considerably over two years. I entered it for the purpose of learning at first hand, from the inside, just what virtue there was in this much touted "socialistic" institution. Needless to say, I found out.

I was a "Sub Carrier" in the Seattle Post Office. A Sub Carrier is one who is held in reserve, to take the place of a "Regular" who may be absent. The Department allows one Sub Carrier to each ten Regulars, or major fraction. The wage of a Sub is 30 cents an hour (when he works). But owing to the system of efficiency under which the Regulars work, none of them ever dares to lay off as long as he can possibly report for duty.

So there are weeks and months at a time when a Sub will not get enough work to keep him in coffee and doughnuts. Many and many a day I have gone on rations consisting of cold coffee for breakfast, an apple or something of the kind, swiped from some grocer's show box, for lunch, and a supper of boiled potatoes and bread.

I have worked in the logging camps, and the lumber mills; I have worked in the cotton fields of the south (from sun-up to sun-down, for six bits per day); in fact, I have had a wide diversity of jobs, and ALL OF THEM HARD ONES, but I know of nothing that is quite so fatiguing as carrying mail up and down the hills of Seattle.

Although Seattle has steadily increased in population, and at a more rapid rate than any other city of my knowledge, there has been very few additions to the Post Office force for the last decade. The result is that those on the job are literally worked to death, while the Sub, waiting for a job, is starved to death.

When I first entered the Service, there was talk of several carriers being added to the local force in a short time, but there was such a howl raised just about this time concerning the annual deficit in the Postal Department, that Postmaster General Hitchcock made an effort to reduce expenses. He did this in the orthodox capitalist manner. He took it out of the workers. Although the busi-

ness of the department was rapidly increasing, he cancelled all previous orders for an increase in the working force, and demanded that those already on the job should SPEED UP, and thus handle the increased volume of business. I suppose he would have reduced the money wage also, if it had appeared possible for the employes to exist on less.

The salary of a first year "Regular" is six hundred dollars per year. That of a second year man is supposed to be eight hundred; of the third year nine, fourth year ten, and fifth year twelve hundred dollars.

I say "supposed to be" because it does not always work out that way in practice. In order to get this annual raise, it is necessary that the victim shall pass a certain percentage of Efficiency. This Efficiency test is based largely on the number of "De-merits" one may have incurred. Every time you are late with a delivery, it means a certain number of demerits; every time you are sick, and have to employ a Sub it is more demerits; every time you make a mistake in delivering a piece of mail matter, it is again demerits. And, if some old hen of the aristocracy should take a dislike to your looks, and complain about it, it means another large bunch of demerits. It is demerits for this, and demerits for that—just one endless avalanche of demerits—until about the only way one can hope to get a raise above the initial fifty dollars per month, is by becoming a complete, and very rapidly moving automaton.

You are not supposed to think; and if you should show signs of having a mind of your own, the demerits are piled on with a lavish hand. I know men who have been in the service TEN years who only get eight hundred per year; and they are not LAZY either. Indeed, I have worked their route for them, when necessity compelled them to lay off a day or two, and I know from experience that they must have to go on what a military man would call a "double quick" to cover their district in the allotted eight hours.

Apparently, the first, last, and only thought of the Mail Carrier is "How to avoid those Demerits," and the only way that presents itself to his mind is to slave, and slave, and slave a bit harder. The Seattle Post Office (as is the case with

ALL modern Post Offices) is built with DOUBLE WALLS. The inner wall has latticed windows at frequent intervals, through which detectives can watch the employes without themselves being seen. On the street, the mail carrier sees in every person he meets a possible "Spotter." Working there, day after day, under real or imagined, espionage, very soon makes a nervous wreck of anyone who has any nervous system at all.

I have, as far as possible, investigated conditions in the Postal Service of other parts of the country, and so far as I can judge, one place is about as bad as another. In all of them the Regulars are worked to death; in all of them the Subs are starved to death. In New York (I am told) there are men who have been on the Sub list for ten years. Always there is the Penitentiary staring them in the face. In Chicago recently the daily papers report two letter carriers were fined five thousand dollars, and sentenced to the Penitentiary for three years each, for the trivial offense of "loitering while on duty." That is the way it is done. They work the life out of the men and when sheer exhaustion forces them to slow down, they are sent to the Penitentiary for three years, and FINED FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

With such a practical demonstration of Governmental efficiency in handling slaves, is it any wonder that many Capitalists are seriously considering the matter of turning the entire management of their business over to their Executive Committee?

It would be a mistake to assume that Postal employes are not class conscious, they are extremely so; but it is not of the militant kind. Every bit of rebellious manhood seems to have been eliminated from their being. They recognize the fact of class division in Society. They KNOW they are nothing but slaves, but they appear content to remain such. Their only thought is how to become more *efficient* slaves, and thereby gain the approbation of the master—and perhaps a few more crumbs from the master's table.

There are a few Socialists among them; but most of those are of a very pale color. They attempt nothing for them-

selves, but dream continually of a time, somewhere in the dim future, when the Socialist party will triumph in a National election, and give them a little better wages, and a little less exacting rules. So far as I was able to discover, there is JUST ONE real militant Socialist in the Seattle Post Office—and he is hanging onto his job by the skin of his teeth. I can say, frankly, that I never knew a more SERVILE lot of slaves than the letter carriers of Seattle. The memory of the time I spent in their company is like the memory of a bad dream—a veritable nightmare, with ignorance and stupidity as the main factors.

The lethargic condition of mind, so prevalent among the Postal employes, is, in my opinion, due, in large part at least, to the idea that the Government is a power apart from and above the powers of ordinary mortals; something which we should reverence and respect, no matter how tyrannical it may be. It is, in fact, the modern phase of that old mind-enslaving idea that, "The King can do no wrong."

I would not FIGHT Government ownership, for it IS a step forward in evolution, and to fight it would be reactionary and useless. But, I do not consider it the duty of the Socialist Party to waste its time clamoring for such a system. And besides, we haven't got time. We must make hay while the sun shines. We must teach the Class Struggle. We must teach the workers that they will be even worse slaves under Government ownership than they are now. We have got to teach them that the only possible way to gain even a measure of liberty is by the capture of the Powers of Government by the working class.

We have got to teach them that ECONOMIC POWER is the foundation of all power, and that a mighty good way to capture economic power is to organize on the job; and organize so thoroughly that we have JOB CONTROL. And, WE MUST DO THIS BEFORE THE INDUSTRIES ARE TURNED OVER TO THE CAPITALIST EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. For, it is hard enough now to get the slaves to do a bit of thinking, but it will be many times harder

after a decade or so of Government ownership has completely ossified half the faculties of their brains, and developed the faculty of devising ways and means of becoming more efficient, and more profitable slaves.

If the Postal employees were properly educated and organized, they could bring the Government to its knees any day they liked. Imagine what would be the result if the two hundred letter carriers and the numerous office force of the Seattle Post Office should go on strike. It would completely paralyze business in that burg for quite a while. For it would not be possible, even though Regular Carriers and clerks were brought from some other town, to get together a force that could step in and handle the business of the Seattle post office. And, they could not learn to do it with any appreciable degree of efficiency in less than several months. Think what would happen if all the Postal employees in the U. S. should stay at home tomorrow morning.

When we consider the immense coercive force possible in such a numerically small number of workers as the Postal employees, the mind is thrilled in contemplating the possibilities of what an entire

working class can do, organized ON THE JOB, and inspired with a revolutionary ideal.

We will win a National Socialist victory at the polls some day. But I KNOW that we will have Government ownership of a great many of our basic industries, many years ahead of that much longed for jubilee day. And, I DO KNOW that if the workers in those Government owned industries are left to their own devices, and to the enervating influences which now obtain in all Government institutions, they will become as a herd of dumb cattle, upon which Reason will make slight impression. They will stand as a stupid wall between the Government and those who wish to change it—a wall which can only be removed by Bayonets and similar forceful arguments.

Get them once properly educated and organized, and they will be a most powerful ally; for, with the ability to control the industry in which they work, AND THE WILL TO DO IT, they can virtually dictate to Government. They will, in fact, BE THE GOVERNMENT; and, being such, will usher in the Co-operative commonwealth.





Photo by Paul Thompson.

CUTTING STEEL BEAMS WITH ACETYLENE BURNER.

THE PASSING OF THE BOILER-MAKER

By L. T. Rush

LOOKING back at the condition of the boilermaker's trade sixteen years ago, I remember that nearly all of our work was done then with small hand tools. The boilermaker was a proud man in 1897—and justly proud. He could do excellent work; necessary work that required skill and care. In those days the boss was a worker alongside the rest of the men.

Then came the pneumatic tool, driven by compressed air. With it the boilermaker could calk a yard where he had formerly calked an inch. Next came the pneumatic riveter, which riveted from 200 to 500 riv-

ets in a nine or ten-hour day. Previously the best two hand riveters could do in a day was from 50 to 90 rivets. Compressed air was also used to cut out worn and dangerous pieces in the boilers. All in all, the pneumatic tool put a few unskilled workers on the job and threw out many skilled men.

The latest invader in our field is the "gas machine," or acetylene blaze, which cuts great sheets of defective steel out of heavy steel boilers as though they had been made of a hard wax. Using this new tool, one man can cut the spaces that formerly required twelve highly skilled men.

The "gas machine" also performs won-

ders in welding in the fire boxes, on patches and cracks.

In the "old days" wages ranged from \$2.50 to \$3 a day, the scale changing often, as the boilermakers had no union. Men competed against each other for jobs and underbid each other to secure work.

When the union was organized we chose a motto for our inspiration. It was "An Eight-Hour Day." You don't often hear the phrase any more.

And yet everywhere I hear the boilermakers and other craft union friends of mine asking: "What shall we DO?" Production has vastly increased and yet the old band of boilermakers and molders and glassblowers grows ever smaller.

The facts are that new machines are doing the work we used to do. They have come in and underbid us on the job. It pays the bosses ten times over to use modern machines and less skilled men, than to employ us. With the exception of the foreman, the layerout and the flanger, we see all around us many men for few jobs.

And WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? We can't blame the boss. He buys labor-power where he can get it the cheapest. He buys machines that will produce the cheapest. He wants to make as large profits as possible. We would do the same thing if we were in his place. We would HAVE to do the same thing if we were in his place or we would find our competitors forcing us out of business, because he could make things cheaper than we could.

Our consuming wants are greater than ever, while our consuming ability, or wages, is on the down grade. Competition between wage workers keeps wages down. Trade depression is becoming more chronic because of the workers displaced by machinery. The coat manufacturer sells coats to men. He can't sell them to machines. And so we will have "over-production" again because the workers don't get enough money to buy the things they produce.

And first of all, we have to outgrow our narrow CRAFT lines. It used to be enough to help us when we fought for our craft union. Now the machine is breaking up the craft union. The union can't take care of that 90 per cent of men who are thrown out of employment because of the advent of the automatic machine. And when idle men

are kept outside the craft union they are made over into scabs IF THEY WANT TO LIVE and support their babes.

If we want to be daddies and grand-daddies, now is the time to act. Self-preservation and race preservation is our lofty mission. There is a great big fence between us and the realization of these things. It is the private ownership of the means of life—the private ownership of the factories, mines, the land, the mills and shops.

The trust buster has had his day. Now comes the reformer, who wants to take over the watered stock of the weary corporations and "give" us "government ownership" and give bonds that pay huge interest to the owners of present industry. Whenever a big captain of industry gets into serious trouble with the working class, he always feels that it would be a glorious relief to throw the white elephant into the hands of the government, if the government would guarantee to pay him the same rate of interest on his money—the same dividends. Nearly everybody knows that a storm is coming. Let's prepare for it.

What we need is INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, where every worker will own his own job and where the working class will manage the industries and dispose of their products as they alone see fit.

While the old system lasts we must demand shorter working hours if we do not want to see an army of unemployed that will force wages down to the starvation point. Two hours cut off the present workday would employ a million men today in the United States.

Furthermore, we must all work for ONE BIG UNION of the workers. We must make it easy for men to join the union. We must, in fact, make the Big Union a union of the working CLASS. And don't forget that the little Red Card represents the workers' one political party of the world—the Socialist party. United in one big organization on the political field, members of one great union, we shall be armed to meet the enemy of Capitalist exploitation and speed that day when the working class shall come forth triumphant to enjoy the homes they have built, the clothes they have made, the food they have produced, and all the other good and beautiful things of life!

CHINA AND STANDARD OIL

By Mary E. Marcy

A FEW years ago China was the most backward of all the great nations, not only from the viewpoint of economic development but from the viewpoint of politics, education and all other modern social forces. The former doubtless explains the latter.

But gradually, within the old form of the Chinese social system, in spite of the reactionary tendencies of the Manchus in office, the outlines of a vast economic development began to take form. These new interests fostered modern education, science and rebellion among the Chinese people whose aid the young industrial organizations needed, to throw off the old form of government and make way for one that would mean freedom for further development economically and industrially.

Germany had long been quietly working inside the Chinese Wall laying the foundations for a future hold on China; England and Japan had secured precarious economic holds in the various provinces. The Standard Oil Company had for years been sending experts to the empire to estimate the value of the oil fields and had devoted millions of dollars to making its products popular from one end of the country to the other.

So that when the Chinese people, weary of long oppression, scandalous grafting and extortionate taxation, stimulated by the spirit of modern industry, arose to throw off the ancient rule of the Manchus, socialists, like Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and reformers, who had done much to arouse this spirit, entertained great hopes of launching the new republic in a manner that would mean a safe and gradual growth toward the socialist ideal. They hoped to avoid the evils of capitalism as they had seen them in other lands; the vast wealth gathered in the hands of a

few owners of the tools of production and distribution, and poverty and suffering for the workers who had produced all.

Dr. Sun and his confreres devoted their lives to educating the Chinese people. With marvelous foresight they sought to unite them into an intelligent organization that would be able to withstand any and all attempts to allow the natural resources of the empire to become the private property of any individual or group for the exploitation of the Chinese people.

But this task was beyond the power of any group of men. Love and confidence in Dr. Sun enabled the Chinese people for a time to successfully combat the schemes of grasping self-seekers. But they did not possess the long training in the modern factory, mill and workshop that develops in the wage working class a strong feeling of solidarity and enables them to accomplish so much. The Chinese were accustomed to fighting as individuals. The goal for which Dr. Sun strived is one that can only be reached by a class of wage workers who have been trained in the school of practice, to work, suffer, fight and conquer together, on the industrial field.

His plans were beyond their imagination. The Chinese people needed the standardization that the factory system produces in the working class, the unifying experience of modern production to weld them into a great fighting army of proletarians.

Education is a great and wonderful factor in the success of the working class. But the experience of having like aims, similar needs and desires and the class solidarity that comes from working and fighting together—are possible only in a society based upon modern machine production.

It is far easier for experienced capitalists, seeking private wealth, to organize society on a basis of modern machine production than to educate a people, accustomed to the most primitive methods, into a desire and an ability to develop the resources of their nation collectively for the benefit of everyone.

The aims of the capitalists in China were beautifully simple and direct. The half awakened people of China possessed a thousand conflicting desires and aims. Dr. Sun, with his European education and his travels in America and Europe, was a century ahead of the Chinese people.

It was to be expected, under the circumstances, when the "foreign" capitalists began to supply Yuan with money for bribing the members of his new parliament into repudiating Dr. Sun's program, that enough officials should succumb to give the reformers and socialists a crushing political set-back.

The money of these "foreign" capitalists continued to pour into the lap of President Yuan. He was able to provision and equip additional troops as well as to use the entire Chinese army in crushing his opponents. Hundreds of socialists were executed. The foreign armies joined the Chinese army in suppressing every reform newspaper and editor who dared so much as to lift his pen against the policies of Yuan.

These methods of suppression were after the methods of the ancient Manchus, who had always fought the press and kept the headsmen busy working overtime. Yuan had the full support of the "foreign" capitalists and he was able to substantially reward them with millions of dollars' worth of China's limitless natural resources.

China and Standard Oil.

In the old times when a new ruler conquered his people he sometimes formed an alliance with a neighboring or friendly power. But in this respect President Yuan established a most remarkable precedent.

Diplomats from Germany, France, England and the United States were maintained in China to establish friendly re-

lations for the capitalist class of their fatherlands. They asked many things of President Yuan and made vague and far-distant promises. They pledged a future paved with the friendships of their countries. But also there were on hand, with wide open purses, various "foreign" capitalists, helping to suppress Yuan's rebellious subjects.

President Yuan followed the venerable Chinese custom. He took "the cash and let the credit go." Evidently the Standard Oil Company was more to be trusted, more powerful, more certain than the United States government. And the Standard won out where America failed.

Hence comes the announcement that the Chinese government has chosen the Standard Oil Company as her ally. After all, the substance of a powerful economic interest is more reliable than the shadow of "popular" government, and those of us who know that economic control is the greatest of all social levers, cannot but agree that Yuan has chosen wisely from the viewpoint of his own personal interests. The Standard Oil Company can force the United States government to aid Yuan in China. The flag follows the Oil Can.

Lamps in China.

Several years ago we published a story in the REVIEW on how the Standard was pushing the sale of oil in China.

When the Standard Oil Company first went into China, it found that very few of the Chinese were using lamps of any kind. Nearly everybody went to bed when it grew too dark to work and they arose with the dawn. Later a few soon began to burn wicks stuck in old tin cans filled with oil, to secure a faint light.

A little red lamp was devised by the Standard Oil Company which sold in China at 7½ cents each. Thousands of these were given to the keepers of the temples, inns, etc., for the sake of the advertising that would accrue to the Standard. The first year 875,000 lamps were sold and 2,000,000 the year after, and oil sales went up by leaps and bounds. Lamps became the fashion.

Vice-President Bemis, of the Standard Oil Company, says:

"The lamp has promoted industry in China and been a great uplift to the nation. They couldn't work on their silk after 4 o'clock in the day before they had it. Now they can work into the night."

Mr. Bemis also reports:

"there was signed a few days ago what I believe to be the first PARTNERSHIP arrangement ever made between a GREAT NATION and a PRIVATE CORPORATION." Wall Street journals report that the Chinese government is "the junior partner" in this alliance.

The Sun, New York, says: "The work of development is to proceed under the Chinese-American Company, in which the Standard Company holds a large majority control, with the Chinese government sharing the profits of development as its partner."

The Standard gets the right of exploration and development in the two great

northern provinces to begin with, besides other provinces. It has the vitally essential privilege of building railroads and pipelines, in addition to the sinking of oil wells, establishment of warehouses, storage tanks, and all that accompanies oil development.

One of the most far-reaching grants is the guaranty of the government that it will assume control of all lands needed for this development, and, in turn, will give these to the partnership company.

In a few weeks, we are informed, the American petroleum experts will be punching holes in the ground and watching the first Chinese oil spout forth.

It seems to us that China is about to jump to the front as a modern nation in a very short time. We are not going to have to wait two or three hundred years for China to develop scientific socialism as some of us had anticipated. We shall not need to help along a backward nation. The Standard Oil Company will do that.

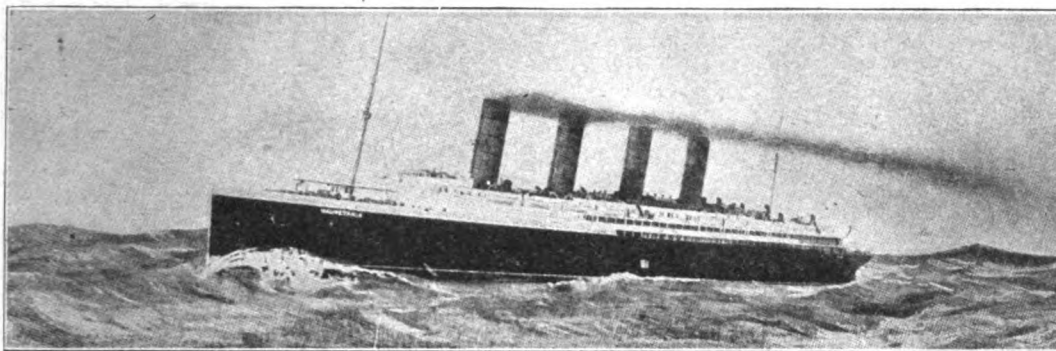
China is going to leap over the competitive system through which America and European nations struggled for many years. She is beginning modern industry on the most modern scale in the world. She will start at the topmost point we have been able to achieve and government ownership will facilitate development in every conceivable way.

Nothing will be permitted to stand in the way. All things will be brushed aside for the advance of industry. And capitalism will stand out, in China, in all her ugliness, very nude indeed. The Chinese government itself will exploit the Chinese people as they have never before been exploited. An army of propertyless, rebellious wage slaves will arise here as in every other modern nation, who have nothing to lose but their chains.

The prospects for a mighty army of Socialism in China are growing better every day.



THE NEW LIGHT OF THE EAST.



Are You Going to the International Congress?

THERE will be a larger number of people, representing a larger number of nations attending the International Socialist Congress to be held in Vienna, Austria, the 23rd of next August, than have ever been gathered together under the Red Flag before in the history of the world.

The Socialist Parties of all countries will send delegates. The Socialist Party in the United States will send nearly ten or more.

The REVIEW is making an offer that will give every hustling Socialist a chance to go if he, or she, wants to work a little for the chance.

Those who had already enrolled among the Squad have been sending in a good many subs, the past month and now that better weather is coming, a lot of the young folks have promised to roll up their sleeves and begin to rush them in.

Comrade Cash Webster, of Montana, writes that the boys are going to take subs and send them to us to be applied to the credit of a trip for H. U. Coster, who was the first, and for many years, the only Socialist in his district. Cash Webster and the comrades in Havre seem to have decided that they will **MAKE** the home Trail-blazer their representative. Why not do likewise in your own local? There are a lot of the old timers on whose foundations of a Socialist movement we are today building. Why not send them to Vienna as your representative? We would like to see all the Old Guard have an opportunity to see how the Socialist

movement has grown since they began to break the underbrush.

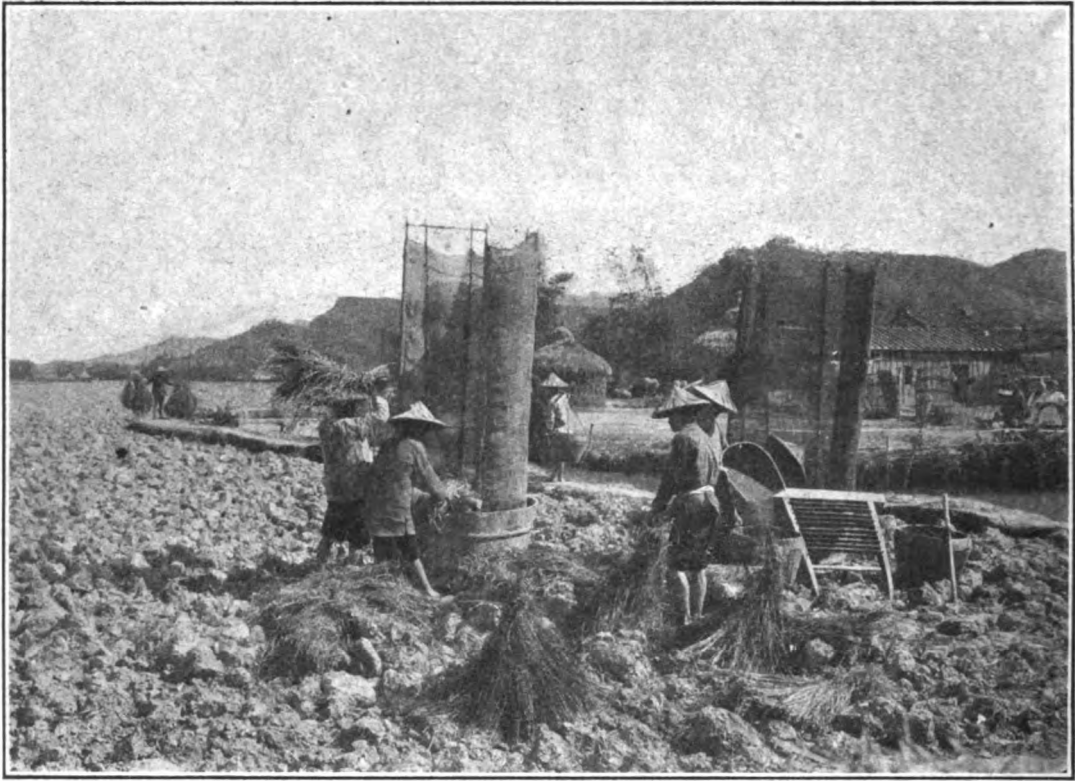
Comrade Root of Kansas City sent in an initial batch the first of the month, and James Davies, of Iowa, Michael Altschuler of 645 East Sixth street, New York, have both enrolled. Comrade Altschuler hopes to supply our New York friends in his district with copies of the REVIEW each month. Note his address given above.

Other new ones are Dr. Willett, of Helena; Comrade Brown of Iuka, Kansas; Paul Gabardi, Wyoming; H. C. Boecker, of Little Rock; Dr. Wilson, of Rodi, Pennsylvania, and Comrade Rustad of Thief River Falls. They are all making preparations to win the free trip to Vienna. Friends from Schenectady write that the local comrades are co-operating to make Comrade A. Wilson their representative.

Any comrade who wants to hustle a little can make this trip. We only ask you to send in 300 yearly or 600 six month REVIEW subscriptions to us at the regular rate of \$1.00 a year. We pay railroad fare from any point east of Chicago, to New York and back, steamship fares both ways, and railroad fare to and from Vienna.

There never was an offer like this made by any magazine. Get the support of your local and your county paper and earn a trip that will be an inspiration to you and to your local comrades.

Write for sample copies of the REVIEW and sub blanks and start getting subs now.



FARMING IN FORMOSA.

GLIMPSES OF FORMOSA

By Marion Wright

FORMOSA, island empire, taken from China by Japan following the war of 1895, lies in the China sea about 180 miles north of the Philippines. It is therefore a strategic nightmare to the military and naval alarmists of America, who overlook its rich capacity to support a billion people, and think only of how easy it would be for the Japanese army and navy, using Formosa as a base, to "strike" at the precious Philippines.

This ancient Chinese island province of Taiwan is undoubtedly one of the most favored spots on earth if we count soil, climate and the diversified character of the country and its products. The island is 250 miles long by about 80 miles wide. A mountain range running through its center rises at one peak to the height of 13,000 feet. Along the entire western

side is a broad, flat plain that rises gradually into the foothills. The southern end of the island is flat, while the lowlands on its eastern side are somewhat narrower than on the west. Thus it will be seen that the island of Formosa, like the State of California, for instance, possesses both tropical plains and mountain ranges of eternal snow, only a few miles apart.

The average reader, if he has thought of Formosa at all since his geography days, imagines it as a wild, rough place, infested by ferocious savages and perhaps strange fevers, but this picture fails to fit the Formosa of today. A modern railway train, equipped with Pullmans and dining car, now makes two daily trips all along its western coast.

The only dangerous savages are those



DAILY SCENE IN FORMOSA. DON'T THEY LOOK HAPPY?

in the impenetrable mountain fastnesses of the North. These are said to be the most implacable foes that civilization has ever encountered in the form of man. With characteristic courage and love of freedom of all mountaineers, they resist to the death the slightest advances made by those of the outside world. Many efforts have been made by the Japanese government to have them "put down" like we exterminated the Moros in the Philippines, but like the expeditions which Mexico used to launch regularly against her untamed Yaquis, they return cut to pieces, with but little to show what happened to the other fellow. The Formosan savages have been whipped into a comparatively small circle, and before long we may expect to hear of their annihilation by mountain batteries of Japanese artillery. Some of their neighbors of the south have but recently been in revolt, and an "example" will have to be made of some one.

The accessible portions of Formosa

now boast of many industrial developments and civic improvements evolved within the relatively short period of eighteen years, or since the taking of the island by the Japanese.

Of the 3,000,000 inhabitants about 100,000 are Japanese and Chinese. The natives do not at all resemble Mongolians, but are more like Malays or Polynesians. Control of all industries is, of course, in the hands of Japanese or Chinese. The natives go the way of their brothers of Hawaii, the Philippines and other conquered countries. They do the work, while their masters collect the profit, rent and taxes.

The city of Taihoku, the capital of Formosa, is joined by the ports of Tamsui on the west and Keelung on the north. Both may be reached by an hour's ride on the railway. For improvements of the city vast sums have been expended annually for years, and it is now provided with macadamized roads, electric lights, waterworks and several fine parks. The

Japanese government seems very anxious to make Formosa an attractive port of call, and offers every possible comfort and facility for tourists. The southern part of the island is the center of the sugar industry. Sugar, rice, tea, camphor and tobacco form the principal staple products, although every variety of European and tropical fruits and vegetables thrive in Formosa.

Modern methods are being applied to farming, and modern machinery used, and the business is on a rapidly increasing scale. Valuable timber and hardwood is obtained from the great For-

mosan forests; the variety being necessarily great, owing to the wide range of altitude and climate. Luxuriant, subtropical vegetation beginning in the low, warm valleys of the south, climbs to the foothills, changing with the height, and ends in a hardy pine on the rugged mountain top.

Formosa is an empire within itself, embracing as it does all the features of a great country, and only awaits the further development that is already well grounded, to take its place as a most important unit of the Far East.

BUSINESS AND PATRIOTISM IN JAPAN

By S. Katayama

LAST year Japan experienced a pure and simple attack on the bureaucratic powers. The result was a great democratic demonstration Feb. 10th, 1913, in the city of Tokyo when the political parties joined the people and the Katsura Ministry fell.

The present ministry was formed by Count Yamamoto, supported by Seiyukai—the liberal party originally formed by Prince Ito. The Seiyukai commands an absolute majority in the Lower House of Parliament, and nominally four ministers.

Many of us had thought this would bring peace to parliament. But it has turned out to be a most stirring session. Premier Count Yamamoto and the naval minister have been the objects of severe attacks on the part of almost everyone. The party that supported the bureaucratic government has now become an enthusiastic sider in the cause of the people.

And all these things have occurred through the recent exposure of Dr. Karl Liebknecht on the conspiracy existing between European manufacturers of war armaments and certain French and German newspapers which had been bribed to arouse the French and German people to a pitch of race hatred when they

would gladly fight each other to the bitter end.

Cable messages brought the news of the decisions of the Berlin Court to Japan, and one of the members of the Japanese Diet took up the case and interrogated the Premier and the Naval Minister. In spite of all these men could do to evade the matter, claiming they were only responsible to the Emperor and the Seiyukai, a part of the truth was discovered.

One cable after another brought us news of the German decision, which disclosed scandalous relations existing between our Naval Department and the Liemens Schuckert Company, a German firm manufacturing arms, with a branch located in Tokyo. Officers of the Naval Department have been receiving bribes from the manufacturers of the munitions of war.

The blackmailer Karl Richter, now made famous by his trial in Germany, stole valuable papers from Liemens. These he had photographed and then sold the originals to an Englishman, Andrew Pooley, the sole agent for another firm with a branch at Tokyo. Pooley extorted 25,000 yen from Liemens last October. The transaction was conducted at Yokohama, between Hermann, representing

Liemens, Pooley, and an interpreter of the German Consulate at the Port.

Hermann consulted with the Naval Minister, and the latter communicated the matter to the Minister of Justice and of the Interior. But nobody wanted the truth to leak out, so that Richter was quietly permitted to escape from Japan. The Japanese officials secretly "wiped their mouths" (as we say) and considered the matter closed.

All would have been smothered up if Dr. Liebknecht had not turned the light on these dark methods in Germany. And during the investigation there the truth about the Japanese officials was bound to come out also. Our Premier and Naval Minister were compelled to confess by the force of circumstances.

And this was a great thing for the working class in Japan. All has been done that is possible to arouse them to a feeling of patriotism and desire to fight for the glory of Japan. Now they were given an opportunity to see behind the show. The newspapers printed page after page about the scandal, and the people were aroused to the actual conditions.

Again, it was on the 10th of February—a year after the great popular democratic demonstration of 1913—that the Japanese people made memorable their strength in popular demonstrations. They demanded immediate action.

Pooley's wife, an English woman, at-

tempted suicide when her husband was put under arrest. Hermann and some of the Japanese were also arrested to await trial.

The Tokyo Prefect of Police secured original documents as evidence, and Shimada, who was speaking before the House, produced them. Word by word he proved the dishonesty of the Ministers.

In spite of all that could be done, however, the Majority Party voted down all resolutions on the affair and tried to bury the whole scandal. The Government and the Seiyukai won the victory over those who sought to impeach the guilty parties.

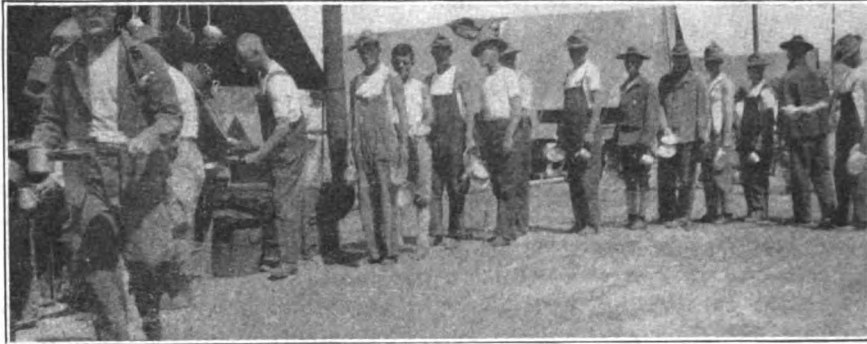
But 40,000 angry people stormed about, waiting the news outside the House of Parliament. When the outrageous word came forth, they began to push down the iron gates and force their way inside. Several hundred mounted police, who were inside, rushed up and a riot occurred, in which many were wounded by the sabers of the police.

One thing after another has occurred in Japan to arouse the people to the real conditions in society. The mask is being taken from the old institutions and they are becoming able to see correctly.

Already respect for the Army has nearly waned, and now that suspicions have been verified in the Navy, a great blow has been struck on the chains of workers of Japan.

COMRADE KATAYAMA WILL
CONTRIBUTE A SPECIAL ARTI-
CLE TO THE MAY REVIEW ON
"HOW JAPAN IS CIVILIZING
FORMOSA."

IN THE ARMY



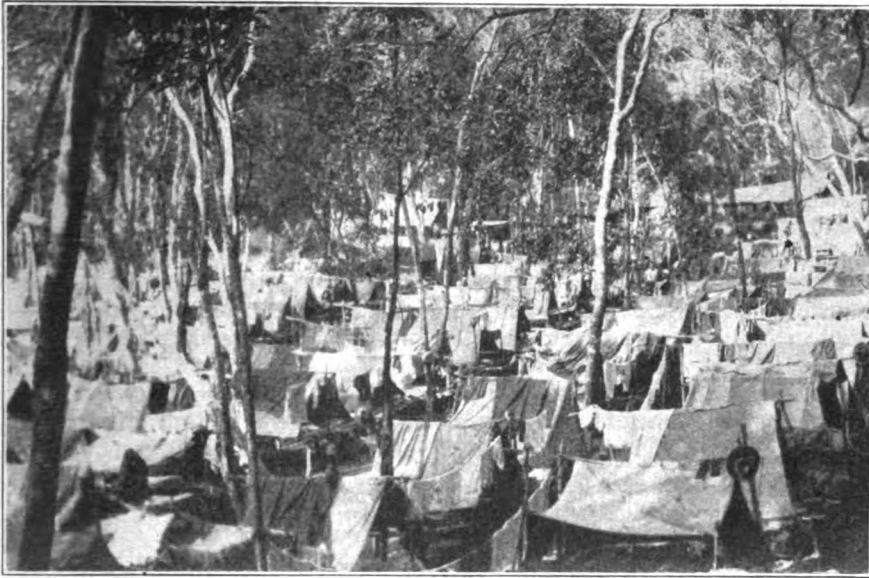
GRUB TIME.

WE have received several interesting letters the past month from soldiers in the Philippine Islands. The boys sent us the photographs which will appear in this number of the REVIEW. Most of these show the troops at work beneath the hot sun. One of our Socialist friends writes:

"If you know of anybody looking for work, tell them there is plenty of it here. Some of us left the farm to fight for the flag, and here we are digging ditches, building miles and miles of roads, cutting down and hauling hundreds of loads of timber, splitting carloads of wood. The work is familiar to many of us. Just now



AT WORK.



LEAKY TENTS TO SLEEP IN.

a detachment has been sent to 'take a few mountains of earth and level up the parade grounds.' In about four or five months they will be able to report the 'enemy vanquished.'

"Some of us have been at work for two months building a target for the officers

to fire 1,046 pound projectiles at from four miles across the bay.

"It's hard and hot work and the poorest pay imaginable but it is a lot better than being BEHIND the guns, or BEFORE them—when the Guns Begin to Shoot."



MORE WORK.

MOTHER JONES

By a Paint Creek Miner

Have you seen this aged fighter—fearless, dauntless, trusted, true—
She who dared defy the masters and their craven coward crew—
She who faced them, fought them, forced them to do things they would
not do?

Have you heard her—bold, defiant—telling slaves they should be free?—
Listen how that voice, O, Brother, thrills with Hope for you and me—
Listen to that voice and tremble, all ye mighty Powers that Be!

Do you think she fears the soldiers with their cruel, brutal way?
Many times, in countless struggles has she faced them, bent and gray,
Doing things men dared not think of, saying things men dared not say!

Always where the fight was thickest, lashing while her spirit loathes—,
Laughing in their very faces, pitying their gaudy clothes;
Aged breast to dare their bullets, silver head to dare their oaths.

How they fear her, how they hate her—hate her kind and timeworn face.
How they rush armed mobs to meet her when she moves from place to
place—,
Bristling bayonets and sabres working shameless, deep disgrace!

How they guard that frail bent figure as they would some mighty foe—;
Lock her in some loathsome prison—gag the mouth that vexed them so—;
Send out lies by all their henchmen lest her angry sons should know!

When she sees a mine-guard near her then her heart's hot fires blaze,
Cows she down the rat-faced bully with her steadfast woman's gaze—
Tells him things that he'll remember to the end of all his days.

Tells him of the sleeping village riddled by his murderous lead;
How he beat the helpless children to an icy hillside bed—
Kicked the young expectant mother 'till her baby was born dead!

When they had us in the bull-pen often would our spirits fall,
Thinking of the wrongs they'd done us, 'till we heard her bracing call:
Cheer up, boys, were going to lick them, lick them soon, God damn them all!

She is fiercest in her loving when the greedy bloodhounds stir,
Then her mother instinct threatens each hyena-hearted cur—;
Ah, a million grimy miners would lay down their lives for her!

Mother never quibbles with us when our tactics are not "right,"
Mother only blames and censures when we falter in the fight—,
Says the shortest way's the quickest with our undivided might.

Mother speaks our language—knows us—knows our faults and knows our
worth;
She has lived and suffered with us from the hour of her birth.
She's a mother to each miner, everywhere on all the earth.

Years ago we called her "Mother," now today it's just the same,
 Nothing else is so expressive of her loving, fighting fame—
 Nothing else would do but "Mother," therefore "Mother" is her name.

Some day in the golden future, when our fight is past and won,
 Men will make her deathless statues mark the good that she has done,
 So that all may know and love her as she loved her every son.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Frank Bohn

THE working class movement in America naturally takes three forms:

1. The development of the labor unions toward solidarity and revolutionary tactics.

2. The conquest and use of political power through the Socialist party.

3. The education of the working class through the development of the public school system.

Of these the last is at least as important as either of the other two. The best answer in three words to the question, What is the matter with Mexico? is *No public schools*. A farming class which cannot read and write is bound to be ruled by a feudal upper class. Among an illiterate wage-working class a democratic labor movement is, of course, impossible.

In scores of communities the Socialist party is today electing its candidates to positions on the school boards.

As members of municipal and state legislative bodies Socialists are brought constantly into contact with this most important problem. Unfortunately, almost nothing has been done by the Socialist party in the way of helping such officials in the performance of their duties. The problem is worthy of the best thought which can be given to it. This contribution will have failed utterly of its purpose if it does not urge many readers of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW to a deeper study of the educational problem.

The Working Class Child at School

Statistics upon this subject, abundant in the many public reports upon the mat-

ter, but which we shall refrain from lack of space from quoting here, indicate an appalling situation as regards the education of working class children in the United States. Only about half of the children under sixteen years of age really attend school regularly. Even so, the school rooms are over-crowded and in many cities tens of thousands of children are being given only half-time instruction. The teachers are shamefully underpaid and overworked. With few exceptions the school equipment is totally inadequate.

In private schools the expense of education, per child, is often from five to ten times what it is in the public schools. If the working class child, on leaving school for the factory at the age of fourteen, can write legibly and read a newspaper, he may consider his educational start in life as good as the average. In New York City, where the schools are much above the average of the country, classes of young children sometimes number sixty. Of course that number of pupils makes any real education impossible.

The Greatest of Industries

In the public schools of America there are about 20,000,000 children and 600,000 teachers at work. Today they are in a condition of industrial slavery and intellectual perversion, quite as unbearable as obtains in any of the directly productive industries. Thus in the schools there are three times as many people employed as are engaged in agriculture, fourteen times as many as there are at work on all our railroads, and twenty-five times as many as dig in all our mines. For this colossal

army the Socialist party demands industrial democracy and intellectual freedom.

To fight the forces of greed and oppression this army of teachers and the parents of the children must enter the political conflict of the classes. To Socialist teachers, were all other arguments for political action overthrown, the political aspects of the education industry would make class conscious voting necessary upon the part of the working class. In this field the coming economic organization of the teachers must go hand in hand with the political organization of the workers.

More—More—More

The first effort of the Socialist member of the school board must be directed toward securing more money for the schools. What is to be taught and how it is to be done are secondary problems. The first thing essential is to pay the teacher a living wage. That annual wage surely should not be less at present than that of a carpenter or first class machinist. Therefore, if a carpenter or machinist receives \$3.50 per day, the lowest paid teachers in the public schools should receive a minimum of one thousand dollars a year. We are not now discussing the condition of teachers under Socialism, but suggesting immediate action for Socialist and other intelligent members of school boards.

A decent wage will permit the employment of first rate instead of third rate brains. The services of those brains, having been engaged, can be retained only by a steady increase of wages during the first five years of their work. Teaching should be a life job, as it is in Europe. At least half the teachers, of course, should be men. But practically all the able-bodied men of average mind soon leave teaching and take up the study of law or medicine or go into business. As for women teachers, they, exactly like shop girls, seek a way out of their drudgery through marriage. Now, a woman who has been married for five years, with a child or two of her own, is undoubtedly much more valuable as a teacher than she was before marriage. Her knowledge of life, especially her sympathetic understanding of childhood, has been greatly developed. If women teachers were per-

mitted to marry and keep their jobs men teachers could marry them and not be driven into some other profession to support their families.

Beside higher wages for teachers, Socialist members of school boards should advocate a large increase of the teaching force. Ex-President Eliot has declared that in the primary grades fifteen scholars are all that a teacher can adequately attend to.

This means that in the average American city the number of primary teachers would have to be at least trebled. The inadequacy of our school buildings in number, size and construction is too well known to need emphasis. Beside every building for school classes there should be constructed another building of equal size for play and organized athletics. The terrible physical deterioration of the working class might be considerably checked at once if means for the physical development of children during all seasons were supplied. The free playgrounds of cities should be established in conjunction with school buildings and placed under the direction of the school management.

Form of School Government

Revolutionary Socialism demands that the workers be given collective control of their jobs. This principle should obtain in the public schools as well as in other industries. Our public school system is to be one of our departments of Socialist industrial government. It now bids fair to be the first department of industry in which a measure of democracy may be realized.

What sort of a system should the Socialist member of the school board strive to obtain?

Every such Socialist board member should advocate and assist in the immediate organization of the entire teaching force into unions. The teachers of the community will necessarily be organized into locals, according to the nature of their work. The kindergarten teachers, the grammar grade teachers, and the high school teachers should each have their separate local. However large or small the community, the teaching force requires organization not only for its own protection but for an intelligent and pro-

gressive administration of the schools. Within five years the political progressives of all varieties will probably accept this principle in part. So in the organization of the new school administration we face not a theory but a condition.

The school board as at present elected and organized represents the tax-payers of the community. Their business is first of all to guard the interests of those whom they are chosen to serve. They must keep taxes as low as possible by paying low wages and spending as little as they can for buildings and equipment.

They must also furnish contracts for the political grafters of the machine in power. Further than this their administration of the school system is now seeking to develop the school "plants" into factories for the production of cheap brains in the wages market. This matter we shall discuss more at length further on.

A Socialist school board will represent the parents of the working class children in the schools. It should be the chief work of such a board to serve as a connecting link between the school teachers and the school children on one hand and the community on the other. The school teachers, having legislated as to what kind of buildings, equipment and playgrounds they need for their work, the school board should secure the funds and provide the said buildings, equipment and playgrounds. With that their work stops. While the board might well be given the veto as regards some features of school management, it should never assume the initiative. The government of the schools themselves, the course of study, in fact, the whole system of school organization

and administration, should be under the control of the teacher. For a committee of the school board to interfere with the general conduct of the school is as dangerous to their efficiency as for the board of directors of a railroad to tell a train crew how to run its train. As a matter of fact all the really valuable work of school administration is today performed by the school superintendents and their assistants. Wise school boards already keep their meddlesome hands out of affairs concerning which they can be but inadequately informed. Instead of having an autocratic school superintendent as at present, the Socialist school system would have such superintendents elected by and with the consent of the teachers, to act only in connection with their central committee.

Nor does democracy cease with the all pervasive power of the teacher in school administration. The schools are established not for the teachers but for the children. The development of the free mind begins, of course, the day the child is born. The present is witnessing, for instance, the abolition of the club in the teaching of children. This is a revolution as great in its essence as the abolition of chattel slavery or of trials for heresy in religion. Children in really modern schools are now taught, individually and collectively, to rule themselves. The evolution of this method in teaching will make it in our generation a primal force in the movement of the workers for industrial freedom.

Boys and girls who practice democracy in the schools will not tolerate slavery in the shop.



HOMELESS MEN SLEEPING (?) ON FERRY BOATS—NIGHTLY SCENE—NEW YORK CITY.

The Catholic Church and the Unemployed

ON Friday night, March 6th, a crowd of over five hundred unemployed men stood for two hours in the chill drizzle of rain and snow on the streets of New York City because it had been announced that speakers would tell them how to improve their condition. Among these were Lincoln Steffens and Leonard Abbott, editor of Current Opinion, who declared that the arrest of some of the unemployed the night before was an outrage.

Frank Tannenbaum, a young man of twenty-one, a member of the I. W. W., had suggested that the starving fellows who could get no work should go to the churches and ask that they be permitted to sleep there or that, at least, some food be given them.

Several churches were appealed to and one and all gave SOME kind of assist-

ance to the men who appeared shivering, coatless, soxless and very often without underwear.

It was not until they appealed to the St. Alphonus Roman Catholic Church that any real trouble began. The Catholic Church not only refused to give them any aid of any kind, but ejected them from the church and had many of the starving applicants arrested.

Young Tannenbaum was arraigned in the Jefferson Market Court and held over to the grand jury on a charge of inciting to riot. Magistrate Freschi ruled that the twenty-one year old boy was to be held responsible for every act on the part of the pleading group of workless unfortunates. Of the 190 arrested, all were diligently searched by the police and it was found that ONE man actually possessed money in his pockets. Now it is claimed

that Tannenbaum and his fellow-conspirator, Hamilton, have been making false pretences.

The trials of three members of the unemployed army were held before Magistrate Campbell. They were tried on a charge of disorderly conduct. Isador Wisotsky, who is nineteen years old, was given sixty days in the workhouse. The attorney who appeared for the prisoners said, "I think leniency should be shown this boy. He is young and I think we should be proud of him because of the interest he has taken in attempting to help solve the problem of the unemployed." But the judge was obdurate.

The second prisoner was a Catholic and received a sentence of only ten days.

During a wrangle between court and counsel over witnesses, the attorney said:

"These men are charged with disorderly conduct simply because they went to a church and asked for bread."

The papers say that the rest of the hungry men will be tried in batches of from fifteen to twenty.

A promise has been extended to many of these of getting off if they will swear to the names of those who suggested that the unemployed ask help from the churches.

The wife of one of the prisoners, with her baby, came to the court and begged that something be done for her and the child. It was found that her small household belongings had been set out upon the street.

Frank Tannenbaum did just what Jesus Christ would have done if he had been in New York. The men heard him and hoped that those who declare that all men are brothers would help them in their extremity. Some few churches actually DID see that they got at least ONE course of ONE square meal. It was the Catholic Church that gave their brothers a "stone," that had these unhappy men arrested and imprisoned.

The following account of the invasion of the church by the hungry men is taken from the *Live Issue*, a Catholic daily, published in New York City, under the guise of a reform sheet: "Down the middle aisle the mob tramped, uttering boisterous and uncouth language. As

they reached the altar, Brother Adrian confronted them with trepidation and referred them to Father Schneider.

"My name is Tannenbaum," said the leader of the L. W. W. crowd. "We have come in here to sleep. Can we do it?"

"No, you cannot," replied Father Schneider.

"You cannot profane this church. The Blessed Sacrament is here. You must leave."

"We will die before we will let you stay," muttered Brother Peter, who stood near the priest.

"While this scene was being enacted in St. Alphonsus Church the telephone wire communicating with Police Commissioner McKay was busy. It developed that several detectives were in the midst of the crowd.

"One hundred and ninety-one prisoners were taken to the nearby stations.

"Tannenbaum was arraigned before Magistrate Campbell on the charge of inciting to riot and for unlawful entry. The magistrate fixed his bail at \$5,000 and that of the others at \$1,000."

Under the caption, "A Priest Starts the Machinery of Law," the *New York Sun* commented on the incident as follows:

"From the day when the Industrial Workers of the World first assailed the peace of the country the Catholic Church refused to be misled as to the purposes of this organization or to condone the methods of its leaders because of the professedly philanthropic objects of its crusade. In the latest manifestation of its revolutionary propaganda in this city it remained for a priest of the Catholic Church, first to assert the rights of order against disorder, to refuse to submit to its threats, and to treat its blackmailers as they deserve.

"Father Schneider's duty to his church jumped with his duty as a citizen. He failed in neither. He did not temporize or parley. He took with commendable promptness the one course that can end the menace that weak sentimentality has allowed to grow up in the city. He sent for the police, and the invaders of his church, with their mockeries of religion on their lips, were taken to the cells where they belonged.

"A priest has put in operation the machinery to suppress their portentous and carefully contrived onslaught on the institutions of law and order. It remains for the police and the courts to see that its authors receive punishment their conduct merits, in which notice will be served on all agitators that this city can and will defend its respectable population in peace and security."

"A fig for those by law protected!
Liberty's a glorious feast!
Courts for cowards were erected,
Churches built to please the priest."
Robert Burns.

US, THE HOBOES

Covington Hall

WE shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the world in awe,
We shall trample on your customs and shall spit upon your law;
We shall come up from life's desert to your burdened banquet hall,
We shall turn your wine to wormwood, your honey into gall.

We shall go where wail the children, where from your race killing mills
Flows a bloody stream of profits to your cursed insatiate tills;
We shall tear them from your drivers in our shamed and angered pride
With the fury and the fierceness of a fatherhood denied.

We shall set our sisters on you, those you trapped into your hells,
Where the mother instinct's stifled and no earthly beauty dwells;
We shall call them from the living death—the death in life you gave,
To sing our class's triumph o'er your cruel system's grave.

We shall strip them of their epaulets, the panderers who fight
Your wars against the workers for a bone on which to bite.
We shall batter down your prisons, we shall set your chain-gangs free,
We shall drive you from the mountainside, the valley, plain and sea.

We shall hunt around the fences where your ox-men sweat and gape
Till they stampede down your stockades in their effort to escape;
We shall steal up through the darkness, we shall prowls the wood and town
Till they waken to their power and arise and ride you down.

We shall send a message to them on a whisper down the night,
We shall bid the warrior women drive the ox-men to the fight;
We shall use your guile against you—all the cunning you have taught—
All the wisdom of the serpent to attain the ending sought.

We shall come as comes the cyclone,—in the stillness we shall form,
From the calm your terror fashioned, we shall hurl on you the storm;
We shall strike when least expected—when you think toil's rout complete
And crush you and your Hessians 'neath our brogan-shodded feet.

We shall laugh to scorn your power that now holds the world in awe,
We shall trample on your customs and shall spit upon your law;
We shall outrage all your temples,—we shall blaspheme all your gods,
We shall turn the old world over as a plowman turns the clods.

STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON IV—Continued

The Materialist Conception of History

By J. E. Sinclair

ELEVEN years after Marx and Engels first reached in a definite form the materialist conception of history Marx wrote in the introduction to the Critique of Political Economy, the following: "In making their livelihood men enter into certain involuntary relations with each other, industrial relations which correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its material productive forces.

"The totality of these industrial relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond.

"The method of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political, and intellectual life process in general.

"It is not men's consciousness which determines their life; on the contrary, it is their social life which determines their consciousness.

"At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the old conditions of production or, to use a legal expression, with the old property relations under which these forces have hitherto been exerted. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into fetters of production. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic basis the whole vast superstructure undergoes sooner or later a revolution.

"The industrial relations rising out of the capitalist method of production constitute the last of the antagonistic forms of social production; antagonistic not in the sense of an individual antagonism, but of an antagonism growing out of the social conditions of individuals.

"But the productive forces which are developed in the lap of capitalist society create at the same time the material conditions needed for the abolition of this antagonism. The capitalist form of production, therefore, brings to a close this prelude to the history of human society."

But why this stress upon the materialist conception? Would it not be better to go ahead and plan the co-operative commonwealth? My dear utopian fellow worker, it has been told in a previous lesson how things went when some of the finest minds in the world planned co-operative commonwealths. You cannot monkey with social forces any more than a novice can play with electric wires. You must understand the laws that govern their operation. The materialist conception reveals to us the law of economic determinism and traces the sources of all social changes to their economic and historic origins. It shows us that no power is of any use to an oppressed class unless it first acquires control of industry. With this control the social superstructure reared by their former masters passes away, at least that part of it that ceases to function. "Active social forces," says Engels, "work exactly like natural forces; blindly, forcibly, destructively, so long as we do not understand and reckon with them."

Historical materialism teaches us that men ordinarily act in accordance with their economic interests when not under the influence of the ideals of some illusion. It reveals the nature of the illusions and forces that bind the working class in slavery. It teaches the working class to examine critically the morals, creeds, philosophies, laws, and institutions of the master class and to see in them instruments for the economic aggrandizement

of the masters. It teaches them to see their interests as a class in bitter conflict with the masters whose every gain is a loss to labor. It teaches them that the power behind the political throne is economic power that is born of the control of the means of production. It teaches them that their only hope for freedom is in so organizing themselves that they may control industry.

More than that, it points the way to victory. We have seen in a former lesson how the development of power production has brought about vast social changes, how it has made production a social process, how it has organized and officered the working class into vast armies of industry, how this wonderful technical development has created on one hand a vast army of the unemployed and on the other hand an owning class that, thanks to a technically trained working class, no longer functions in directing industry. In the economy of man as in the economy of nature when an organ ceases to function it must go. Senile decay is already setting in and the second generation of the master class is weaker morally than the first and the third is festering in corruption. All the workers now need is intelligent industrial solidarity. Economic forces have compelled the growth of a vast system of industrial production, socially operated by salaried superintendents and hired workers, but owned by social parasites. These same economic forces are now pressing the workers forward to victory. The seizure of industry is the secret of their emancipation.

Let me urge upon the student that he read very carefully Kautsky's "Ethics and the Materialist Conception." The last two chapters, "The Ethics of Darwinism" and "The Ethics of Marxism" are indispensable to an understanding of what the materialist conception means. The student should also read carefully the prefaces to the first volume of Capital, pages 11 to 39. Would it be infringing upon your patience to ask you to read again Engel's "Socialism Utopian and Scientific?" Ferri's "Socialism and Modern Science," especially the last chapter, is good. Lida Parce's "Economic Determinism" and Labriola's "Essay on the Materialistic Conception of History" are also worth careful study.

As this is being written three million men are starving, many of them with wives and children, here in America. What message have we as students for them? Shall we ask them to wait until the next election and then trust to the orderly, legal arrangement of their food getting? Shall we send them to the sanctuary of some god or to the blood stained chambers of government for immediate relief? Or shall we apply the facts that we have learned? Shall we show them that their only hope is the acquisition of industrial power, that the ethics of the master class, the laws of the master class, the government of the master class are just so many links in the chain that binds them? They are hungry. They cannot wait or they will die! As I sit here far off among the giant forests of Washington, idle men go past my window, hungry men call at the back door for bread; and from the hell holes of industrial infernos of the East come wafted on every breeze the cry of the anemic child, the cry of the little one gone to a cold bed hungry. Fellow students, what shall we tell these people to do? Patience to starve in the presence of that bursting warehouse! Patience to study on an empty stomach! These are capitalist virtues especially constructed for the working class. Is our Socialist philosophy helpless in the face of hungry men? Three million hungry men divested of all respect for capitalist ethics need not starve. The materialist conception points the way to food getting even in emergencies. In the class war we ask no quarter. The whole power of capitalism is now organizing for our destruction. My utopian Socialist comrade, what shall we tell these hungry men to do?

SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY

For the student who has the money, the following books will not be amiss: "The History of Great American Fortunes," 3 volumes, by Myers (published by Kerr & Company, \$1.50 per volume); "The Workers in American History," by Oneal (Kerr & Company, paper 50 cents, cloth \$1.00); "Industrial History of the United States," by Coman (published by Macmillan Company, New York, price \$1.50); "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States," by Beard (Macmillan Company, New York, price \$2.25); "Industrial History of the United States," by Bogart.

The student must by this time have come to recognize the fact that a knowledge of the industrial development of any given period of history is basic and imperative if we wish to understand anything of the political, intellectual, and artistic life of the time. The effect, for instance, even of the invention of the cotton gin on industrial England and its political life, its effect on the slavery question, on religion, and even on chemical research can be traced. We can also see as we study this one invention how it came about as the result of other inventions as a sort of historical product, answering imperative needs. The effect of the application of steam power to industry was almost incalculable. In the first volume of Marx' Capital you will find a careful study of the machine process and its effects upon society. Chapters XIV and XV are the best to study now.

Topics for essays, short speeches, or discussion: Social changes made possible by the discovery and use of fire. 2. Effect of the domestication of animals. 3. Shattering the ancient freedom. 4. The inevitability of slavery. 5. The beginning of politics. 6. The materialism of Epicurus. 7. Stoicism and Christianity. 8. The ethics of Darwinism. 9. The animal origin of the social impulses. 10. The roots of the materialist conception. (See "Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History," by Kautsky, page 105 to 123.) 11. Social evolution and technical development. 12. Economic reasons for the changing tenets of morality. 13. Social needs and moral standards. 14. Economic reasons for the French Revolution. 15. Economic reasons for the American Revolution. 16. The great man theory in history making. 17. Organic evolution and the materialist conception. 18. Why the Constitution of the United States is a dead letter.

Questions for review: (Write the answers to these before the club meets. First, read everything that you can get your hands on that in any way deals with the subject.) 1. Give examples of social impulses among animals. 2. What relation exists between these and food getting? 3. What do you understand by conscience? 4. If men act in accordance with their economic interests, why do the working class permit others to live on them? 5. In what way do you explain the existence of the feudal church in a capitalist age? 6. Do ideas always keep pace with technical progress and economic evolution? 7. Do institutions always adapt themselves readily to industrial changes? Give illustrations. 8. Under what illusions do the working class labor today? 9. Compare the Eskimo moral tenets with those of civilized society. Wherein do they differ? 10. What relation exists between religion and

morality? 11. Does industry control politics or does politics control industry? 12. Can President Wilson and Congress "control" the trusts? 13. Can any president or congress abolish the trusts? 14. According to the materialist conception of the State is a superstructure reared above and dependent upon a system of exploitation? The State is thus a sort of by-product of present capitalist industry. Then where would the workers wield the most power, by controlling industry through an economic organization that aimed at emancipation of the workers or through political action that aimed at the same results? 15. In the world as we find it today, which force is the stronger, the officers of the government or the captains of industry? Give proof for your answer. 16. Compare the work of Marx with that of Morgan in regard to historical materialism. 17. Is the development of technic sufficient to explain the social organism of any given period? If not, what other factors enter into the shaping of ideas and institutions? 18. Is human nature the same in all ages? 19. The church is a part of the superstructure of capitalist society. Would you advise the workers to capture it so as to help on the work of emancipation? 20. If the state is in part an economic power, is not the ballot box a weapon for the workers? 21. Should the worker ignore any method that may hasten their day of freedom?

Questions for debate: Resolved, That industrial development has been the dominant factor in history.

2. Resolved, That the present stage of social evolution makes an industrial democracy a necessity in order that there may be further progress.

3. Resolved, That this industrial democracy can be brought into being simply by passing laws favorable to the workers.

4. Resolved, That the militant workers should not be allowed to discuss militant methods of emancipation, but should confine their discussions to methods for capturing the now corrupt capitalist state.

5. Resolved, That political power is worthless without a militant industrial organization.

6. Resolved, That the starving workers who are now thronging our cities should be organized for mutual aid and for the stifling of capitalist industry until they can be fed.

7. Resolved, That it is wrong for a starving worker to steal or to violate any of the laws made by the capitalists who profit by his misery.

8. Resolved, That the materialist conception of history is a necessary part of the mental equipment of every revolutionist.

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—EXPRESS PREPAID—



CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY

THE GRANDMOTHER OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

By E. Roubanovitch

IN a few months, at the International Congress, in Vienna, we are going to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the first International. I wonder whether there is today, within the thirty national sections of the second International, one single figure which incarnates more completely our world-wide movement than that of the "grand old woman" who bears the name of Catherine Breshkovsky and whose seventieth birthday has brought together all Russian Socialists and caused them to set aside for a few days at least their theoretical discussions and distinctions.

Risen from the ranks of the highest nobility, the daughter of a Polish boyard and a Russian princess, Breshkovsky was nineteen years old when serfdom was abolished and since that day she has given herself body and soul to the service of the people.

For the first six years of her militant career she shared the illusions of the intellectuals of the period and, trusting the liberal sympathies expressed by the government, never overstepped the boundaries of "law and order" in her propaganda work.

But, when she came to understand that

the actions of the property-owning classes were but a sham and a lie, behind which was hidden the horrible exploitation of man by man, then Breshkovsky, who was acquainted with the principles of the first International, with the ideas of its leaders, the doctrines of Marx and specially the ideals of Michael Bakunin, became inspired by the heroic example of the men and women of the Commune. She left her class, SIMPLIFIED HERSELF and went to the people for the propaganda of the class struggle and through word and deed she appealed to the people to revolt against a social and political system based upon the exploitation of labor.

She became a revolutionary Socialist. Her organization, which started with some ten members, soon became so numerous that the government was compelled to mobilize the police in 34 provinces to arrest its leaders. It took the government three years, during which all of the suspects were kept in prison, to select from the incarcerated comrades 193 special victims, and at the head of these the first place belonged to Catherine Breshkovsky.

This happened in 1878. Sentenced to the penitentiary with ten of her comrades, Breshkovsky drew up the now famous will in which she bequeaths to the youth of forthcoming generations as a holy legacy the task of bringing to an end the mission which she assumed in 1870. Then she went, loaded with chains, through the stages of that terrible journey so wonderfully described by Tolstoi, to that Siberia from where so few come back.

But the Socialist movement was not brought to a standstill by this persecution. Zemlia I. Volia, Navodnaia Volia, Social Democracy, Revolutionary Socialism, such are the various phases through which the movement passes and in which Breshkovsky, from the depth of the penitentiary and the seclusion of her deportation, takes a leading though indirect part.

After twenty-two years of this infernal life, worse than death itself, Breshkovsky recovers her liberty. Then we see an old woman respectfully and lovingly nick-

named by her comrades, "Babouchka" (the grandmother), starting the battle anew with the enthusiasm of youth in order to fulfill the life-work she assumed a quarter of a century ago, the propaganda of the principles of international and revolutionary Socialism amongst the peasants.

The historian of the future will tell of the superhuman task accomplished by this wonderful woman. Be it enough for us to state that that part of the Russian reports presented to the International Congresses of Amsterdam and Stuttgart, which concerns the peasants, was written by Catherine Breshkovsky.

For obvious reasons connected with the special character of the Russian movement I cannot enter into details as to the nature of the activity of our comrade within the party. At the very moment where the whole of willing, thinking and struggling Russia is going to unite in a celebration of her seventieth anniversary, she is in jail. "Babouchka" is closely watched by armed soldiers and probably on the eve of receiving an additional sentence for the attempted escape which stirred the civilized world a few months ago.

Arrested by the police in 1907 through the interference of the ignoble secret service man and "agent provocateur" Azéf, Breshkovsky was sentenced in 1909 to deportation for life in Siberia and removed to Kirensk, of which her presence alone made the holy city of political exile. From there she tried to escape to carry to the world the recital of the terrible sufferings which the Socialist exiles are compelled to endure.

The whole Socialist International will, no doubt, join the Russian section in its united feeling of love and respect for this heroically courageous woman, and send her brotherly and enthusiastic greetings of comradeship, while expressing the wish that she may soon recover her liberty for the good of the toilers of city and country to whom she has dedicated all the resources of a personality so wonderfully endowed with noble thoughts and the unselfish devotion wanted to realize them.

ORATORY

By John P. Altgeld

FROM THE PUBLIC

(Continued from the March Review)

PART TWO

Abstemiousness

SELF-DENIAL and self-control are essential to achievement. Great endurance is impossible where there is great indulgence. Cold water, temperate habits and exercise give firm fiber and a clear brain.

The appetites give no inspiration and kindle no fires, and their free gratification weakens the body and chokes the soul. Stimulants do not feed, they do not build; they simply borrow of the future; they simply consume.

Oratory demands the greatest possible service by the higher faculties. Where these are stupefied by indulgence, or the body is weakened by dissipation, no great height can be reached.

All these things considered, I should say let liquor alone. Under no circumstances touch it just before speaking. Speaking is itself a stimulant; and if a man is master of his subject, the mere act of talking will soon make his soul glow.

If in addition to this he takes an artificial stimulant, the effect of his double stimulation will be to burn up his vitality at once, and at the end of twenty minutes he will be exhausted and will simply gasp and flounder through the remainder of his discourse.

If, at the conclusion of the speech, the speaker finds that his clothes are wet with perspiration and he is exposed to danger of taking cold, then a little stimulant may be taken to advantage.

But even this must be done with caution, otherwise the stimulant will burn up more vitality and leave him in a still more exhausted condition, so that when he steps on the platform the next day he will do inferior work.

Avoid drinking water during a speech for it will injure the throat. Never wrap or muffle the neck when out of doors for this opens the pores and exposes to cold. Simply turning the overcoat collar up against it is all the protection it needs, and this leaves the air free to circulate around it.

The speaker's vitality must be treated like a bank account. It should be drawn on with great caution and then replenished at once. A recumbent position is necessary for quick restoration. Whenever a speaker has an hour's time during a campaign let him go to bed and sleep if possible.

The exigencies of his art demand excellence. This requires the highest possible service by every faculty, and if there has been an expenditure of nerve force—whether by labor or by indulgence—which has not been completely replaced, then some of his faculties will not fully respond, and the speech will drop to the grade of mere utilitarian talk.

When on the road during a campaign a speaker must practice as severe a regimen as a prizefighter who is in training. He must be careful about his diet, his sleep, all his habits. Otherwise the irregularity and exposure incident to such a life will soon so jade him that he will give only a common sort of draft-horse performance. He must be as fastidious about himself and his speech as a prima donna is about herself and her song.

Hospitality

When on the road, speaking one or more times every day, a speaker cannot accept hospitality. If he does his speeches at once drop to a lower level. As a rule if he will lock the door of his room at a

hotel he can rest better and make himself more free and at home than he can at the house of a friend.

If, after speaking at night, instead of going to bed, he accepts an invitation to the club and chats for an hour and takes a drink or two, his speech the next day will be inferior. *Isolation is the price of greatness, and the stars are all the friends an orator needs.*

Handshaking

Always avoid the crowd. Only candidates are required to submit to promiscuous handshaking.

A half hour's handshaking before speaking will so reduce the vitality, or take the fine edge off the nerve system, as to make the speech tame.

Let the speaker constantly bear in mind that the very people who exhaust him with their handshaking will not forgive him for making a poor speech. He is there to talk, not to shake hands. He should never apologize for being ill, or unprepared. An audience wants to hear a speech, not an apology.

Clothes

The speaker should be so dressed that neither he nor his audience will be made conscious of that fact that he is wearing clothes. He must dress plainly and neatly. New clothes or very poor clothes are apt to attract the consciousness of both speaker and audience, and thus weaken the effect.

Censorship of Speeches

Theatrical troupes and opera troupes rehearse almost daily in order to keep up the tone of the performance. While this is not practicable in the case of public speakers it would greatly increase the reputation of every speaker and help his cause, besides benefiting the public, if he could be accompanied by a severe critic who would carefully note his delivery and afterwards require him to rehearse those parts that were not well delivered.

When a speaker has been engaged in a campaign for some days his sentences get as badly out of form as his body; and his words, like his clothes, get road-worn and dusty. The high finish, the delicate touches, the pathos and the fine sentiments disappear. How guard against this?

While he must adapt himself to the needs of the occasion, and cannot always tell just how much time he will have or what topics he can discuss, he can resolve that whatever he does shall be done well.

When both body and mind are tired inspiration lags, and a special effort must be made. The mind needs food on the road as well as the body; and it is necessary for a speaker to read each day at least a page of polite literature so as to imbibe the spirit of the author, or else read a short discussion of some great principle so as to get elevation of thought, and thus keep his own speech on high ground.

Lawyers

"If our sole material for thought is derived from law cases the gloss of our oratory must of necessity be rubbed off, its joints must grow stiff, and the points of its wit be blunter by daily encounters."

So wrote Quintilian eighteen hundred years ago, and this language has more force today than it had then.

The matter-of-fact proceedings in our courts have a constant tendency to sink to the level of wrangling, which makes the countenance hard and the mind crabbed and unfit for great achievement.

To overcome this lowering tendency, the ancient advocates studied poetry, dialogue, history, painting, sculpture, nature, and whatever tended to ennoble the mind. Nothing better has ever been suggested, and some such course is vital.

Other things being equal the lawyer who does this will, in a few years, greatly distance his companion who does not do it, for the latter will not only cease to grow but will shrivel.

It is a fatal mistake to suppose that the business of the courts no longer calls for oratory. The style has indeed changed, but the essence is as much in demand as ever.

A clear, forceful, eloquent and convincing talk to either court or jury is more needed now, and will produce greater results and larger rewards, than at any other time in the history of jurisprudence.

Great Subject—Pettifogging

The subject-matter of a speech must be great or there can be no oratory. Great principles of justice, of government, or of human happiness, must be involved.

The speaker must appeal to what is just, what is elevated, and what is noble in man.

A covert defense of wrong, no matter how shrewd or adroit or clever, can never command respect.

Pettifogging is always on a low plane; instead of elevating and ennobling both speaker and audience as oratory does, pettifogging shrivels, belittles and degrades.

No man who is willing, for fee or reward, for promotion or honors, to act the part of a pettifogger, can ever stand for one moment on the great platform of oratory.

Sincerity and intense earnestness are the essence of oratory, and the mind that is trained to make a plausible defense of a doubtful case unconsciously loses this essence. *The orator must be absolutely independent, even though he have neither bread to eat nor shoes to wear. Great manhood must go with great oratory.*

In America we have a class of men who are called corporation lawyers. They are men of force, ability and shrewdness, and are employed by the corporations because they are recognized as strong lawyers. (I am not speaking of lobbyists.) Many of these men before entering the service of corporations gave promise of eloquence, but none of them has risen to the plane of oratory. Even when brilliant and on the right side, there is something about their efforts that smacks of insincerity. While these positions have been sought because the salaries are large, I believe the judgment of mankind will be that these able men paid too much for their pottage.

Justice, Not Expediency

Justice, not expediency, must be the guiding light. The orator must fix his eye on the pole-star of justice, and plough

straight thither. The moment he glances toward expediency he falls from his high estate.

The world's great pathos is on the side of the masses who are doing the world's work and making civilization possible. They are the children of God.

The orator must feel their sufferings, their sorrows, and their joys. Here alone does soul respond to soul.

The men who eat bread that is earned by the sweat of other men's brows are unresponsive and incapable of high sentiment or deep pathos.

Wealth and fashion may be inviting and present a beautiful picture, but the divine fires do not burn there.

All the great speeches ever delivered were protests against injustice and appeals for the public welfare. Generally they were on the losing side. Defeat is often the baptism of immortality. James Russell Lowell summed up the whole history of civilization when he penned the lines:

Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne—

But that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown

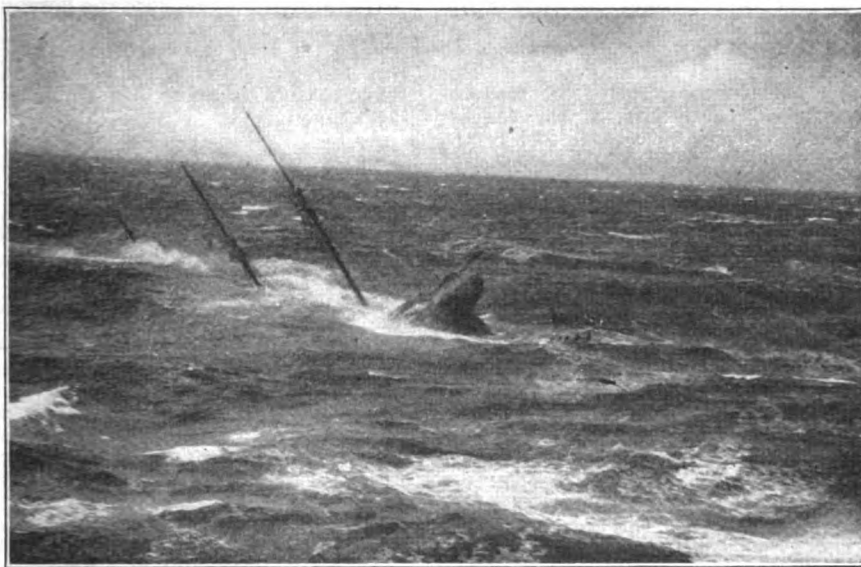
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch upon His own.

Let the would-be orator remember that he lives but once in this world, and therefore cannot afford to waste any time or effort on behalf of injustice, for it will pull him down. He breathes the atmosphere of the plane on which he stands, and if that plane be low the poisons will destroy him.

If he would reach the highest estate possible on this earth he must stand resolutely with his face toward the sun; and when the cry of oppressed humanity calls for sacrifice he must promptly say, "Here, Lord, am I."

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The Only Case Where Sailors Have a "Right to Quit."

CLASS STRUGGLE NEWS

The New Seamen's Bill.—There goes a wise saying amongst the French seafarer that is: "The Revolution has passed, but the galley slave stayed"; this is true not only in France but all the world over.

While the workers on land have wrestled themselves out of serfdom, the seamen by international laws are still attached to and transferred with the ship until she reaches the home port, which gives the sailors a chance to be attached to another ship.

The main causes are that labor struggles for the betterment of working conditions cannot be fought in mid-ocean and that the sailors have practically no right to vote.

There is now a bill pending before the Congress that might bring some changes for the better. Considering that this bill comes from a capitalist government, it is clear that it has not been made to help the seamen, but to give new life to the American shipowners; the seamen benefit incidentally from it, because it cannot be helped.

The main feature of this new bill is to give the American ship owners an equal chance for the first time since 60 years by cancelling certain special privileges now enjoyed by the foreign merchant marine in competition with American ships.

The case is thus: The economic law governing wages of seamen is exactly the same as that governing wages of any other class of workers. Their wages depend upon the

port in which they are hired and sign shipping articles, regardless of the nationality of the vessel, and the wages in that port depend upon the standards of living in the country where the port is located.

Imagine two ships, one flying the American flag, the other a foreign flag, moored at the same dock in New York. The crew of the American vessel has been hired in New York at American wages, that of the foreign ship in some low wage port in Italy or Spain. The two crews come into contact, each discovering the wages and conditions of the other.

What is the natural result? Unless prevented by force, the crew of the foreign vessel would either get the same wages as paid on the American vessel or they would quit. The foreign shipowner would then have to hire a new crew at the wages of the port, not as the result of any organized action by the men, but as the result of individual desire inherent in human nature to improve one's lot.

The foreign owner would have gained no advantage by his refusal to pay higher wages to the crew he brought here. Under such conditions ordinary business sense would quickly induce him to pay his crew in accordance with American standards, in advance of arrival in an American port, as the only way to retain their services and thus avoid the cost involved in delaying his vessel to hire a new crew.

Now the "special privileges" are the means by which, while in our ports, foreign ships are enabled to forcibly hold the crews secured at the lower wage rates of foreign ports. Under treaties and statutes, the U. S. Government uses its police powers, at the request of foreign ship owners, to capture and return seamen who attempt to quit the service of "their ships." Thus the wage rate of foreign ships is forcibly kept lower than that prevailing at American ports.

In case this new bill becomes law, the sailors hired at low foreign wages, will have the "right to quit" in the American ports, and this is why foreign ship owners and Americans interested in foreign ships, so furiously attack the bill.—By E. F. Dredenov.

Catering Workers.—E. L. Pratt, formerly of South Africa, now in England, where he is working for an International Federation for Hotel Workers, has sent us a copy of his lively little propaganda booklet on the Miseries of the Hotel Worker and How to Cure Them. He also sent us a short article on this subject which lack of space compels us to cut down. He says: "Intelligent trade unionism has learned most from its own failures. Let there be no mistake about the ultimate futility of sectional and isolated strikes. The 'down dishes' and 'down napkins' campaign may have forced better conditions for a time; in one or two areas a lasting impression has been made. Even with the aid of our most powerful organization, the campaign failed of its main objects. The hotel trusts were stronger than the hotel slaves. The small union is helpless. The unsupported strike a ridiculous fiasco. We are forced now to work for a great International Federation by which we can forge an unbreakable chain of our interests as workers throughout the whole world.

"How greatly times have changed in the last few years is proved by the fact that the employers are blessing and in some cases, actively supporting what they style 'old style trade-unionism.' No doubt the trade unionist has no objection to the 'old style employers.' But the one-gun capitalist no longer exists. The hotel and restaurant trusts are concentrating their resources more firmly every year. We have to remember that the greatest asset of capitalism is the ignorance and division of the WORKERS. We must set our faces against the suicidal practice of splitting our forces into independent, and often 'hostile,' groups. We cannot afford to be independent of each other.

"Of what use is it to fight for a standard in the hotel trade of London which may be flouted in Paris and ignored in New York? While the employers are able to recruit their staffs from almost every capital in the world, it is our business to have an efficient organization in every capital in the world, pledged to maintain the standard and present a fighting front to the enemy. We want to congratulate Comrade E. L. Pratt and the comrades in Africa for the splendid movement they are

forwarding. We feel sure the hotel workers in England and America will be interested in joining the International Federation. Mention this to your hotel working friends and ask them to root for One Big Union at all their local meetings."

The I. W. W. and the Shingle Weavers.—A great strike is looming up here on the coast. A year ago the Shingle Weavers' Union benevolently took all the loggers and mill workers under their "jurisdiction." While many of those in the move were actuated by a certain class consciousness, there was undoubtedly behind the scenes a plot to head off the I. W. W. in the logging industry where they were growing rapidly. But the I. W. W. fighters joined the new organization and still kept their I. W. W. cards up their sleeves. The result has been a boring from within that really has bored. At the last convention the demand for an eight-hour day was too much for the stand-patters of the old piece-working scab school and it was decided A. F. of L. fashion to call a strike on the first of next May. This fairness to the employers was very gentlemanly.

The employers, finding in the coast cities hordes of unemployed, tried a new stunt. They began organizing hobo unions. At public expense or at their own expense buildings were donated to these unions and every encouragement given them to go ahead and organize every "hobo." Even the sentimental Socialists thought that this was the beginning of heaven here on earth.

Not so the I. W. W. This heroic bunch saw an opportunity. One by one the members slipped into the hobo union until a good chorus of rebel voices was heard singing in the hobo union.

During the last two weeks, however, it has transpired that the manufacturers had been counting all the time on the hobo union to scab during the eight-hour day strike that was due to arrive per schedule. In Everett, the Robinson Manufacturing Company started in firing their regular union employees. Then the remodeled Shingle Weavers' Union declared a strike. Over two hundred men walked out. An invitation was extended by Robinson to the Hobo Union to step in and scab. But nothing doing. The idea of solidarity had been fully developed. Not a man responded.

I consider this the most hopeful thing that I have seen for years. In the meantime the International Union of Shingle Weavers, Millmen and Woodsmen is developing revolutionary strength and clearness that accounts for a new bitterness that is developing among the masters.

The Case of the Hop Pickers.—All California is up and in arms over the case of the Hop Pickers. The unions of San Francisco alone have contributed over \$1,000 to their defense at a new trial. And organized and unorganized labor everywhere is collecting funds to help the convicted boys along.

Recently an invaluable contribution to the

facts about the causes of the Wheatland Hop Pickers' Strike and the responsibility of the Durst Brothers therefor, has appeared in the report of Dr. Carleton H. Parker, of the California Commission on Immigration and Housing and professor of economics at the University of California.

With the public mind aghast at the revelations in this report of the indignities forced upon the unorganized and helpless hop pickers at the inhuman greed of the Durst Bros., reformers, scientists and political leaders and politicians alike are pledging themselves to the abolition of such conditions.

But the men, Ford and Suhr, without whose acknowledged courage, brains and leadership such conditions, would still be unnoticed by those in positions of power—these two men are condemned to the living death of life imprisonment. The following quotations are taken from the report on the Durst Ranch, made to Governor Johnson of California:

"There were about 2,800 men, women and children camped on a low, unshaded hill. The estimates for women and children vary from 1,000 to 1,500. Many of the children were infants in arms. A great number of the hop pickers had no blankets and slept on piles of straw thrown onto tent floors. Before these were ready, many slept in the fields. One group of 45 women and children slept closely packed together on a single pile of straw. At least one-half the campers were absolutely destitute and those who got an opportunity to work were forced to cash in their checks each evening to feed tent companions.

There were probably nine toilets for 2,800 people. By the end of the second day the seats, scantlings and floors were covered by a semi-fluid mass of filth. Children were seen about the camp in an unspeakably filthy condition since it was not possible for them to use any toilet without befouling themselves. An important part of the hop fields were more than a mile away from the wells but despite the heat, no water was transported to the pickers. By noon under the hot sun beating down on the still air held between the rows of vines the 200 to 300 children were in a pitiable condition because of lack of water." All signs point to a popular awakening in California that shall secure the release of the convicted boys.

From Ireland—Jack Carney of the Irish Transport Workers' Union sends the following

letter which we think is more than worth while to reprint in the REVIEW: "I see friend Bohn has been dealing with the conference of December 9. He has been grossly unfair in his article, due, I believe to an insufficient knowledge of the facts. He writes about Jim Larkin condemning the trade union leaders here and would leave one to suppose that Larkin had no reason for so attacking them.

"When the Irish workers had been three weeks locked out and at a time when every support was needed, we had the trade union leaders stumping the country denouncing our methods, J. H. Thomas, M. P., and Williams, of the National Union of Railwaymen, advising men not to have anything to do with our trouble, in other words, to scab like hell. They were told this was no affair of theirs.

"We had the spectacle of Philip Snowden, M. P., writing to the capitalist press denouncing our methods. We had Havelock Wilson advising men to work with scabs and, in fact, the men of his union did some of the scabbing. We had some trade unionists, like the Society of Carpenters and Joiners, building shops with blackleg timber. In fact, every trade union outside our own, was ENGAGED IN ASSISTING THE DUBLIN EMPLOYERS.

"The spirit that aroused men to send food ships was fine, but the spirit of the leaders who kept the rank and file at their work, was hellish. There are still over 4,000 men and women locked out. If the workers of Great Britain could only realize the true faith of solidarity, the dispute would long since have been settled.

"Some day the workers will realize that the day of CRAFT organization will have to give way to the day of CLASS organization. My God! the workers here have had enough experience to show them the failure of SECTIONAL UNIONISM. Friend Bohn says the conference was one of the tragedies of the labor movement. It WAS a tragedy. Here was an opportunity for the workers to show the capitalist class their real strength. But no; the capitalist press described it as a gathering of sane delegates.' Need I say more?

"I have traveled England up and down in behalf of Dublin and come in contact with the rank and file and know how they were bamboozled. The conference was a meeting of undelegated delegates. If any of your readers care to help Dublin—then Liberty Hall, Dublin, will find all dollars sent."





Using the Dictating Machine.

MODERN OFFICE MACHINERY

By

James E. Griffith

THE business phonograph, a machine made expressly for the purpose of handling correspondence, is now used in most large offices to replace the shorthand writer. It records the dictator's voice on a wax record, which is then taken from the dictating machine and placed on the machine of a transcriber, who proceeds to type the matter recorded on the record. An economical shaving device can be purchased with the phonographs and the records can be shaved and re-used one hundred times, so that the cost of the records really does not amount to more than the cost of supplying notebooks to the shorthand writer.

ONE OF THESE DICTATING MACHINES, COSTING EXACTLY ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REPLACES PERPETUALLY IN A MODERN OFFICE, ONE EXPERT STENOGRAPHER, COSTING ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS A MONTH. THERE ARE AT LEAST A DOZEN OTHER MACHINES NOW COMING INTO COMMON USE WHOSE EFFECT IS TO THROW OFFICE WORKERS OFF THE SALARY LIST AND INTO THE STARVATION ARMY.

These machines are causing an entire revolution in the method of handling correspondence and also in scientific office management. The plaint of the business man who had stenographic work to be

done was that he was unable to find high grade stenographers. But the modern office manager, the "scientific efficiency expert," in the application of "scientific office management" to his business, has found how to avoid this difficulty.

Machines the Solution

The shorthand reporters of the courts throughout the country had long since discovered a solution of the problem of inefficient stenographic help which faced the business man. When the reporter was in court for four or five hours taking shorthand notes it was necessary for him to spend three or four times that long to transcribe them himself. Or it was necessary to sit at the side of a typist and dictate to her. Of course, this latter method was inconvenient to the reporter, because he had to waste almost as much time waiting for the typist to "catch up" as it would take him to transcribe the notes. And the strain of taking and reading his own notes made it almost impossible for a busy reporter to transcribe them himself.

In searching for a solution of his problem, he became acquainted with the phonograph or dictating machine. He found that by simply reading his notes into one of these machines, as fast as he could talk, and sending the records as they were finished to typists—who would put them on other phonographs set to reproduce the dictation—he could divide

his work up so that two or three typists would be transcribing at the same time he was dictating, and he would thus be able to finish up his work in a very rapid and efficient manner.

So, likewise, the office manager found that the dictating machine would solve his problem. But unlike the court reporter he was not willing to pay a good salary for this character of work. The very nature of the service required by the reporter made it economical and necessary for him to hire the highest grade typists and to pay them on a piece-work basis, because of the fact that speed and absolute accuracy were the first essentials of his profession. He could only get the kind of service he required by making such an arrangement. On the other hand, the office manager found that where it formerly took the services of five fifteen-dollar-a-week men or women, making a total expenditure of seventy-five dollars a week for stenographic help, he could now hire five girls at a salary of eight dollars a week. And by having them use the phonographs, these eight-dollar-a-week girls would turn out as much work as the high grade stenographers had been able to do, and at a saving of thirty-five dollars a week in his expense account.

Half the Stenographers Lose Jobs

Or the office manager could dismiss half of his force of experienced stenographers and the remainder would be able to do as much work as the whole force had formerly done, using the dictating machines. He found that by buying enough of the machines to keep the operators busy at all times, he could thus increase the work produced *one hundred per cent*. The operator's whole time was now occupied in transcribing dictation, and transcription from the machines could be carried out at a considerably more rapid rate than from either notes or copy. And in addition to this he found that the phonograph would record dictation at a much faster rate than any stenographer could, and reproduce it with absolute accuracy. It always "got you." It never missed a tense—it never skipped a syllable. It could not transpose. And in addition to that it was always "on the job" day and night, to take his dictation whenever he desired it, and the records could be turned over to the typist during

the day, and thus keep the typist busy from the time she reported at the office in the morning until she went home at night. The office manager can now make a machine of the operator. When the operator reports in the morning, regardless of when the boss arrives, she immediately goes to work and transcribes the "canned" notes until lunch time; after luncheon the work is resumed and the typing is continued until quitting time.

If the typist does not want to become a machine and complains, the manager simply says, "Well, you can quit, I can easily find somebody to fill your shoes." And so he can. He simply has to call the typewriter company's office, and the employment department will put him in touch with another typist within a half hour. There are hundreds waiting at all times, and all glad of an opportunity to go to work.

There are now in operation, in Greater New York alone, more than twenty thousands of these business phonographs. The stenographers and typists, realizing the dawn of a new era, are forced to overcome their dislike to being made machines of, and a great many of the most competent, educated shorthand writers are now forced to do phonographic transcription work, because of their inability



Transcribing Notes.

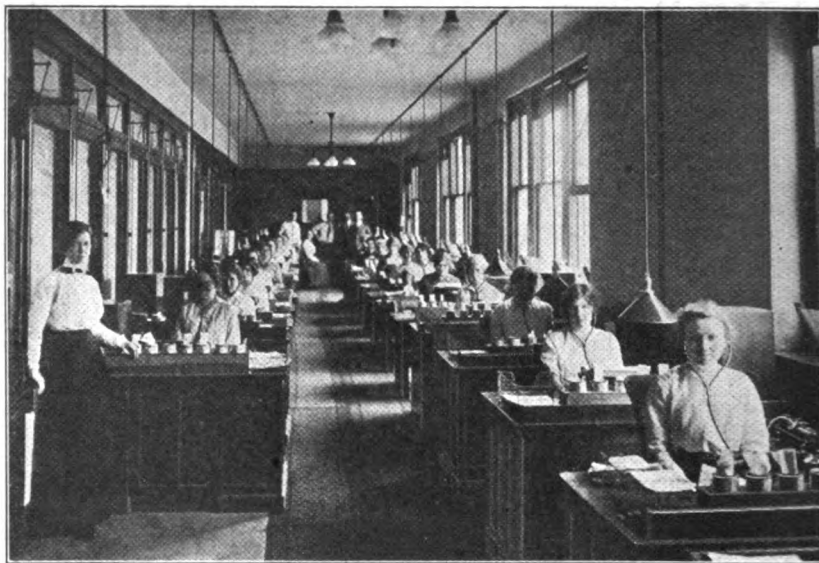
to secure positions as shorthand writers which pay a living wage. The regime of the stenographer, excepting, of course, the professional reporter, is surely passing.

But the modern office manager has not alone confined his attention to the stenographer and typist. He has made his inroads into the clerical and bookkeeping forces as well.

And here again machinery has been his greatest aid. One addressing machine with an office boy to operate it, will replace the services of a dozen clerks who addressed envelopes by hand. The machines for the reproduction of facsimile typewritten letters have entirely revolutionized the circulation departments of large offices. One of the machines will replace dozens of typists. And office boys can operate them efficiently. The adding and calculating machines have likewise caused similar changes in the accounting departments.

The invention of modern bookkeeping systems has almost eliminated the ordinary old-time bookkeeper. This position in the modern office is now filled by mere clerks. And dealing, as each clerk does, with only a certain portion of the accounting, and then reporting summaries to a confidential head accountant, the firm's affairs are only at the disposal of this head accountant.

These conditions lessen the opportunities for the trained bookkeeper, unless he can qualify as an expert accountant, by lessening the number of real bookkeeping positions to be filled, and increasing the number of positions in the accounting departments of large corporations which can now be filled by untrained help at considerably lower salaries than it would be necessary to pay to trained men.



A BATTERY OF TRANSCRIBERS AT WORK.

The "clerk" does not need be able to figure accurately, or even to write a legible hand. He has machinery to do all of this for him. He simply needs be a machine operator. And the machines are so simple that anyone can operate them. The only essential requirement of the clerk is that he be able to read. He can learn to be as efficient in a few weeks through the use of modern office machinery as if he had put in years of study at mathematics, penmanship and business practice. The head accountant will supply the business practice for him, and the machines will write and calculate for him.

And so, if, on a stormy winter night, you should chance to walk down and scrutinize the faces of the men in the bread line, you will see among the long-shoremen and the teamsters, the stenographer and high class accountant, each glad to get his midnight chunk of bread and tin cup of black coffee. And don't forget! For each man in the bread line there are two girl stenographers out of a job, shivering in some hallway over night, "cleaning up" in some public washroom and hurrying with empty stomachs and aching hearts to the employment agency of the typewriter company or the Y. W. C. A. Vain hope! Her job is gone, and gone forever—while the machines are owned by the capitalist class.

EDITORIAL

Why We Look Ahead and Smile

THERE is a popular superstition to the effect that Socialists are gloomy prophets of evil and woe.

But this is a ridiculous mistake. Socialists as a class are the most optimistic people on earth, and with good reason. By Socialists, in this connection, we mean not those who happened to vote the Socialist ticket last election; we mean those who understand what the Socialist movement means and are fighting for it.

We Socialists look ahead and smile because Marx and Engels have taught us certain things about the motives of human actions that as yet are not generally understood, and are particularly misunderstood by the average priest or preacher and the average politician.

Now listen; it may seem a little hard to grasp at first, but get a good hold of it and it will make a thousand things clear to you that now seems badly mixed.

People's ideas of right and wrong, also the sort of government they set up, the religion they invent or accept, and the social customs they observe,—all these are directly related to and changed by the changing methods in which these same people get a living. Change the way in which people get their food, their clothing, their shelter, and you will change their whole outlook on life.

People are surprisingly alike in many, many things, and the better we know them the more points of likeness we find. All "good" people want to eat frequently. So do "bad" people. In the latitude of Chicago all villains want clothes, so do heroes. Few indeed there are who don't "know enough to come in when it rains," always supposing they have a place to "come in." Every brilliant man who finds himself without such a place thinks about ways and means to get it. So do all dull men who are not total idiots.

Every normal man through the greater part of his life feels strongly attracted toward the opposite sex. He may

through education or religious belief be ashamed of this attraction, but he feels it. Most women feel a corresponding attraction, though this is sometimes suppressed through early training. Finally, nearly every mother feels an overwhelming instinct to care for her child.

All these instincts are necessary to the continuance of the human race. People who do not share them are not likely to survive long enough to leave offspring; thus the instincts tend to become fixed in the race through heredity. And it is to be observed that whenever certain people find it possible to gratify these instincts only with a good deal of difficulty, their thoughts are mainly taken up with ways and means for gratifying them, and they think of little else. On the other hand, when life is easy for any large class of people, experience shows that some of them will use their surplus energy in a way to increase the sum of human knowledge and human happiness.

But the great mass of people, the ones who really do the things that make social changes, care very little about theories of any kind. They are too busy chasing jobs or fighting for better pay and shorter hours. Yet all the while their daily struggle for material things is making them over from contented slaves into restless world-builders.

"You can't change human nature," say the reactionaries. No, *you* can't change it, but the machine process can change it and is changing it. Until Ivan Slavinski was twenty years old, he worked on his father's little farm in the old country, loved his relatives, hated the Jews, and let the village priest do his thinking for him: he didn't require much. Now Ivan is working for the Steel Trust. He doesn't like the work, nor the hours, nor the pay. Neither do his shop-mates. They are talking things over in many languages. They think of striking but they know jobs are scarce and police-

man's clubs are hard. So they are waiting, but some time they will grow tired of waiting; they will strike. If enough strike and stick together, they will gain better pay and shorter hours; if only a few strike they will be forced back into the mills. All the while they will be learning the new ethics, no longer of obedience to the priest and the boss, but of rebellion and of class solidarity.

The same human instincts that in the past made them good slaves will in the near future make them good rebels.

The Catholics charge our Socialist "Leaders" with a dark and bloody conspiracy against religion and morality. Some of the "Leaders" or of those who imagine themselves "Leaders" respond with indignant denials. It is to laugh.

The old religions and their morality are being undermined not by the propaganda of us Socialists, but by the new conditions under which the workers get their living.

Ivan's father saw no possible chance for much happiness on earth and was therefore willing to obey the priest in the hope of heaven. Ivan and his growing boys see big chances for happiness right ahead, to be won by a united fight against the capitalist class on the part of the working class. They have not yet reasoned this out, but they feel it in the air; they are growing restless.

We Socialists *have* reasoned it out, with Marx's help, and that is why we look ahead and smile.

Why Catholic Workers Should Be Socialists

The Knights of Columbus and the Catholic Church have started upon a nation-wide campaign against Socialism. We must fight back with the weapon of education. **Mary E. Marcy** has written a booklet suggested by an attack in "The Live Issue," (Catholic) on her article in the International Socialist Review. In it she shows why Catholic Workers Should be Socialists, and answers the Catholic arguments on wages and profits, "free love," reforms, war and patriotism, the class struggle, strikes, private property, confiscation and religious freedom.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

"Popular Instinct" and the African Outrage.—It is the London Times which says in this connection: "The popular instinct is right, as it is apt to be in these matters of life and death." That the British working class has shown preference for life rather than death is beyond a doubt, and the fact that a great capitalist organ is willing to acknowledge that the prejudice in favor of life may be justified is proof enough that it must have been shown in very effective manner. The working class is never right until it has got the other fellow down.

We recorded last month how nine South African labor leaders were forcibly deported from home and country by the Union government. This happened on January 27th. They arrived in London on February 24th. The intervening period was devoted to vigorous agitation by our English comrades. The storm of protest raised in the little old island is the best proof we have had of the soundness of the English people. They have a good deal of fight left in them.

A quotation from the Clarion will show how Englishmen look at the thing: "The infamy of it! Thirteen years ago we poured out blood and treasures 'to save the British miners' we were told, 'from the oppression of Boer dominion.' Now the Boer generals with 70,000 Burghers drive unwilling Englishmen back to work at the point of the bayonet, and British soldiers, lent by the son of the great Liberal statesman, stand by to shoot down those who may dare to resist!

"If British trades unionists tamely endure this attack on their Transvaal comrades' most elementary liberties, they may expect before many days to feel the arbitrary lash of despotic brutality flaying their own backs."

News which reached England in advance of the deported men tended to fan the flame of indignation. In the first place there came a formal signed statement from the officers of the Federation of Trades and the Labor Party of South

Africa. This statement proves beyond a doubt that there was not at any time danger of a "revolution." What there was danger of was the crushing out of the South African labor unions. Since the terrible massacre of unionists last July the unions have grown by leaps and bounds. It is said that the railway union increased from 3,000 to 15,000 members within a few months. So strong has this union become that it was able to elect one of its own members on a commission which was to investigate last summer's strike. Something had to be done. Before the commission was ready to report the government discharged nearly 500 railway workers, for in South Africa the government runs the railways. This was done at a time when the railway shops were being overworked and half a million dollars worth of rolling stock had just been ordered from foreign factories. The union tried in every possible way to arrange the matter, but when a strike was threatened the union secretary was thrown into jail. The government was evidently bent on forcing a struggle before the union became stronger.

The story of the actual struggle, including the muzzling of press and speech by means of martial law, was told last month. All that needs to be added now is this official statement made by the union officials: "There is the gravest reason to believe that the crisis was deliberately sought and prepared for by the government, in order once and for all to kill the labor movement. As it has been an essentially law-abiding and constitutional movement, this could only be effected by suspending the law. It is a deliberate effort to suppress political opponents by removing the leaders and terrorizing the rank and file."

Upon the arrival of the deported labor men in England vast indignation meetings were held in various large cities. The men were entertained by the Labor members of Parliament in the banquet hall of the House of Commons. And on Sun-

day, March 1st, 100,000 English workers assembled in Hyde Park, and, speaking from different platforms, all nine of the victims of injustice spoke at once to the throngs which crowded round.

Here was announced the plan which has been formed for joining the labor forces of the British Empire in the struggle which is to ensue. English agitators are going to South Africa to help in the fight. A cable despatch announces that Tom Mann is to be among these. Whether this report is correct or not, it is certain that General Botha and his crew of governmental hooligans have stirred up such a mess as may well make them wish they were well out of it. No doubt the old Times is right when it says English workers feel that "a blow has been struck, not at trades unionism only, but at the very heart of civilized democracy."

No Compromise in France.—"We Anglo-Saxons" are always inclined to be suspicious of the French. Even those of us who are Socialists have sometimes felt that our French comrades are either too revolutionary or too much given to compromising with mere radicals. And it must be confessed that in the past there has often enough been excuse for this feeling.

But it is about time to get rid of it. The Socialist congress which met at Amiens on January 25th, was as clean and straight as anyone could desire. The main thing on the program was the problem of compromise. To form a block or not to form a block; to form election agreements with the radicals or to go it alone—these were the questions debated. And though the resolution adopted seems rather long and complex, all that it means is that the Socialists are going to fight for Socialism and not for something else.

The political situation of France is a ticklish one. There is a strong group of genuine reactionaries, anti-republicans. After the radicals brought about the separation of church and state in 1904-05, these reactionaries got into power. They finally succeeded in passing the law raising compulsory military service to three years. This raised the annual budget several hundred million a

year. And it was on the matter that conservatism went to pieces. To raise the money the ministry had to propose new taxes. The middleclass rebelled. The radicals went into power. But the money had to be raised somehow. The radicals were forced to bring in the old finance bill with a few changes.

Here matters stand at the present time. And the parliamentary elections are at hand. Monsieur Briand, the renegade Socialist, has formed a new radical party. With the new enthusiasm for reform it was thought the Socialists might be carried off their feet and persuaded to form a block with the other parties of the Left. By doing so they could undoubtedly have a share in the next government. And they could surely head off the reactionaries. They could also aid in introducing proportional representation, a reform for which they have labored these many years. And, of course, there is the hope that they might even be able to repeal the three-years law before it has gone into effect. They could, moreover, rescue the schools from the miserable Chauvinists, who are now trying to crush the life out of the teachers.

Under these circumstances the representatives of the French party met at Amiens, * * In the discussions, which extended over several days, three groups appeared. The first group, led by Paul Hervé, fought vigorously for a block. Hervé explained that he and his friends had always been in favor of useful action rather than consistent theory. This devotion to action formerly led him to rise violently against the government; now it led him to desire to combine with the liberal forces of the bourgeoisie and work for reforms within the government. There is something extremely illuminating about this declaration. Direct action and political compromise are both directed toward getting "something now." The second group, also small, was led by the Guesdists. Comrade Guesde himself was kept away from the congress by illness, but he was ably represented. This group opposed voting for any but Socialists even on the second ballot. The third group, including the great majority of the delegates, favored a straight Social-

ist propaganda, opposed the formation of a block, and favored voting for the best radicals available in cases where the Socialists have no candidate running in the second election.

The resolution embodying the views of this third group was finally adopted unanimously. A few quotations from it will show where the congress stood. "It is necessary that the Socialist Party appear with a policy which is clear and unmistakably Socialist, established on the basis laid down at the International Congress of Amsterdam. . . . The Party declares definitely against the re-establishment of a block, which could do nothing but weaken its character and its doctrine and reduce its vigor as a fighting force." The resolution goes on from this point to explain that Socialists are definitely in favor of anti-militarism, free schools, tax reform, electoral reform, etc., but that it favors these not so much for their own sakes as because they make for the realization of the Socialist ideal. The opinion is expressed, moreover, that even these reforms will be most helped, not by confusing compromises, but by a clear drawing of lines between issues and parties. The resolution then continues: "In the first election the Party will have in each district a candidate representing its propaganda and its doctrine in its entirety. In the second election it will lend all its force to those who may be depended upon to check the militarist reaction. Not recognizing any obligation except to the proletariat and the Socialist cause, but not separating this cause from that of the republic, of peace, and of the separation of church and state, whenever it sees no prospect of a direct victory, it will give its help to the candidates of other parties in proportion to the vigor and the clearness with which they have opposed the three-year law, militarism, chauvinism, and the coalition of church and state." The remainder of the resolution outlines the machinery whereby the will of the congress is to be put into effect.

This may sound like a feeble conclusion. But anyone who reads the discussion which preceded the adoption of the

resolution will not so regard it. Many speakers made it clear that to them the election is in the main an opportunity to make converts. And all spoke vigorously in favor of proportional representation, which, of course, would put an end to this business of a second election. And there is to be no bargaining; the Socialists are to vote for Radicals in the second election only when they have no chance themselves.

The Labor Party Congress.—The annual Congress of the English Labor Party met at Glasgow on January 27th. Nothing noteworthy occurred there except a demonstration against the atrocities in South Africa. This incident served to raise this congress above the usual Labor Party level. Socialist observers reported a general improvement. They say there was more freedom from bureaucratic control than has been noticeable heretofore. This freedom did not, however, take form in any astonishing action which can be reported to those who were not present.

HA! HA! SAY WE

No other magazine in America had as much written about it in the newspapers last month as did

THE MASSES

which is an impudent, frank, arrogant, entirely free revolutionary monthly, containing the most remarkable illustrations being published anywhere.

Yes, the newspapers printed yards about the Associated Press "criminal libel" suit against Editor Eastman and Cartoonist Art Young and lots of brickbats and some orchids were hurled at the audacious Masses.

Did you notice that 2,000 people packed Cooper Union, New York, March 5th, pledging support to the Masses' fight for free press? Wonderful demonstration!

By the way, do **YOU** get the Masses?

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NEWS AND VIEWS



Have You Seen This Boy?—Louis Venger of Uniontown, Pa., left home two months ago. His parents are anxious to know where he is and what he is doing; will send money and clothes and will not come after him or interfere with him in any way. Help the boy get into communication with his family again. Show him this notice or send any news of him to I. Venger, General Delivery, Uniontown, Pa.

way. Help the boy get into communication with his family again. Show him this notice or send any news of him to I. Venger, General Delivery, Uniontown, Pa.

A Fine Start on a Socialist Library.—Comrade Hurn of New Castle, Pa., rounded up a bunch of yearly readers for the Fighting Magazine. As a result we sent him \$9.50 worth of our standard cloth bound Socialist books by express free of charge by way of premium. This shows what a live comrade can do.

On the Job in Alaska.—Enclosed find money order for the amount of \$10.75. Five dollars is for the renewal of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and \$5.75 for the twelve volumes of the Encyclopedia. With best wishes, I remain, Fraternally, Ulrich Grill, financial secretary of Local Gold Road Socialist Party, Oatman, Arizona.

I Hope the Review will never change its attitude of "dead-earnestness." It is so strong and so true, something hopeful to those who are almost ready to despair in this long long struggle. Mary Marcy is doing her part as well as Mother Jones only in a different act and a different scene.—May Wright, Everett.

From a Reader.—I am always glad to receive the REVIEW and anxious for the next, because it helps one to keep posted on present labor battles.—W. H. Calvert.

The Miners "Back" the Fighting Magazine.—Wallace, Idaho—Forward me 20 more copies of the March number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for it awakens the thinking machine that has lain dormant so long. Yours for an increase in circulation of the live-wire.—Sam Kilburn.

Westward Ho!—Comrade H. A. Hedden, one of the active old guards of Michigan, has started to walk to Aberdeen, Wash. He will pass through Indiana, Illinois, Nebraska and will follow along the Northern Pacific Railway. He certainly knows how to round up new readers for Socialist papers and has already sent in a good big bunch of scalps to the Fighting Magazine.

From the Reds.—The following REVIEW readers have rounded up ten or more new subs during the past TWENTY days. You can do the same! The entire February edition SOLD OUT, this is "going some"! We have some BIG PLANS for the REVIEW, which can be carried out if you rebels will get busy on the circulation end. Let us make our working class magazine bigger and better than the whole bunch of capitalist monthlies. What do you say? If your flag is the RED flag then show your colors by boosting the circulation of the FIGHTING MAGAZINE.

Burns, Wilkes Barre, Pa.	48
Carpenter, Charlestown, Mass.	25
Wilson, Schnectady, N. Y.	15
London, Glen Ellen, Calif.	10
Porter, Glen Rose, Texas	10
Gerber, St. Joseph, Mo.	10
Johnsen, Port Angeles, Wash.	10
Dake, Schnectady, N. Y.	15
Zigler, Winnington, Alta.	10
Olson, Twin Falls, Ida.	10
Studar, Kellogg, Idaho	11
Achmidt, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10
Howerton, Paris, Ill.	15
Stowe, Philadelphia, Pa.	10
Huff, Easton, Pa.	10
Williams, Malden, Mass.	15
Tressler, Toledo, Ohio	16
Richard, Oxford, Ohio	10
Reynolds, Frisco, Texas	10
Stetter, Marietta, Ohio	10
Sinclair, Arlington, Wash.	10
Engman, Deer Wood, Minn.	10
Aurouze, Uniontown, Pa.	10
Cothrua, Hiteman, Iowa	11
Seeds, Covington, Ky.	10
Hodges, Flagstaff, Ariz.	10
Taylor, Dawson, Minn.	10
Schrling, Caldwell, Kans.	10
McKenzie, Columbus, Ohio	10
Snyder, Toledo, Ohio	10
Hoffman, Providence, R. I.	10
Daugherty, Lehigh, Okla.	10
Clinton, Bisbee, Ariz.	15
Parsons, Maricopa, Calif.	10
Local, St. Marys, Ohio	10
Robertson, Bloomington, Ind.	10
Carbley, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10
Hurn, Aberdeen, S. D.	10
Powell, Veedersburg, Ind.	10
Higgins, St. Louis, Mo.	10
Schall, Kelley, Pa.	10
Hutton, Toledo, Ohio	10
Welty, Mishawaka, Ind.	10
Platt, Burlington, N. C.	10
Craig, Grafton, W. Va.	10
Smith, Agatha, Idaho	10

Want a Weekly Review.—Comrade Marston, of Washington, writes: "The February REVIEW is a humdinger. Let us boost for a weekly REVIEW or at least, a bi-monthly. Thirty days is too long to wait for next issue."

Started the Newspaper.—Comrade Gregory of Mt. Carmel has been getting his friends interested in the REVIEW until he has promises from twenty-five to buy copies every month from the newsdealer. Result: An order from newsdealer ordering 25 copies. You can do the same if you interest your friends and every REVIEW seen on the news stands means a boost for socialism.

Likes Canadian Wealth.—Comrade Porter of Hansboro, N. D., writes: The Canadian book is ridiculously cheap. Historically and scientifically it is the only thing of its kind and best of all, there is no extravagance or hysteria. Meyers shows that the best indictment of capitalism is its own record.

The Tailor.—The Tailor's International Industrial Union publishes its official organ in Bloomington, Ill., and we are delighted to find in its pages a breadth of view, an understanding of the labor movement and the evolution of modern industry that we have rarely seen. They are industrialists to the core and their work is bound to grow. This new union was formerly the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, organized in 1883. At the first of this year it was changed to the Tailors' Industrial Union, and with the change of name they also extended their jurisdiction to include all the workers in the clothing trade. General Secretary Brais writes us from Bloomington that "We are endeavoring to work out an amalgamation of all the clothing trades organizations. Of course, it will take some time before this can be accomplished." Congratulations to all the boys. This is the most encouraging news we have had for some time.

From a Kansas Reader.—"Please send me five numbers of the February REVIEW. I thought when I subscribed by the year I would do away with the bundle plan, but the last issue is irresistible—though that is what they all are. Think there are a couple of new subscribers I can get in the near future."—Mrs. R. G. Bullard.

Louisville, Ky.—"Enclosed find check to pay for February REVIEWS already received. The REVIEW is getting better with each issue and I wish every member of the S. P. in the U. S. was reading it. The foreign news, together with the class struggle in this country, is the material needed to arouse a world-wide revolt against a world-wide condition in social exploitation.

"Your work is also educating the rank and file in the fundamentals, so as to organize the working class revolt into a solid body with a generally understood program of political and industrial action is all that could be asked by the most avowed Marxist.

"I am emphasizing my approval by requesting you to increase my order for March and future issues by five."—J. L. Stark.



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¶ The following are a few of the more important articles appearing in the APRIL number of the

NEW REVIEW

"Limits of Reform Under Capitalism"

Prof. Arthur W. Calhoun

"The Present State of French Syndicalism"

Paul Louis (Paris)

"The Unemployed in San Francisco"

J. Edward Morgan

"Canadian vs. American Methods of Primitive Accumulation"

Gustavus Myers

"Roosevelt's Autobiography"

Wm. English Walling

"Bergsonism and Practical Idealism"

Charles B. Mitchell

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New York City

Platform of Rock Island County.—The following platform is so clean cut and revolutionary that we want to give all REVIEW readers a chance to read it. Cut this out and use it for future reference:

We, the Socialist Party of Rock Island county, in convention assembled, affirm our allegiance to the principles and program of the Revolutionary Working Class, as set forth by the Socialist Party of the United States and by the International Socialist Movement.

Labor produces all wealth. But the means of wealth production—the land, the mines, mills and factories, the railroads, stores, etc.—are owned by the capitalist class. This ownership gives to the capitalist class the control of labor and of labor's product. The capitalist is, therefore, a master, the worker a slave.

The capitalists receive an ever swelling stream of profits, and the workers an ever increasing measure of misery and degradation.

It is to the interest of the working class to set itself free from capitalist exploitation by the abolition of the wage system, under which is concealed the robbery of the workers at the point of production on the job. To do this requires that they change capitalist property in the means of wealth production into collective working class property.

It is to the interest of the capitalist class to maintain the present system of exploitation of labor at the point of production—on the job.

This clash of interests brings about an irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class at the point of production—(on the job).

This conflict on the job—(at the point of production), results in boycotts and strikes, in blacklists and lockouts which involve all classes in society and all social institutions—governmental, religious and educational.

Finally, this conflict grows into a struggle for the control of the state. The capitalist class is, at present, in control of all institutions of society, including the state, which they use to protect and to defend their property rights in the means of wealth production, and their control of the working class and the products of labor.

Therefore, we call upon all workers to organize under the banner of the Socialist party for the purpose of capturing all public powers in order to set up and enforce the economic program of the working class, as follows:

First. The changing, as speedily as possible, of capitalist property in the means of production—such as land, mines, mills and factories, railroads, stores, etc.—into the collective property of the working class.

Second. The democratic organization and management of industry by the workers.

Third. The establishment, as speedily as possible, of production for use instead of for profit.

The full realization of the above program requires at least nation-wide organization of the working class, and probably international co-operation of the workers. But local organiza-



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tions may deal with local questions and at the same time be a vital part of the national and international party.

We appeal to the workers of this county to join us in this great work and aid us in making the workers of Rock Island county a power for working class advancement.

There is much to be done. Among other things, we wish to call your especial attention to the fact that the education of the children of the workers is in the hands of those interested in their exploitation. As a result they have daily drilled into their tender minds, false ideas of history, false notions of economics, and false standards of patriotism. Therefore it is of the utmost importance that workingmen and workingwomen be selected as members of Boards of Education.

The sheriff is the most important executive in the county. The sheriff is the principal peace officer, and in time of "labor troubles," he and the deputies selected by him have military powers exceeded only by the state militia and the United States army. Therefore, it is the duty of the workers to elect as sheriff, a class conscious workingman.

Further, the workers should select members of their own class to every county and municipal office; by so doing they learn to administer public affairs, and strengthen their working class organization.

Workers of Rock Island county, as a part of the "Workers of the World," the future welfare of humanity rests in your hands! You the workers, must undertake the saving of society from the utter ruin to which capitalism is hurrying it


The Socialist party exists only to be used by you in this all-important task. We submit this platform for your careful study. If, in your judgment, its principles are sound; if you think its aims are in your interest, we ask you to support it by supporting Socialist candidates and affiliating with the party as dues paying members.—S. P. Platform, Rock Island county, Ill. J. C. Gibson, Edgar Owens, M. L. Morrill, Committee on Platform.

Congratulations to our friends in Rock Island county! This platform shows that they understand the class struggle and just what action will benefit the working class!

Faithful Comrade and Friend—Our faithful fellow worker and comrade, Thomas Williams, has, after a long and painful illness, died, and Whereas, For the past 30 years his heart and energy had been devoted to the welfare of our toiling brothers in shop and factory, and Whereas, For this loyal devotion, his only compensation was the blacklist, social ostracism and poverty, Be it Resolved, That we offer these resolutions as a slight token of the love we bore for him, and that we hereby extend our sympathy to his bereaved family and friends, and Be it Further Resolved, That we charge capitalism, its greed and heartlessness with his premature death, and hereby pledge our renewed hostility to our present industrial system.—Local Youngstown Socialist Party, Ohio, per Camille Midney, Joseph Coope, Frank Field, Committee on Resolutions.

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"Thanking you again, and wishing you a very prosperous future in the fight for the emancipation, I am, John A. Wright."

Little Rock, Arkansas.—"I would not miss a single copy of the REVIEW and have a complete file since 1907. Each issue brings news from the front and impresses a more orderly picture of the class struggle on my mind. They are easily worth \$1.00 each to me."—E. C. Neal.

Sounds Good to Us.—Comrade Cothron of Hiteman, Iowa, in sending in ten new subscriptions says, "Excuse paper being soiled. Have circulated it in coal mine."

A Minnesota Miner.—I am sending you 18 new subscribers. These men are all miners and I am a hoister at the mine. The workers are certainly waking up! Excuse my pencil writing, as my knees answer as a desk. Wishing the REVIEW a better run this year than last, I am, Yours for the Good of the Cause, J. F.

The February Review is to hand and is being eagerly read. It has such a big circulation around the neighbors that I am afraid that it will become worn out before it gets around. I wish I could send you another subscription or two, but dollars in these woods are as scarce as hens' teeth. Keep it Red. I wish all our Socialist literature was as revolutionary. We would have more rebels and fewer Wish-Wash Socialists in the party. With best wishes, Yours for the Revolution, Hayes, Arkansas.

Anti-Catholic Paper owned by a Socialist. The *Crusader* is a new and virile weekly paper published at Iola, Kansas, managed by J. H. Bard and Father Jones, both Socialists. The subscription rate is only 25 cents a year and for clubs of five or more only 10 cents. The *Crusader* is showing up the attitude of the Catholic Church in the labor struggles taking place all over the world and the reactionary attitude of the church toward all scientific and educational institutions. It is keeping in close touch with what the church itself has to say about these things. Get five names in your local and send in 50 cents to the *Crusader* for five subscriptions. This paper will supplement your other periodicals and keep you informed on the way the Catholic Church is fighting against the Cause of Education and the Cause of Labor.

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Books Received

Darkness and Dawn.—Here, at last, George Allan, England, the author, has produced something new under the sun. The plot in his new book is the most original we have ever read. A terrible cataclysm splits the old world in twain and the gases thrown off have destroyed the human race. Mr. England's hero and heroine escape by being in the highest building in the world. Through some unexplained cause they sleep for over 1,000 years. When they awake to resume the routine of living again, they find New York City in ruins and fifth avenue and Broadway a veritable forest.

During the long period succeeding the cataclysm, Nature has been busy at work evolving a new race of human beings. Beatrice and Allan are pursued and almost killed by a horde of animals that resemble the missing link better than anything we have met in fact or fiction. They are a step above the ape and almost human. Other adventures led them to discover the descendants of a few of the whites who had escaped the catastrophe over a thousand years before. A changed environment has changed the actual physical characteristics of the descendants of the ancient survivors. The book is a whirlwind of a story, full of new adventures in every chapter but its chief value lies in the scientific facts brought out. We see the lower forms climbing upward toward man and we see how changed environment has sent man on the down grade toward the savage and lower forms.

Few people will dare to call it a story in anthropology, but that is surely what it is. And you will not find a dull page in it. Buy copies for the young folks and then get them interested in Darwin, Huxley and Wallace. Every normal boy and girl will find the study of changed characteristics under changing environment a most fascinating one. Published by Small, Maynard & Company, 15 Beacon street, Boston, Mass. \$1.35 net.

Unpopular Government in the United States.—By Albert M. Kales. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. \$1.50 net. A concise, scientific study of the invisible government of political bosses, in league with financiers, which actually chooses most of the elected officials in the United States. The author's theory is that this state of things is mainly due to the excessive number of officers elected, which makes it impossible for the voter to

know the men for whom he is voting. He points out that the "recall" may be used quite as readily by the political boss as against the boss. His remedy is the "short ballot." He admits, however, that any reforms in the direction of real democracy will probably be resisted by the propertied classes, and on the whole he gives the impression of stating problems that can not be solved—not while capitalism lasts.

Boycotts and the Labor Struggle.—By Harry Laidler. John Lane Company, New York. \$2.00 net. The boycott has been employed since the dawn of history, but at the present time its use for the advancement of labor is prohibited by law or court decisions practically throughout the United States. The blacklist, a special form of boycott useful to employers, is universally condemned, but it is freely resorted to everywhere as a means of beating employes into submission. Unless the boycott is soon made one of the legal and regular weapons of the working class, the workers will resort more and more either to sabotage or independent political action.

These are some of the conclusions reached by Comrade Harry Laidler in his book, *Boycotts and the Labor Struggle*. This volume, the first one on the subject, is a mine of information to those who are interested in the conditions faced by the American worker at the present time. The author writes dispassionately and with all the accuracy of the trained investigator. But just this fact makes his array of historic documents and digests appallingly effective. One sees as he reads how, since Judge Taft's first anti-boycott decision in 1893, the whole machinery of the law has been employed to rob the laborer of this ancient weapon. If there is any proletarian extant who does not believe that the government is run for the benefit of the employing class, a single reading of this book will be sufficient to convince him.

Propagandists who wish to get their facts straight cannot do better than consult this book. They will find there short but accurate accounts of such cases as those of the Bucks Stove & Range Company, the Danbury Hatters, the Butterick Company, etc. The history of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the boycott is given in detail. And, finally, there is a summary and digest of decisions in boycott and allied cases.

Two conclusions reached by the author raise serious doubts as to whether the boycott will continue to be an effective weapon. The author holds that it can seldom be used to good purpose against a company dealing in such basic products as coal or steel. He shows, moreover, that it cannot be successful against a concern holding a monopoly of its field. Since it is apparent that commerce and manufacturing will more and more be dominated by monopolies, it would seem that the usefulness of this weapon is sure to diminish in proportion to the development of industry.

The Glebe.—A monthly journal devoting each number to the productions of a single individual. We have seen two copies only of this charming magazine. The one for September, 1913, which was given up to some very strong verses by Adolpf Wolff, and the last issue which contained a comedy entitled *Love of One's Neighbor*, by Leonid Andreyev. Both of these copies of the *Glebe* are distinctly worth while. Mr. Wolff's poems are filled with a fine spirit of rebellion that gives them especial value and Mr. Andreyev's Comedy is a delightful surprise. It is a sketch of a man who has fallen from one of the Alpine peaks onto a lesser elevation, from whence it is impossible to effect his rescue. Below the tourists struggle with each other for points

of vantage from which to view the anticipated fall of the unfortunate man. Women quarrel for rocks on which to sit, where they may enjoy the view. Photographers flock about taking snapshots at the doomed man. A matron, ecstatic at the prospect of witnessing the tragedy, bewails the fact that her husband will not leave the tavern on the hills to secure a place of vantage. Beer vendors emerge from the bar disposing of their wares and the throng makes itself comfortable and proceeds to lunch in picnic fashion in order not to miss the denouement. A special newspaper correspondent arrives for a special story for his paper. A priest arrives to render absolution. When the last possible word has been said to show how much the crowd is enjoying the event, the man on the peak shatters their fond expectations with a yelling declaration that he will not remain on the peak any longer for \$10.00. It appears that the tavern keeper, eager to please the tourists and stimulate trade at his bar, has done both through the employment of a young man to play the part of the Doomed Climber. The *Glebe* is published at Ridgefield, N. J., at \$3.50 a year. We may look to it and *The Masses* to break the ground in new and advanced fields of literature.



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THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

"Karl Kautsky is, among other things, editor of one of the most influential newspapers in the world, and a Socialist, but he is, before all else, a German scholar of the old school, who will comb the whole face of the earth and all history for his facts, and having gotten them, will think his way around each one, and finally chain all together into a theory that honest ignorance cannot ignore and dishonest ignorance cannot resist. It was inevitable that someone of this type should finally attack the problem of the high cost of living and demolish the snap-judgments with which politicians and editors are fond of entertaining the populace.

"The fact which Mr. Kautsky uses as the basis of his argument in 'The High Cost of Living' (Kerr & Company) was not difficult to find. Dutiful political economists have been trying to explain it away for 10 years. Prof. MacLaughlin of Chicago has perverted the whole theory of currency and exchange in order to get rid of it. It is the tremendous increase in gold production. The world's output of gold in 1840 was 20,000 kilograms; it increased gradually until in 1896 it was 300,000 kilograms, from that it shot up to 700,000 in 1911.

"The result of this increased gold supply was an increased demand for other goods. The new demand caused higher prices. All people receiving fixed or comparatively fixed incomes suffered as a result. Those dependent on wages, salaries or interest from invested capital were hardest hit. The flood of gold could not be shut off; and the only recourse of those whose buying power was thus cut down was to live on less than they were accustomed to or try to increase their money income. The laboring classes have adopted a combination of the two alternatives. They live more cheaply than they did and they strike for higher wages at every opportunity."

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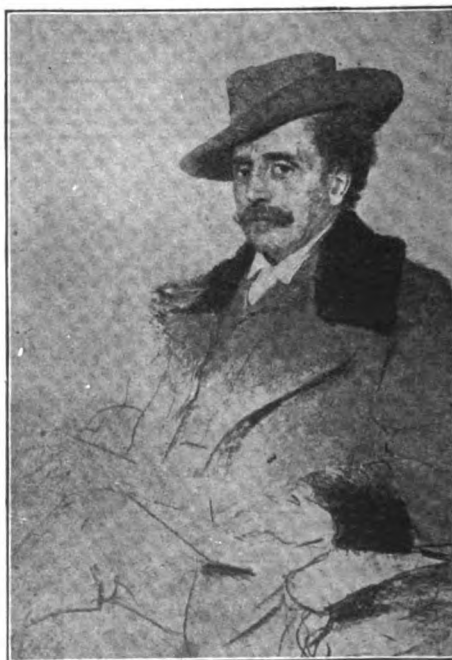
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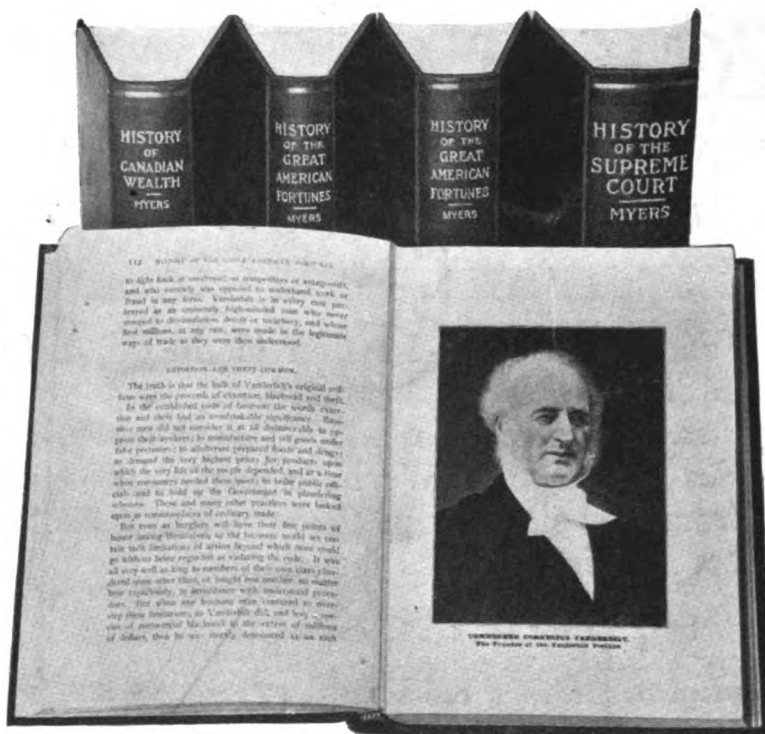
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By JOHN KENNETH TURNER

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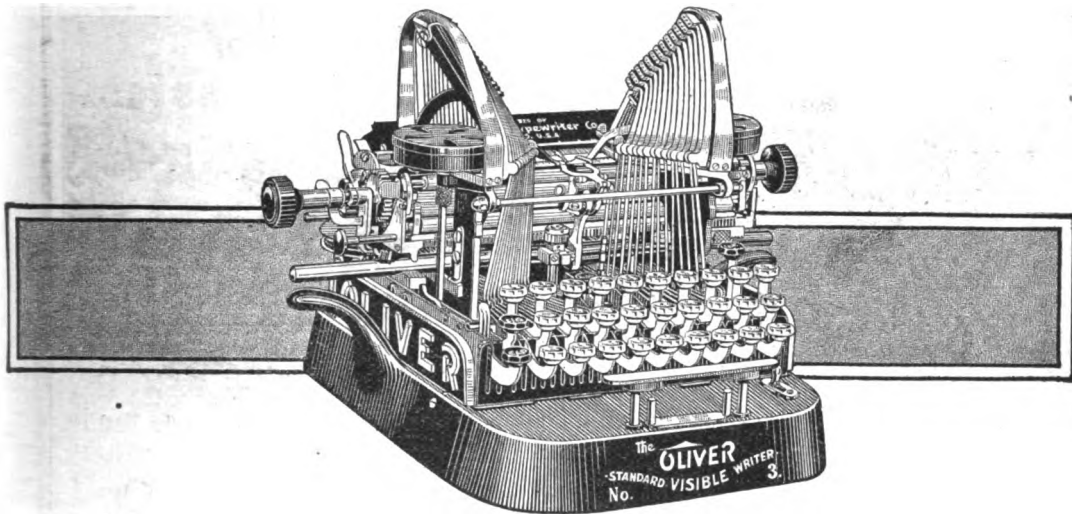
Do you want proof of this? You will find it in John Kenneth Turner's *Barbarous Mexico*. He describes the horrible slavery on the hemp plantations, the kidnapping of men, women and children by slave-hunters, the bloody repression of the least attempt at resistance, and shows how American capitalists are the Men Higher Up, who for a generation used Porfirio Diaz as their slave-driver and are now looking for some new way to keep on the backs of the Mexicans.

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XIV

Edited by Charles H. Kerr

No. 12

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MILITIAMEN (YELLOW LEGS) ON THEIR WAY FROM DENVER TO "GET" THE MINERS.

THE CLASS WAR

By Leslie

"SOCIETY AS A WHOLE IS MORE AND MORE SPLITTING UP INTO TWO OTHER: THE CAPITALIST CLASS

FOR thirty years an industrial warfare has been going on in Colorado between the coal miners and the coal owners. In fact, in every state and country where coal is mined we find an irrepressible conflict of interests. Temporary truces are signed from time to time in the way of contracts—mostly CON so far as the men are concerned—and again, there is open warfare

as witnessed recently in England, West Virginia and South Africa.

Time was when the coal miners of this country worked 16 hours a day, but, by combining their strength into unions they have cut the hours of their slavery to eight and improved their working conditions. No wonder that their battle cry is "The Union Forever"! No wonder that the Coal Barons cry out for the standing



A GROUP OF MINERS "ON THE JOB."

IN COLORADO

H. Marcy

**HOSTILE CAMPS, INTO TWO GREAT CLASSES DIRECTLY FACING EACH
AND THE WORKING CLASS."**

army to protect them when all else has failed!

The Battle of Ludlow was inevitable. For seven months the southern coal fields of Colorado have been divided into two hostile camps: the Owners organized into the Operators Association; the Workers organized in unions of the United Mine Workers of America, with interests diametrically opposed.

The main issue is the right of the miners to organize. The Colorado Statutes are very clear on this subject and the miners have the legal right of way, but, the "law is a dead letter in the section of Colorado 100 miles square," or wherever the Operators own the land.

On September 23, 1913, the union miners went on strike to enforce their constitutional rights: to organize; to work

an 8-hour day, to semi-monthly pay, to have their own Check-weighman, to trade where they pleased,—ALL OF WHICH WERE DEAD LAWS. Each proposition related to a law that was being violated. The whole proposal simmered down to a single statement is this: "If you coal diggers will give up your union, the operators promise to obey the state laws which have been passed for your protection."

Now the Coal Capitalists not only owned the land and the coal, as far down as hell, but they also owned the churches, schools, saloons and shacks or twentieth century cabins, where the miners were allowed to live, at so much per month. The first move on the Operators' part was to break up these free American homes. "Get off, swim into the lake, fly into the air, go anywhere, but get off"—our property! And the law was strictly enforced.

The merciless economic hold of the coal companies was clearly brought out in the Congressional investigation from which we quote as follows:

The Chairman—Let me tell you this and see what you think about it. In some of the camps out there, it is so testified to—and I think some in which your company is interested—a town is incorporated, and all the property there is owned by your company, with a sign up, "Private Property." These incorporated mining towns elect a mayor, who is usually the mine superintendent or some one connected with the mine. They conduct the business of the town, levying a poll tax of \$1.50 on the miners, and with the saloon licenses are able to conduct the town and pay the expenses. Have you ever looked into that to find out whether or not that is a fact?

Mr. Rockefeller—No; I have no knowledge of that. I should think it would be quite necessary and proper that when a company bought a mine it should buy property in the vicinity of the mine to provide for the workers who must inevitably be there to work the mine. I should think that that was a wise policy, to buy lands in the vicinity—

The Chairman—All around the mine?

Mr. Rockefeller—So as to concentrate conveniently the residences of the employees.

The Chairman—And then these people living in this town—the miners, those who work for the companies—are compelled to rent your property?

Mr. Rockefeller—You say "compelled"—

The Chairman—Yes, "compelled," if they work for your company.

Mr. Rockefeller—They are not compelled to work for the company.

Land was immediately leased and tent

colonies were established by the U. M. W. A. Everything possible was done to barricade the men, women and children against the bitter cold of the coming winter. At Ludlow 400 tents covered nearly 1,000 people, including 271 children, twenty-one babies having been born there since October.

The great majority of the strikers do not speak English. For the most part they are strike-breakers who were brought into Colorado during the bitter struggle of ten years ago, and *have themselves become unionized*. Twenty-one nationalities are represented, Greeks and Italians making up the largest number.

The Ludlow Colony, 18 miles north of Trinidad on the direct road to Walsenberg, was a strategic position for the miners, as it enabled them to picket the station of the Colorado Southern Railroad at Ludlow where strike-breakers detained for several of the largest mines.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company operate in this district and they lost no time in shipping in professional strike-breakers and gunmen, as well as Japs and Negroes to work in the mines. The Baldwin-Felz detective agency sent in their most expert man-killers, altho Section 3 of the state laws of Colorado on Labor Disputes reads—"Any person or persons who shall hire, aid, abet, or assist in hiring, through agencies or otherwise, persons to guard with arms or deadly weapons of any kind, other person or property in this State, or any person who shall come into this State armed with deadly weapons of any kind for any such purpose, without a permit in writing from the Governor of this State, shall be guilty of a felony."

Many of these gunmen had "operated" in the coal strike in West Virginia and the copper strike in Michigan and it is unnecessary perhaps to remind our readers that these men are hired to "start something." They immediately got busy on the job. There was trouble every day for the strikers, which gave the operators a chance to hire the state militia under the pretext of preserving "law and order," but in reality to help break the strike.

Early in December "at the suggestion of Governor Ammons, a committee of five was appointed by John R. McLennon of the State Federation of Labor to in-



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

LUDLOW BEFORE THE MASSACRE.



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

SCENE AT LUDLOW AFTER THE MASSACRE.



A TYPICAL SCENE—FORBES.

investigate charges made against the militia in the Denver convention of the Federation. This committee was a representative one. James H. Brewster who wrote the report, was for years professor of law at the University of Michigan, an impartial citizen who had gone to Colorado for his health.

"The governor empowered the committee to fully investigate conditions and take testimony. The stenographic records of 163 witnesses filled 760 typewritten pages. The testimony made a red hot union man of Mr. Brewster and he consented to conduct the case of the unions before the Congressional Investigating Committee.

"In their report the five men on the committee unanimously agreed that Lieut. E. K. Linderfelt, who was in charge of the militia quartered near Ludlow, was doing all in his power to provoke the strikers to violence. It seemed to the committee that he was especially anxious to get Louis Tikas into trouble. Once he arrested him for some trivial offence and held him without lodging a charge against him. The report reads:

"We have reason to believe that it is his (Linderfelt's) deliberate purpose to provoke the strikers to bloodshed. Ev-

ery decent member of the militia who knows Louis Tikas will testify that he is an admirable man for the place he fills; that he is fair, and that he will assist the militia in every proper way in policing the neighborhood, yet it is this man whom Linderfelt tries to provoke in order that some other members of the colony will be aroused out of sympathy, and it is this man whom Linderfelt is reported to have threatened to kill on the slightest provocation."

It was not long before the majority of the gunmen were wearing militia uniforms, which further complicated matters, as the majority of the militia were in sympathy with the coal miners. Many of them visited Mother Jones during her six months illegal imprisonment and they told her that never again would they wear the uniform. It also develops that 584 deputies were sworn in as far back as August and yet no salaries had been demanded from the state. They were on the pay-roll of the *owners of the state*—the Coal Operators' Association.

As the weeks and months passed by, the Operators became desperate. The strike was costing them thousands of dollars a week. The pay-roll of the militia officers alone amounted to \$28,943.07 a

month. Every politician in the state lined up at the pie-counter and got on the pay-roll. The state auditor's report shows that there were 397 officers and 695 privates. There were generals, majors, colonels and captains drawing salaries up to \$400 a month and expenses. The privates were drawing \$1.00 per day and expenses from the state besides the \$3.00 a day which many of them drew from the coal companies. Add to this the wages of deputies and gunmen and you can readily figure out why the operators were worried.

The state ran so far in debt that the militia had to be withdrawn. The ranks of the strikers remained unbroken. Something had to be done to break the strike and the gunmen got busy. Troop A was organized by Lieut. K. E. Linderfelt, a Baldwin-Felz gunman. Of the 126 men, 90 per cent were employees (?) of the coal corporation. Company B was composed of gunmen and mine guards under the command of Major Hamrock. None of the company had a permanent occupation sufficiently important to warrant his return to Denver when the general order

for the recall of the militia was issued. There were 36 thugs all told. Their names are kept secret.

That the battle of Ludlow was deliberately planned is proven beyond all reasonable doubt by affidavits of the miners as well as by the report of the military probe committee which conducted an investigation after the massacre. This committee was composed of Major Edward J. Boughton, Captain W. C. Danks and Captain Philip Van Cise, of the Colorado National Guard and their report recommended the court martial of every officer and enlisted man of the state militia who participated in the burning of Ludlow colony.

The following affidavit speaks for itself:

State of Colorado, County of Las Animas, ss.
Frank Didano, being first duly sworn, upon oath deposes and says:

That his name is Frank Didano; that on Monday, April 20, he was playing baseball in the grounds back of the Snodgrass store with one Tom Romeo. He heard some explosion about 9 a. m., and saw five or six men and some women running from the depot at Ludlow, to the tent colony. He looked over and saw some soldiers near the steel bridge and



Photo by Stuart Mace, Denver Times.

MILITIAMEN AND MINE GUARDS "ON DUTY."

some more near the soldiers' tents dragging out a machine gun. He heard some more explosions and started to run with his companion to the tent colony. The machine guns opened fire on the tent colony at once, and affiant ran for his life to the arroya. Frank Rubino ran with the affiant and was struck by an explosive bullet and killed.

Affiant hid in the arroya until about 4:30, and then ran away. Affiant saw the train from Trinidad bring more machine guns and guards. The firing of the machine guns was awful; they fired thousands and thousands of shots.

Affiant had no gun. There were a very few guns in the tent colony. Affiant does not think there were more than fifty, including shotguns and all. Affiant's tent, No. 18, had a big American flag on it, and an Italian flag underneath the American flag. At least forty or fifty tents in the tent colony had American flags and flags of all nations on them. In all cases the American flag was on the poles above the other flags.

Many women and children were in the tents, but were afraid to crawl out of the shallow pits under the tents, and several men were killed trying to get to them. They put a machine gun on top of a hill and commenced shooting down into the arroya where affiant was hidden, together with some other people—women and children—and affiant ran away and came to Trinidad. The soldiers and mine guards tried to kill everybody; anything they saw move, even a dog, they shot at.

FRANK DIDANO.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me this 23rd day of April, A. D. 1914.

My commission expires on the 18th day of July, A. D. 1915.

(Seal) ANGUS E. McGLASHAN,
Notary Public.



Courtesy News-Post, Philadelphia.

WHO WILL WIPE OUT THIS BLOT?

Excerpts from the official report of the military committee are as follows:

"We find that the remote cause of this, as of all other battles, lies with the coal operators who established in an American industrial community a numerous class of ignorant, lawless and savage South-European peasants. The present underlying cause was the presence near Ludlow, in daily contact one with another, of three discordant elements—strikers, soldiers and mine guards, all armed and fostering an increasing deadly hatred which sooner or later was bound to find some such expression."

The battle was precipitated by the firing of two crude bombs by order of Major Hamrock, "and, so far as we can learn, this was the first explosion of the day. We learned from the colonists that they were thought to be some new kind of ammunition, or possibly artillery possessed by the soldiers."

"The Greeks were vociferous and insistent upon giving battle to the soldiers at once if they should appear. Tikas did the best he could to dissuade and quiet them."

"Lieutenant Lawrence, having reported to the major, left to return to his detachment on Water Tank hill. He had gone but a short way when he galloped back to the station and cried out: 'My God, Major, look at those men; we are in for it,' pointing toward the Greeks defiling toward the railroad cut. Tikas was the first to answer.

"He immediately jumped up, saying 'I will stop them,' and, pulling out his handkerchief, ran toward the colony, waving to the Greeks to return. A civilian and union sympathizer who met Tikas as he ran, told us that he heard him exclaim: 'What damned fools!'

"Major Hamrock directed Lieutenant Lawrence to return to his troop and await developments. After the lieutenant reached Water Tank hill, and not before, the machine gun and remaining men from Cedar hill arrived. Major Hamrock hurried from the station to his tents, and reported the conditions to General Chase in Denver.

"While returning to his camp the major observed the women and children of the colony in large numbers running from the colony north to the shelter of the arroya.

"Lieutenant Benedict, observing the colony at this time through his field glasses, plainly saw Tikas leave and hurry toward the Greeks, now nearly arrived at their intended position. Tikas was carrying a rifle in one hand and a field glass in the other. It is evident that on returning to the colony and seeing the futility of preventing the outbreak, Tikas had armed himself and hastened to his compatriots.

"Shortly after the firing commenced it became very general. On the strikers' side it pro-



A GROUP OF MINERS' WIVES AND CHILDREN WHO SURVIVED THE LUDLOW MASSACRE.

ceeded from the railroad cut, from the tent colony and from the arroya beyond it. It was returned from Water Tank hill, from a row of steel cars in the vicinity of the soldiers' tents, and from houses and stores along the road between the colony and the northern canyon. Lieutenant Lawrence and three men advanced from Water Tank hill toward the Greek position in the railroad cut, with a view to dislodge the men shooting from that cover.

"One of these men, Private Martin, was shot through the neck.

"They were compelled to leave Martin under cover and return without him. As they retreated the strikers followed until under cover. Several attempts were made by the soldiers during the day to recover their wounded comrade, but it was not until the afternoon, when Captain Carson arrived from Trinidad with reinforcements and another machine gun, that they were able to drive the strikers back and reach the place where Martin lay."

As the conflict became more deadly the two machine guns pumping 400 soft-nosed bullets a minute were turned on the tents.

"It was then that Major Hamrock tested his range with the machine guns on Water Tank hill and sent them directly into the first tents of the colony itself, at the same time the strikers' fire drew a return from all combatants into the same tents. It was this con-

centrated fire upon the nearest tents in the southwest corner of the colony that set them on fire."

"As one tent caught after another, several other explosions occurred. During this time some of the men, having nearly reached the tent colony, heard the screams of women and called to men whom they saw firing from between the tents to get their women out.

"The only answer were the words, 'You go to hell,' spoken with a foreign accent, and accompanied by a rain of shots."

For fourteen hours the battle raged. The list of killed and wounded will never be known but the fact that the regular army was sent to preserve "law and order" shows that the gunmen got all the lead they wanted.

"During the rescuing and afterwards, the tent colony was invaded by the soldiers and mine guards for quite a different purpose. By this time the uniformed guardsmen had been joined by large numbers of men in civilian attire, part of whom were from Troop "A" and part of them mine guards, all unknown to the uniformed soldiers and their officers and all unused and unamenable to discipline.

"By this time, the time of the burning of the tents, the nondescript number of men had passed out of their officers' control, had ceased to be an army and had become a mob. Doubt-



Courtesy Denver Express.

CRUCIFIED.

less all were seeing red on both sides of the conflict.

"We find that the tents were not all of them destroyed by accidental fire. Men and soldiers swarmed into the colony and deliberately assisted the conflagration of spreading the fire from tent to tent.

"Beyond a doubt, it was seen to intentionally that the fire should destroy the whole of the colony. This, too, was accompanied by the usual loot.

"Men and soldiers seized and took from the tents whatever appealed to their fancy of the moment. In this way, clothes, bedding, articles of jewelry, bicycles, tools and utensils were taken from the tents and conveyed away.

"So deliberate was this burning and looting that we find that cans of oil found in the tents were poured upon them and the tents lit with matches."—Report of Military Probe Committee.

The Massacre of the Innocents

"The horror of the shambles at Ludlow is overwhelming. Not since the days when pitiless red men wreaked vengeance upon intruding frontiersmen and upon their women and children has this western country been stained with so foul a deed.

"The details of the massacre are horrible. Mexico offers no barbarity so base as that of the murder of defenceless women and children

by the mine guards in soldiers' clothing. Like whitened sepulchres we boast of American civilization with this infamous thing at our very doors. Huerta murdered Madero, but even Huerta did not shoot an innocent little boy seeking water for his mother who lay ill. Villa is a barbarian, but in his maddest excess Villa has not turned machine guns on imprisoned women and children. Where is the outlaw so far beyond the pale of human kind as to burn the tent over the heads of nursing mothers and helpless little babies?

"Out of this infamy one fact stands clear. Machine guns did the murder. The machine guns were in the hands of mine guards, most of whom were also members of the state militia. It was private war, with the wealth of the richest man in the world behind the mine guards.

"Once and for all time the right to employ armed guards must be taken away from private individuals and corporations. To the state, and to the state alone, belongs the right to maintain peace. Anything else is anarchy. Private warfare is the only sort of anarchy the world has ever known, and armed forces employed by private interests have introduced the only private wars of modern times. This practice must be stopped. If the state laws are not strong enough, then the federal government must step in. At any cost, private warfare must be destroyed.

"Who are these mine guards to whom is entrusted the sovereign right to massacre? Four of the fraternity were electrocuted recently in New York. They are the gunmen of the great cities, the offscourings of humanity, whom a bitter heritage has made the wastrels of the world. Warped by the wrongs of their own upbringing, they know no justice and they care not for mercy. They are hardly human in intelligence, and not as high in the scale of kindness as domestic animals.

"Yet they are not the guilty ones. The blood of the innocent women and children rests on the hands of those who for the greed of dollars employed such men and bought such machines of murder. The world has not been hard upon these; theirs has been a gentle upbringing. Yet they reck not of human life when pecuniary interests are involved.

"The blood of the women and children, burned and shot like rats, cries aloud from the ground. The great state of Colorado has failed them. It has betrayed them. Her militia, which should have been the impartial protectors of the peace, have acted as murderous gunmen. The machine guns which played in the darkness upon the homes of humble men and women, whose only crime was an effort to earn an honest living, were bought and paid for by agents of the mine owners. Explosive bullets have been used on children. Does the bloodiest page in the French revolution approach this in hideousness?"—Rocky Mountain News.

And knowing these facts the three lackeys on the military investigating committee reported that these men, wom-

en and children were "lawless and savage South European peasants."

The Murder of Louis Tikas

The account that follows is taken from the New York World, of May 5th.

Godfrey Irwin, a young electrical engineer who returned yesterday from the strike ridden district of Colorado, saw most of the events of the "civil war," including the massacre at Ludlow. Mr. Irwin is staying at the Young Men's Christian Association on West Twenty-third street. He held a position in Trinidad with the Electric Transportation Railroad and Gas Company. Mr. Irwin said yesterday to a World reporter:

"On the day of the Ludlow battle a chum and myself left the house of the Rev. J. O. Ferris, the Episcopal minister with whom I boarded in Trinidad, for a long tramp through the hills. We walked fourteen miles, intending to take the Colorado & Southern Railroad back to Trinidad from Ludlow station.

"We were going down a trail on the mountain side above the tent city at Ludlow when my chum pulled my sleeve and at the same instant we heard shooting. The militia were coming out of Hastings Canyon and firing as they came. We lay flat behind a rock and after a few minutes I raised my hat aloft on a stick. Instantly bullets came in our direction. One penetrated my hat. The militiamen must have been watching the hillside through glasses and thought my old hat betrayed the whereabouts of a sharpshooter of the miners.

Saw Tikas Slain.

"Then came the killing of Louis Tikas, the Greek leader of the strikers. We saw the militiamen parley outside the tent city and a few minutes later, Tikas came out to meet them. We watched them talking. Suddenly an officer raised his rifle, gripping the barrel, and felled Tikas with the butt.

"Tikas fell face downward. As he lay there we saw the militiamen fall back. Then they aimed their rifles and deliberately fired them into the unconscious man's body. It was the first murder I had ever seen, for it was a murder and nothing less. Then the miners ran about in the tent colony and women and children scuttled for safety in the pits which afterward trapped them.

"We watched from our rock shelter while the militia dragged up their machine guns and poured a murderous fire into the arroya from a height by Water Tank Hill above the Ludlow depot. Then came the firing of the tents.

"I am positive that by no possible chance could they have been set ablaze accidentally. The militiamen were thick about the northwest corner of the colony where the fire started and we could see distinctly from our lofty observation place what looked like a blazing torch waved in the midst of militia a few seconds before the general conflagration swept through the place. What followed everybody knows.



Courtesy of the Survey.

LOUIS TIKAS.

The Photograph, Taken Some Time Ago, Shows Tikas at the Well Which Formed the Sole Water Supply for the 900 Persons at the Ludlow Camp. The Barbed Wire at the Left Had Been Rammed Down the Well to Put It Out of Commission. The Strikers Charge the Militia with Doing It.

Calls Militia Thugs.

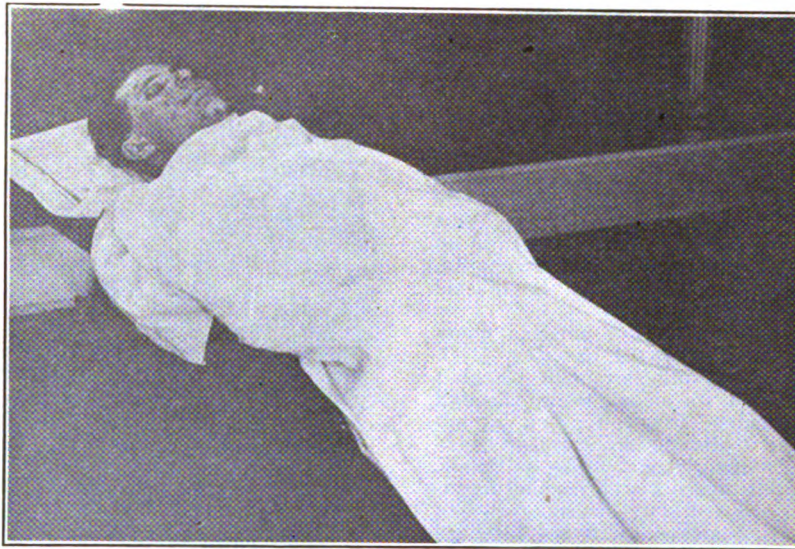
"Sickened by what we had seen we took a freight back into Trinidad. The town buzzed with indignation. To explain in large part the sympathies of even the best people in the section with the miners, it must be said that there is good evidence that many of the so-called 'militiamen' are only gunmen and thugs wearing the uniform to give them a show of authority. They are the toughest lot I ever saw.

"No one can legally enlist in the Colorado State militia till he has been a year in the state, and many of the 'militiamen' admitted to me they had been drafted in by a Denver detective agency. Lieut. Linderfelt boasted that he was 'Going to lick the miners or wipe them off the earth.' In Trinidad the miners never gave any trouble. It was not till the militia came into town that the trouble began."

* * *

The official military report on the murder is as follows:

"In taking the steel bridge two men had been left at a pump house between the colony and arroya. At this point these men took a prisoner who proved to be Tikas (Louis the Greek).



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

LOUIS TIKAS—THE HERO OF LUDLOW—OUR MARTYR.

"The men brought this prisoner back along the railroad to the crossroads at the corner of the colony, and called out 'We've got Louis the Greek!' Immediately between fifty and seventy-five men, uniformed soldiers, men of

Troop A and mine guards rushed to that point. Lieutenant Linderfelt came up with the others.

"Tikas was then turned over to the lieutenant, his captors returning to their post. Some words ensued between the lieutenant



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

FRANK SNYDER, JR., A MERE CHILD, MURDERED WHILE TRYING TO GET HIS SICK MOTHER A DRINK OF WATER DURING THE MASSACRE.



Photo by Stuart Mace, Denver Times.

THE "BLACK HOLE OF LUDLOW" WHERE TWO
MOTHERS AND ELEVEN BABIES MET DEATH.

and Tikas over the responsibility for the day's doings. Lieutenant Linderfelt swung his rifle over Louis' head, breaking the stock of the gun."

"Two bullets passed clear through the body of Tikas, showing that they must have been

steel-jacketed bullets such as are used by the soldiers and also by some of the mine guards and Troop A men. The one bullet that was found in his body is a soft-nosed bullet which is an ammunition never used by the soldiers."



Courtesy Wyoming Labor Journal.

A LUDLOW STORM CELLAR AT CLOSE RANGE.

A Call to Arms Issued to Unionists of the State of Colorado.

Denver, Colo., April 22, 1914.

Organize the men in your community in companies of volunteers to protect the workers of Colorado against the murder and cremation of men, women and children by armed assassins in the employ of coal corporations, serving under the guise of state militiamen.

Gather together for defensive purposes all arms and ammunition legally available. Send name of leader of your company and actual number of men enlisted at once by wire, phone or mail, to W. T. Hickey, Secretary of State Federation of Labor.

Hold all companies subject to order.

People having arms to spare for these defensive measures are requested to furnish same to local companies, and where no company exists, send them to the State Federation of Labor.

The state is furnishing us no protection and we must protect ourselves, our wives and children, from these murderous assassins. We seek no quarrel with the state and we expect to break no law, we intend to exercise our lawful right as citizens, to defend our homes and our constitutional rights.

JOHN R. LAWSON, U. M. W.

JOHN MCLENNAN,

E. L. DOYLE,

JOHN RAMSAY,

W. T. HICKEY, Secy. State Fed. of Lab.

E. R. HOAGE,

T. W. TAYLOR,

CLARENCE MOOREHOUSE,

ERNEST MILLS, Secy.-Treas. W. F. of M.

From coast to coast the working class responded to the call.

Hundreds of mass meetings were held and thousands of dollars were sent in for arms and ammunition. The miners in one state alone wired \$15,000 in two days. Conservative Trade Unions even in Philadelphia, held rousing meetings. The spirit of solidarity swept over all craft barriers in responding to the needs of their brothers.

Labor is fast waking up to the reality of the class struggle and the necessity of SOLIDARITY. It is dawning upon the workers that "Those men who own the earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence or pen around what they have, and they fix the law so the fellow on the outside can not get in. The laws are really organized for the protection of the men who rule the world. They were never organized or enforced to do justice. We have no system for doing justice, not the slightest in the world."

Congressional Committees are appointed to investigate, they report and

pass away, but Mr. Rockefeller's hold-up game goes peacefully on. Messages telling the story of the futile efforts at Washington to bring about a settlement of the Colorado coal mine strike, including a telegram from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., saying the mining company officials in Colorado were "the only ones competent to deal with the question," have been made public.

Twenty so-called independent coal companies in a long telegram to the president, said, "Our position with respect to the United Mine Workers of America is absolutely independent of that which has been or hereafter may be taken either by the Colorado Fuel and Iron company, or by its officers or directors or by Mr. Rockefeller or John D. Rockefeller, Jr., although we heartily indorse the position they are now taking."

* * *

Meanwhile battles were fought at Aguilar, Green Canon and Forbes, where the tent colony was destroyed and eleven persons killed. During this battle a machine gun, operated by a gunman by the



THE NEW TENT COLONY AT SAN RAFAEL.

name of Lane, was put out of business and the thugs had to retreat. Several mine tipples went up in smoke, and dynamite destroyed private property to the amount of several hundred thousand dollars. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., had previously testified before the Congressional Investigating Committee that the strike had cost the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company alone, more than a million dollars during the fiscal year.

"We stand ready to lose every cent we have invested in that company rather than that the workmen of this country should lose their right to work for whom they please," replied Rockefeller.

"You'll do that, even if you lose all your money and have all your employees killed?" said Foster.

"It's a great principle. It's a national issue. And we propose to support the officers in their course which is in support of the workmen themselves and their right to work for whom they please and how they please," returned the witness."

Thus speaks the young ruler of the owning class, which toils not, neither does it mine; yet claims to OWN the earth and the fullness thereof.

The "great principle" involved is merely the great privilege of legally robbing the workers who have the "right to work."

It is not a "national issue" with the workers, but a class issue, because the working class owns no country.

But there is another voice being heard in the land. It comes from the West, and is the call of the coal miner to his class, the working class. The voice has swelled into a million-throated challenge to the few, the owning class.

To John D. Rockefeller, Jr., it says: "You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and surrounded by the odor of sanctity to boot; but the thing that you represent, which is face to face with us, has no heart in its breast nor halo over its head—the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. You can not hide behind your 'high-minded officials,' nor your Calvary Church, nor your bodyguards of armed thugs.

"In spite of your prostituted press, your fawning preachers and college professors, your subsidized judges and their laws, the war is on and will continue until the despised miner shall be master of the mine."





HOW ABOUT IT?
Courtesy of New York World.

“LUDLOW”

By Clara Ruth Mozzor

TWO days following the Ludlow massacre I came upon the ruins of the tent colony. Ludlow was still a smouldering, smoking mass of ashes. What was once the homes of these men who had come across the seas to build for their wives and babies was now an aching desolation. I came to get at the bottom of the trouble that caused a colony in which there were women and children to be fired on by machine guns and soldiers' rifles.

Waste and ruin, death and misery were the harvest of this war that was waged on helpless people. The ruthlessness of the steady fusillade of bullets from the machine guns turned against these people by the terrific force of capital in the human form of the inhuman octopus John D. Rockefeller, wiped out whole families, separated husbands and wives, mothers and babies and sent into the beyond little ones whose day of life was but a short time off.

Only a few weeks ago Ludlow was a colony of life. Eight American flags waved gladly in the air over its tents. Here was going on the making of Americans in this great western melting pot in the southern coal fields of Colorado.

And on these self-same ruins was enacted the most awful tragedy, the darkest chapter of American history, the Ludlow massacre when sleeping families were made the tar-

gets with which to break the backs of the strikers.

The very region of Ludlow is one of nature's hell holes, full of its dark canyons and deep arroyas, its hills and mountains. And in these mountains, in these Black Hills are scattered the men. Many of them do not know where their families are. Some of the women and children are still in the friendly ranch houses, while most of them are in the shelter of Trinidad homes and refuges thrown open to them.

The entire southern district is in the throes of war. Not civil, but industrial warfare, that has made such a reign of terror as must forever remain a black spot in the history of the state and nation. Ludlow is not the beginning of this war of desolation and sorrow. Seven months ago the union men went on strike. They demanded many things, but they were willing to waive them all should they only be given the recognition of their union.

Today in Ludlow stalks the spirit of the dead, the massacred and the slaughtered. Mothers with babies at their breasts and babies at their skirts and mothers with babies yet unborn were the targets of this modern warfare.

And why? is the question. "Why should this be so?" seems to be written across the early morning sky. The question is not now



WILLIAM A. GAMBLE, PASTOR OF ST. STEPHENS EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WHO READ THE SERVICE FOR THE DEAD ON MAY 3 IN FRONT OF 26 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY.

one of who fired first, but why were women and children fired upon?

In Ludlow the militia answer the question. In Trinidad and where the refugees were, the miners answer the question.

Major Hamrock, the officer who was in command of the Ludlow militia on the day of the attack on the tent colony, to all questions answers only "Self defense."

"But the machine guns, they were used against women and babies; were they not?"

"Yes, but we thought they had fled."

"Where to? When? They had no time, had they?"

"No, but we thought they were gone."

"We gave them warning," said another officer.

"We had trained machine guns on the colony before," said still another.

No one agreed on the minor question of *why*? but all knew that machine guns were trained on the colony sometime early in the morning.

"Did you fire the tents?"

"No," was the answer, "that was due to an explosion in the camp." And that is the story of the militia. "Self defense, self defense," insisted the commanding officer.

And then comes the other side.

"They fired the machine guns on us to better destroy the colony," say the strikers.

"They came to us demanding that we deliver up to them a man who was never with us. They had no civil authority to search the camp and the military had already been removed.

"Then came a call for a conference with the Greek leader of the colony, Louis Tikas. He was coming back to us, waving a white flag in his hand, when two bombs went off and the firing started from the militia in front of us and the machine guns to the rear. Our men snatched their rifles and made an open dash for the hills, thinking thereby to draw the fire to themselves and leave us women and children free. But the militia was bent on exterminating us. They fired on us all day long. Some of us were in the pits and dugouts the men had made and some of us were in wells and in the pump house.

"And then at sundown," and the women have given this out on affidavit, "at sundown, we saw the soldiers go from tent to tent, and as they left each tent would become a blazing ruin."

"At night we fled, some to the ranch houses and some to the depot where a train took us to Trinidad."

This is the story of the refugees.

There was still another story. The story of the dead. On the afternoon that I was at Ludlow, out of one pit, the "Black Hole of Ludlow," the bodies of eleven children and two women were taken, smothered and mangled, charred, burned and swollen. One by one they were placed on the dead wagons and taken into Trinidad. Mexican women and two babies, a third that was to give birth in three months; another woman and her three children, and still another baby that was born dead three days after the

mother had been killed. This baby came after the mother was brought to Trinidad. Physicians said it was the strangest child-birth ever given to woman. That same day Charles Costa, the father of the family, was brought in from the sand pits in front of the Black Hills, where he had been doing duty, shot in two.

These were the dead.

In Trinidad were also the living dead. In a cheap boarding house, up several flights of steps, following winding corridors, in a dim lit windowless room, lay Mary Pedrigon. She was living and yet her mind was dead. She had escaped from Ludlow, but her babies were smothered in the pit that held those other women and children. Mary Pedrigon was thin and wasted. And over and over again her parched lips would re-

peat the names of her little ones, the only persons that Mary Pedrigon could remember.

In another house was a mother, three babies and a father. They were mourners. Frank Snyder, their ten-year-old boy, had been shot before their very eyes. The little one playing in the tiny room, happy and laughing, but in the ears of the mother was not the sound of the voices of the babies left to her, but of the boy, Frank, the back of whose head had been shot off by a bullet.

These are the stories, living and dead, of Ludlow. These were the incidents that marked the Ludlow massacre. These are facts as I found them and the people as I saw them.

And still in my ears rings the unanswered question, "Why?"



International News Service.

POLICE GUARD AT JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER'S NEW YORK CITY CHURCH, WHERE BOUCK WHITE WAS CLUBBED.



GUNMAN.

THE LESSON OF LUDLOW

By Vincent St. John

THE massacre of striking miners, their wives and children, at Ludlow, Colo., by hired gunmen and state militia of the coal operators has served to emphasize the fact that the workers have no rights that the employers respect.

The use of degenerate thugs in strikes as the upholders of "Law and Order" is not confined to the state of Colorado. With few, if any, exceptions, they have been in evidence whenever the profits of the employers were attacked, or their control of industry seriously disputed. The degree of activity may have differed; they may have been clothed with the authority of a state or county at different times, but they have always been present to supply the might needed to enforce the dictates of the employing class.

The southwestern coal fields of Colorado have always been dominated by the rule of the gunman. In the past the peace (?) officers of that section have deported, beaten up, or murdered all organizers who attempted to interfere with the undisputed sway of the coal mine operators.

Whenever the discontent of the coal miners has crystallized sufficiently to give indication of concerted action, the

authorized thugs have been supplemented by special guards, whose sole function is to eliminate any and all of the miners whose activity and experience gives any promise of success in the attempt to form an organization.

The means and methods used to accomplish this end are and have been determined solely by one standard—results. The organizers have been waylaid and beaten up; they have been arrested upon trumped up charges and railroaded to jail or to the penitentiary; they have been goaded by petty persecutions into giving the professional gunman an opportunity to use his superior skill with a gun under the pretense of "self defense"; and when all other methods have failed the active workers have been ambushed and slain by "parties unknown."

When the strike finally occurs—and conditions under which the miners work make that inevitable—the gunman is given free hand to create a reign of terror. If the strikers refuse to be intimidated and prove equal to defending themselves, the state is then called upon to send the militia to the scene.

The arrival of the militia means that "law and order" is enforced upon the strikers, and that the gunmen have added

security in carrying out the program of intimidating the strike out of existence. Martial law is declared if necessary. The most active and experienced of the strikers' forces are arrested upon trumped up charges; held without bail or trial; refused counsel or an opportunity to communicate with friends or their organization. The flimsy pretext of "military necessity" is resorted to, and drum head trials by a military court martial threatened.

If these methods do not succeed in breaking the strike and the resources of the state will not permit keeping the militia in field, the gunmen in the pay of the mine owners are enlisted as militia and allowed to carry on their depredations clothed in the uniforms of, and with the power of, the state behind them.

It will be noticed that the board of inquiry appointed by the mine owners' lackey—the Governor of Colorado—to investigate the Ludlow Massacre has reported that the strikers were responsible for starting the conflict. The burning of the strikers' tents and the shooting of women and children, however, they grudgingly admit was the work of company gunmen, some of whom may, or possibly were in the uniform of the state militia. Sure Mike! Every corporation lickspittle from Maine to California knew that. Why should the board waste time and paper emphasizing the obvious?

Why not also charge the strikers with setting fire to their own property, and shooting their wives and children? Men who have so little respect for "law and order" as to endure the hardships of braving the reign of terror that has always existed in the southern Colorado coal fields in an effort to gain some of the comforts of life for themselves and their families would be just the ones to shoot and burn their wives and children. Every one who is not prejudiced would see the point. Why did the board not embrace the opportunity to serve their masters well and at the same time announce a startling truth? Why leave this blot upon the reputations of the militia's comrades in arms?

Of course the board of inquiry admits that some of the gunmen may have worn uniforms of the state. This admission leads to the question what is the differ-

ence between a gunman and a militiaman? Some of the readers of *THE REVIEW* may have read Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer." If so they will remember that Tom and his chum, Huckleberry Finn, once rafted down the Mississippi river to New Orleans. At some point on their journey they met with two professional tramps. From the story it appears that the tramps in some way sensed the romantic spirits of the two boys, and forthwith hit upon the plan of representing themselves as the exiled claimant of the throne of France and his faithful gentleman in waiting.

The two adventurers were delighted to accept the company of royalty on the trip. They were glad to provide for the wants of their royal guests without exacting any service in return. One day, however, the royal guests succeeded in securing sufficient liquor to become thoroughly drunk. With drunkenness vanished all of the courtly mannerisms that had served to impress their royal status upon the two adventuresome boys. The King and the Duke lay huddled together in a drunken stupor on one corner of the raft. Doubt began to creep into the minds of the boys. This doubt was voiced by Huckleberry Finn in a question to his chum. "What," he asked, "is the difference between a King and a Duke?" Tom Sawyer, after sizing up the huddled figures of their royal guests, replied, "They ain't no difference, Huck, leastaways, I guess you can't tell it when they're both drunk." So it is with the gunmen and the militia. "They ain't no difference" between them so far as the working class are concerned. They will both maim, kill, torture, and cremate men, women and children of the working class whenever the interest of the employers demands.

The tragic feature of the Ludlow Massacre is not that some of the strikers were killed. They died fighting. Fighting against odds. But they died fighting as men should. Their wives and little ones who perished by bullet and flame and smoke died a horrible death. But the only fate in store for them if the strike was lost was one of horror, long drawn out in the fierce struggle for existence that would have been their lot. The tragic part is, that men and women of the

working class have to struggle against conditions that culminate in a Ludlow massacre before they are able to arouse their fellow workers to even a faint sense of that solidarity which should exist among the workers as a class, and which would make outrages such as occurred at Ludlow impossible.

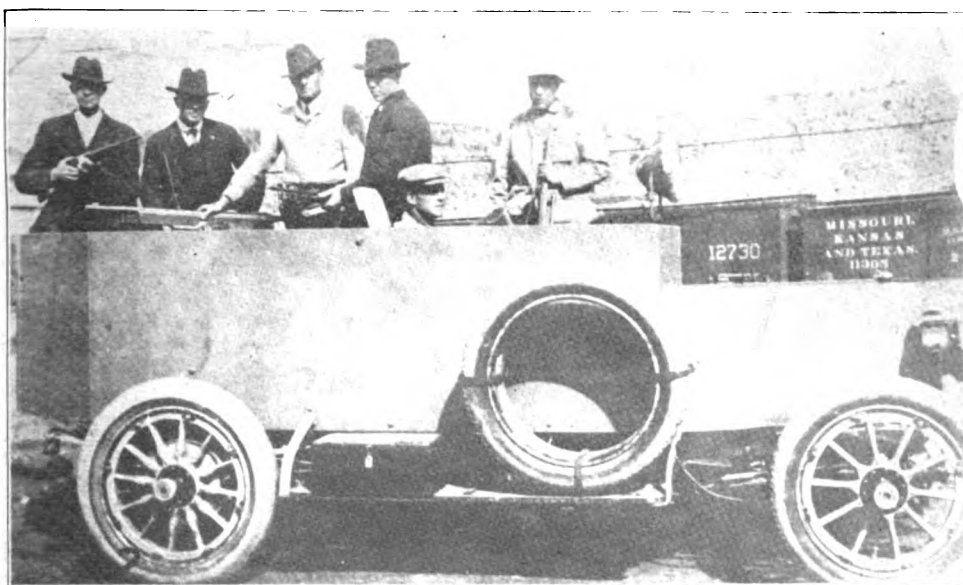
It is well that the workers organized and unorganized have responded with funds to enable the strikers to maintain and defend themselves. Nothing else would serve the immediate needs of the men and women on the firing line. It is better still to note the spirit that has actuated workers who have declared their intention of taking an actual part in the conflict if necessary. But the problem can not be solved by meeting the hirelings of the employing class in armed conflict, however necessary such actions may be at times.

There is but one way that the workers

can avenge Ludlow. There is but one way that they can prevent its repetition in some future struggle for better conditions.

That way is to so organize that never again will any body of workers have to carry on a protracted struggle against the employers, isolated from all save financial and moral support. Let the example set by the four train crews who refused to operate trains carrying soldiers and gunmen into the strike bound camps be our inspiration for the future. Let us resolve that from this time on, an injury to one is the concern of all and that the wheels of industry shall stop and profits shall cease to flow into the coffers of any of the employing class whenever any part of our class is engaged in a fight for better conditions.

If this lesson be learned, the death of the miners and their wives and children at Ludlow will not have been in vain.



STEEL ARMORED AUTOMOBILE, SHOWING RAPID FIRE GUN AND MINE GUARDS. THE PHOTOGRAPHER WHO TOOK THIS PICTURE WAS BEATEN UP.



From The Masses.

SERENE ONLOOKER (TO THE STRIKER): "VERY UNFORTUNATE SITUATION, BUT WHATEVER YOU DO, DON'T USE FORCE."



Courtesy Ohio State Journal.

COMPANIONS.

WHOSE WAR IS THIS?

By Mary E. Marcy

WELL, the brave boys have gone into Mexico to silence those noisy kickers, who have so long objected to having their land taken away from them.

If they kill off a few thousand of them, perhaps the rest will decide they'd better be "good" and go to work on Hearst's land or in some of the Rockefeller oil fields, or in one of the Guggenheim mines, as the capitalists in America want them to.

Then dear old Uncle S—(I almost said "Uncle Sam")—then dear old Uncle John D. can tell congress and the senate and President Wilson to hoist the red, white and blue over his new territory and "everybody will be happy."

Things will be settled, because most everybody who knows what's coming and lets out a kick, will be buried. And William Hearst's paid patriots can write yards of editorials on "How We Saved Mexico." There will be no chance then for a come back against Hearst by the people who have been defrauded of their land in Mexico.

And it will be just as clear sailing for dear old Uncle John D. in Mexico as it is for him and his interests in Colorado now.

Of course the *Mexicans* will get nothing through a war with us. They have been fighting Huerta and the master class in Mexico to get back the lands that have been stolen from them, but after the American workingmen soldiers get through with them, those who are left may be willing to stand anything.

The boys who do the fighting will get nothing. Some of them will be killed and some of them will be crippled, but beyond that they will only have the glory of subduing the Mexican *working* class, so that the American *master* class may go over and grab up the rest of Mexico's natural resources just as they have grabbed up everything from the working class in these United States. Subduing our Mexican brothers will merely give those who have so long robbed and exploited US the LEGAL right to so rob and exploit the Mexicans.

Some people say Hearst and Rockefeller

ought to lead the troops into Mexico since nearly all the fuss is about Hearst's ranches and Rockefeller's oil wells down there. They think this is THEIR fight. But what's the use of a millionaire going to war and risking his life and limbs when the army and navy is all ready to hand to be used in just such emergencies.

You can see the soldier boys marching down the streets to the tune of brass bands and waving American flags and strutting and boasting! They think they are actually going to fight Mexico because Huerta didn't salute the flag as many times as we told him to. They think they are going to uphold the DIGNITY of the United States by killing a lot of poor Mexicans who have not the least idea of what all the trouble is about.

I wish all these boys would stop and consider who will be benefited by a war with Mexico. If the rebelling Mexican working class is permitted to defeat the rich land-grabbers IN MEXICO, they can defy the rich land-grabbers OUT of it and then they will redistribute the land back among the people who formerly held it. No matter WHICH side wins, the United States *workers* will gain NOTHING BY WAR WITH MEXICO.

If we FORCE the Mexican workers into peace—it will mean peaceful submission to the Rockefellers and Hearsts. It will mean that the capitalists in America may continue to hold the LANDS that have been stolen from the small land holders in Mexico.

The American capitalists have sufficient gray matter to let the working men do their fighting for them. They hire clever writers to grind out editorials about how we will take over Mexico and place it under the Stars and Stripes that the Mexicans may rejoice over the good fortune of being admitted to this glorious land of the FREEDOM to use MACHINE GUNS AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN!

Any WISE Mexican workingman would know that this merely means putting them out of the frying pan into the fire. He would prefer to be in Mexico at its WORST than in Colorado among the uniformed gunmen today. They don't kill women and children in MEXICO. Such barbarity only happens in America, where the Rockefeller interests have LEGAL backing in anything

they may choose to do to the working class.

The wars in Mexico and in Colorado are BOTH Standard Oil wars, to a very large extent. We ought to remember this when folks grow wildly patriotic.

Besides, why *should* you and I be patriotic? If we are working men or working women, we HAVE NO COUNTRY. We don't even have a place to eat and sleep, unless we are able to find a boss to pay us wages; and when we are out of work, as we were this winter in every city in the United States, every "public-spirited" city and state official is out with guns and the fire hose to drive us off the face of the earth. Unless we have a job, we are driven from city to city, from state to state, from nation to nation by the everlasting chorus of "MOVE ON." WE HAVE NO COUNTRY.

It wouldn't get US anything if the U. S. army and navy whipped the whole earth. You and I would do the fighting and killing and dying and the American capitalist class would grab up the natural resources and then hire SOME of us at starvation wages in the MINES we had WON FOR THEM.

The working men and women of ALL countries are OUR countrymen. There are only two great classes in society. Those who OWN everything and those who WORK for these idle owners. The only man worth fighting is the man who ROBS us. The only CLASS worth fighting is the class that exploits the workers.

We should regard the capitalist as the only FOREIGNER. We regard every working man and woman as our countrymen. You work in a mine in Indiana. The man who owns that mine is an English aristocrat. My neighbor works in a brass foundry in Illinois. His boss is German and lives in Berlin. The capitalist who exploits my fellow worker is an American. Your interests and the interests of my neighbor and my fellow worker are identical. The interests of ALL workers are identical. Our only enemy is the capitalist class, the class that, under every flag, hires us for wages and retains for itself the things WE WORKERS PRODUCE.

American working men have no quarrel with Mexican working men. Their interests are OUR interests. We are both

robbed by the capitalist class and the only way we can stop this robbery is by uniting under the banner of SOCIALISM.

We must unite to demand the collective ownership of the mines, the mills, the factories, railroads, land and oil wells. United we can abolish the present system of society and make the enormous tools of production the common property of all those who perform any useful service in society.

The CLASS WAR—the war of the propertyless and exploited working class against those who live off their labor—this is the ONLY WAR worth while. This is the ONLY war that can benefit OUR class because it will give every working man and woman the right to work and to have the FULL VALUE OF HIS PRODUCT!

The only war in which we should engage is the working class war, which will abolish Poverty from the face of the earth!

MORE MURDERED CHILDREN!

A Letter From the Front in Mexico

The following is a letter sent by one of the Marine Boys who is at present in Vera Cruz. We shall publish it just as written. It gives the best idea of how we are "squaring things up with *Huerta*" that we have ever seen. How many more women and children must die in order that John D. Rockefeller may have peace to exploit the workers in Colorado and Mexico?

Vera Cruz, Mexico, April 29, 1914.

DEAR SISTER—A few lines to let you know that I am still living and in good health. We have been fighting here. Things have quieted down for the time being. The marines done all the fighting, though a few sailors took part in the battle. We took this town and over 300 Mexicans were killed. Seventeen of our men were killed and 63 wounded. I have received no wounds, but there is lots of time yet.

The Army came in to Vera Cruz yesterday. They are coming all the time. I guess we will do more fighting. The next move will be to take Mexico City. Of course that will mean a big fight and it will not be so easy as this one.

Sister, it is a sight to look upon seeing all these greasers falling on the street and being carried to the hospitals. The people who can't afford a burial are just left to lay on the streets. Our soldiers have orders to pile them up in the streets and burn them with the horses and mules that were killed in the battle.

I never expected to live through this battle because so many of our men were killed BY OUR OWN MEN. They would get excited and shoot any way they looked first. We had to search all the buildings for arms and ammunition and while we were doing it we were being shot at from all directions. You would hear a bullet hit the side of a brick wall along side you and at the same time taking out a big chunk of the wall, and

when you would look to see who was doing the firing, some one in that direction would fire at you. So if you don't get a bullet hole in you, you can say you are a lucky man.

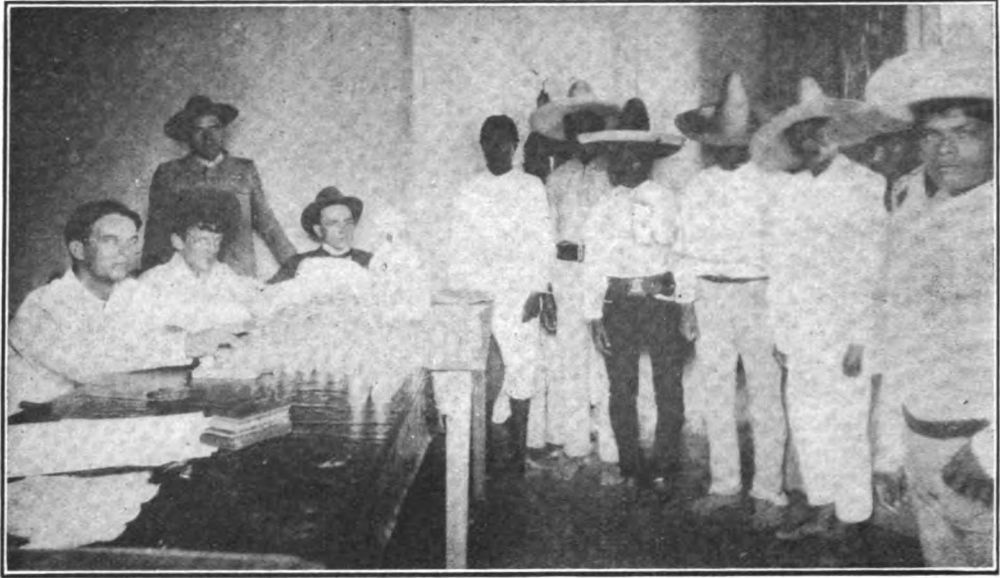
After the first few shots were fired I did not mind them so, but at first when they are shooting on all sides of you it kind of gets on your nerves. None of our bunch got hurt. But the second regiment done all the hard fighting and we came in behind them searching. The first regiment lost several men and 63 wounded. We don't draw no pay while this war is going on. I think we will be here for some time because the U. S. won't go and leave this city after capturing it.

We marines have got the railroad trains on the go and all the city lights in good order. People are coming in every day to make this place their home.

I forgot to tell you of the battle ships. How they used their big guns and picked off all the sharpshooters in this city. They just tore up the town. I wish you could have seen the excitement. One shot killed over a hundred school kids that were in school and fifty men shooting at our men. Everywhere you looked you would see a dead Spick, and the streets all over blood. Sad sight to look upon. I will bring my letter to a close, hoping to hear from you soon.

I. D.

Company F., U. S., Vera Cruz, Mexico.



CONTRACTING LABOR AGENTS.

PEONS.

THE SITUATION IN MEXICO

By Manuel Sarabia

TODAY the American people want to know "all" about Mexico. They have waited too long. When passions run high, a cold and impartial judgment is difficult, if not impossible. This, of course, does not apply to the Socialists and other radicals, who are made of a different type from the average "patriot."

"Salute the flag!" The bandit fails to do it, and therefore the United States government makes war upon Mexico.

"Is that sufficient cause for war?" ask several senators. NO, but the "interests" and the jingo demand intervention, because "Mexico is incapable of self-government; Mexicans are savages; they need to have Americans as guardians."

Ah! But are the United States without fault? The state of practical slavery of the negroes in some of your Southern states; the strong prejudices against Mexicans and other races considered inferior, and the atrocities in West Virginia and Colorado, where men, women and children have been deprived of their civil rights and even massacred, is more than sufficient to scare the "Mexican savages."

President Wilson wants to make war upon Huerta, the man, or the monster, if you prefer. Congress, very ingenuously also

disclaims any hostilities against the Mexican people. What has been the result so far? That the monster is perfectly safe in Mexico City and the Mexican people at Vera Cruz have been bombarded with the outcome that three or four hundred have been killed.

The "interests" have forced intervention in Mexico, claiming that it is a crime to let the Mexicans murder each other, but in spite of all the unspeakable lies invented by the capitalist press about "the Mexican atrocities," the truth is forcing its way through the same press. The *New York World* said the 29th of last April, editorially: "There will be no permanent peace in Mexico until the peon is on land that belongs to the peon, and is protected in his ownership. The Mexican problem is an agrarian problem. The great mass of people are living under feudalism. They own nothing. A few men own everything. There are great states in which practically all the land is in the hands of a dozen proprietors, and the peasant population lives in semi-slavery."

That is exactly the situation in Mexico. To understand well the present conditions, we have to go back to 1858, the year in which the great Benito Juarez became president of Mexico. He was a pure-blooded

Indian, educated in his childhood by a priest. Juarez was a reformer of gigantic magnitude. He gave to Mexico the famous "Leyes de Reforma"—reform laws—which caused the total separation of the church and state, and the confiscation in favor of the nation of all church property, including very large tracts of land. Juarez knew, by his own experience, that the church was in the way of the liberation of his people. Therefore, he demolished its power.

One of those reform laws dealing with the land read: "The subdivision of the great estates will be assigned to the tillers of the soil upon the payment of a small sum to cover the expenses of subdivision and assignment." Not much was accomplished in that direction, owing to the early death of Juarez, also to the fact that during all his administration he had to face civil war and the intervention brought to Mexico by the Catholic and conservative leaders, which ended with the execution of Emperor Maximilian.

In 1876 Porfirio Diaz revolted against the constitutional government, and in 1877 was inaugurated president of Mexico. During his long rule the church and aristocracy joined their forces with the army. Diaz threw aside the constitution and began to rule with the sword. The soldiers, priests and capitalists became arrogant, the girls were the prey of the brutes, the Indians were robbed and enslaved or murdered when they protested.

Diaz issued a law calling upon all landed proprietors to produce their titles of ownership. This law had for its aim the dispossession of the communal lands given to the towns centuries ago by the rulers of Spain in order that their people would divide them among the inhabitants and each householder could have his own plot to raise his vegetables and pasture his animals.

When all these people found themselves destitute and robbed of their patrimony, the only thing left for them was to go to work in the plantations as slaves. Some innocent Indians hired attorneys and appealed to the Supreme Court, trying to recover their lands, but of course without avail.

The feudal system under Diaz was working with perfect ease, while American and European writers who visited Mexico "to study social conditions" or interview the

dictator were praising him as the greatest statesman in the world!

Diaz gave enormous land concessions to foreigners, but specially to Spaniards. That is why the people hate them now just as much as one hundred years ago. Villa is doing the right thing—expelling them from the country.

The hacendados,* feudal lords, had many men in their employment as contracting labor agents, who worked in conjunction with the authorities. Their mission was to offer the Indians work with good salary, an advancement of 20 pesos and make them sign a contract. The Indian, ignorant of the trap, always accepted. As he could not read or write, there were always at hand two men to sign as witnesses for him. Afterwards his picture was taken and attached to the contract. When the labor agents had a hundred or so of peons they shipped them in locked cars one thousand miles away. Once in the plantation, the peon discovered that he had to work sixteen hours every day under the burning tropical sun, the food was only a mere pittance, and the "good salary" consisted of a few centavos. The peon had to ask some advancements for medicines and the like, and at the end of six months, when his contract ran out, he found himself heavily in debt—possibly 100 pesos—which sum he had to pay before leaving. As the wretched man was never able to pay his debt, he became the property of the hacendado. If the peon ever attempted to escape, he was returned to his owner by the authorities, who, as an example for the others, ordered him to be flogged until he was nearly dead.

This feudal system could not go on forever. The debauchery of the soldiery, the despotism of the privileged class and the wholesale confiscation of land, brought the rapid downfall of Diaz as soon as Madero led the people to revolt.

Madero offered to restore the land to the dispossessed, but he failed to keep his word. Zapata, chief of the Southern army, composed of ten thousand Indians, sent representatives to Mexico City to interview

*This word is derivated from "hacienda," farm. Some of these hacendados own so much land that it would take you several days on horseback to go through them. The state of Yucatan, where the henequen is cultivated, is owned by sixteen men called "Los Reyes del Henequen"; the state of Morelos by eighteen families, mostly Spaniards, and in Chihuahua, before Villa confiscated all the land, ex-governor Terrazas owned \$5,000,000 acres; that is, this "hacendado" owned as much land as there is in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island combined.



A PLANTATION IN MEXICO.

Madero. "What about the land?" they asked. The president answered that he had to act in a constitutional way. "We have to make some studies of the agrarian question," he said. Zapata and his men did not know anything about agrarian questions; they were promised the immediate restitution of the land and they were going to get it. They were an important factor in the elevation of Madero and also in his downfall. Zapata and his men were the first to revolt against Madero. They have been fighting already for three years. Thousands of soldiers have been sent to exterminate them. The tactics of General Weyler in Cuba, whose brutal concentration system won for him the universal title of butcher, have been put in operation against the Zapatistas, with the result that hundreds of them, including women and children, have been murdered, but in spite of this, the superior force of the enemy and the innumerable hardships of their miserable life on the mountains, they continue to fight for land and liberty. Only those intimate with the last three years' struggle in Mexico can understand the great love these people have for the soil which they want to recover.

The revolution in the north has the same bearing. It is a genuine social and economic struggle which necessarily will lead

to the emancipation of the peon and to a radical government. Socialists and anarchists are found everywhere in Mexico. Villa, Manuel Banda, Antonio Villarreal, Castulo Herrera, Jose Rios, etc., rebel leaders, are either Socialists or Socialist sympathizers.

The great warrior Villa has confiscated large estates from wealthy Mexicans and Spaniards and has divided them among the poor. So the campaign of expropriation is already going on in Mexico, and Villa, the "bandit," is the soul of the movement.

Carranza, the recognized chief of the Constitutionalists, is a man of the type of Madero. He is making radical speeches and he is promising the millennium, as the murdered president did. If Carranza were left alone probably he would forget all his promises, but Mexico has come to a stage where personalities do not count. *Land and liberty*—that is the issue. Out of the present revolution, if there is going to be peace, the subdivision of the soil must be accomplished. The Indians in arms are no more the prey of the hacendado. Now they understand that they have a right to the land that they cultivated for long years under the whip of the master. That is why we see that the opposite forces, feudal lords and Church and army leaders, are lined to a man, fighting with all their powers.

Huerta's personality has no importance in the struggle. It is his position that counts. He is the representative of the rotten but very powerful element of the country. No doubt, Huerta's coming into power was a great calamity for Mexico. It marked the return of the pretorian revolts, so dangerous and abominable because they trample upon all the laws and humane institutions of the land. His brutal and violent methods will only accelerate the triumph of justice. The present danger for Mexico is not Huerta, but the American intervention. All the Mexican papers controlled by Huerta are appealing to the patriotism of the people to rally to him to defend the honor of the nation. That is the last stronghold of the dictator, who is posing as the savior of his country.

The dictator's strength consists in the loyalty of the army officers and the Catholic leaders. Juan Sarabia, leader of the Liberal party, who has been in the penitentiary ever since Huerta dissolved Congress, a few days before the dissolution, said in the house: "We cannot allow President Huerta to appoint Mr. Tamariz (leader of the Catholic party) to the portfolio of Public Instruction, because it is right there that the new generation is formed. We have seen that pretorians and clericals understand each other well, but it is our duty to prevent this new calamity." Huerta was defeated, but a few days later he put all the Liberal deputies in prison, brought Tamariz to his cabinet and appointed another Catholic leader chief of the cabinet. By this you will clearly understand that the Mexican revolution is a revolution that cannot be made in one day. Church, army and aristocracy are linked together against the common people. The first three powers have plenty of money, arms, the confessionals, and the support of foreign powers, while the rebels have only the strength that justice gives.

The American so-called intervention against Huerta is, in fact, in his favor, as it helps him to the extent that he can pose as a hero and gain the support even of those who want him eliminated from Mexican politics. Mr. Wilson and all his advisers must understand that in landing American forces in Mexican territory they hurt the most sensitive spot of the Mexican, who before anything else loves his country. And then, we know that there

is not justification for war. One of the leading citizens of Boston says: "The talk of war upon such petty pretexts is disproportionate and monstrous to the point of grotesqueness. Compare these trivial affronts to the indignities suffered by England when the Russians fired on her fishermen at Dogger Bank, killing several of them and sinking their boat. Think of the dignity and self-restraint with which, despite the clamor, the government dealt with that situation."

I do not care to prophesy how many years, how many million dollars, and how many men a war with Mexico would cost the United States. I will only give these figures. It required three years' fighting for 400,000 British soldiers to subdue 100,000 Boers, at a cost of \$1,250,000,000. Mexico is a much larger country—767,274 square miles, very mountainous, and with a population of fourteen millions.

The Mexicans must be left alone to work out their own salvation. The present revolution has to be fought to a finish to avoid new outbreaks in the future. Perhaps the American "interests" will suffer, but they ought to understand that their own representative in Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, is partly responsible for the actual events in Mexico. His personal interest in the Felicista cause and his speech of congratulation to Huerta for the overthrow of the constitutional government which brought about the recognition of Huerta's government by European powers, are well known in this country, and that alone ought to make the capitalists more cautious.

Blood is being shed in Mexico, but the sentimentalists must know that all this expenditure of blood will be the dear price paid for the liberation of the people. The *New York World* in the editorial we quote elsewhere said: "If our great western states today were owned by a little handful of men, some of them foreigners, and the great mass of people eked out a scanty existence at the pleasure of the proprietors and their governmental agents, we should have nothing but civil war."

The revolution in Mexico is a movement towards peace, based upon the individual human rights. The people were robbed, abused and tyrannized until they could bear it no longer. The dawn of a new bright day will soon come for these people. Let them work out their own salvation.

REVOLT OF THE RAILROAD WORKERS

By Eugene V. Debs

THERE is a distinct trend toward industrial unionism in the ranks of railroad employes and some interesting developments may be expected along that line in the near future. The unions representing the various branches in the train service are seething with discontent and ripening rapidly for revolt against craft union policy and craft union reaction. They have played the game to the limit and the rank and file are beginning to realize that there is nothing in it for them, even when they win.

The arbitration of the recent wage disputes between the employes and the companies have brought little comfort to the employes and their condition is substantially the same as it was before. The enormous assessments they have been required to pay to maintain these wage movements, which have proved next to fruitless, have provoked widespread comment and bitter resentment. These monthly assessments upon the rank and file to maintain their craft unions amounts in many instances to almost as much as house rent, and the burden falls upon many thousands who are unable to bear it without serious deprivation to themselves and families.

It has been estimated that the cost of these wage movements has been over half a million dollars to the unions of the train service alone. The men are being taxed to death for protection which they do not get, and they are beginning to ripen for revolt. Were it not for their insurance features, disintegration would have set in long ago. That is mainly what holds these unions together today.

The strike of the enginemen and trainmen of the Monongahela division of the Pennsylvania railroad was an illuminating instance of the trend toward industrialism, and the stand taken by their national leaders has left a bitter taste in the mouths of the rank and file.

There had been intense dissatisfaction among the trainmen of the Pennsylvania ever since their grand officers sided with the company in crushing the strike of the shop employes at Pittsburgh, Altoona and other points. The trainmen sympathized with the striking shopmen and some of them went out on strike in support of them, but were promptly ordered back by their grand officers under threat of being discharged by the company, expelled by the brotherhood and having their places filled from the ranks of their own union. From that time to this trouble has been brewing among the Pennsylvania trainmen, and when they struck on the Monongahela division they went out in a body—conductors, brakemen, engineers, firemen, telegraphers and others—and in defiance of their national officers and the ironclad restrictions of their craft unions.

In this connection it is interesting to note that in these antiquated unions the "grand chief," or by whatever other title he may be known, still exercises the despotic power over the rank and file which made P. M. Arthur of the locomotive engineers such a prime favorite with the railroad companies to the day of his death. There can be no strike or cessation of work without the "sanction" of the grand mogul. The rank and file may vote on a strike and make it unanimous, but it must still have official "sanction" before the men can go out. How it is possible for a union to tolerate such czarism and for its members to empower one of their own servants to tie them hand and foot when a crisis is upon them is almost beyond understanding.

Referring again to the strike on the Monongahela division of the Pennsylvania, the sentiment was practically unanimous in favor of industrial unionism, and they at once effected an organization which they called THE INDUSTRIAL RAILWAY UNION. It so happened that the miners

in the Monongahela valley were out at the same time and at the demonstration they held at California, which I had the privilege of addressing, fully ten thousand mine workers and railroad employes were assembled and made common cause, and to see the rank and file of these two great industrial bodies intermingle, fraternize and clasp each other by the hand, was a sight as prophetic of future industrialism as it was a source of present inspiration. As an indication of the industrial union sentiment which prevailed there, the miners, although themselves idle and facing a long strike, took up a collection which amounted to several hundred dollars for the benefit of the striking railroad men, and while the miners who were in no way connected with them by the ties of organization were thus helping them to win their strike, the members of their own craft unions were taking their jobs by order of their own leaders.

About this one lesson in industrial unionism alone a volume might be written. It turns a flashlight upon both industrial unionism and craft unionism and reveals in vivid contrast the power and majesty of the one and the weakness and servility of the other. The traffic of the line was completely paralyzed and trains had to be abandoned, but not a word had the capitalist press to say about it. Everything was done to suppress the revolt and to prevent any report of it from going out to the country. At the time I was there the tie-up was practically complete and this notwithstanding trainmen were coming in there with union cards in their pockets under orders from their leaders to take the places of the members of their own unions who were out on strike. Of course, the striking trainmen were at a white heat of indignation but perhaps just this kind of an object lesson was necessary to show railroad men who have kept themselves tied up in craft unions and held aloof from their class all these years how that kind of unionism works in a strike and how admirably it is adapted to the interests of the railroads by keeping the employes divided and virtually forcing them to scab on one another.

The craft union leaders may flatter themselves that in alliance with the railroad officials they have suppressed this strike by filling the vacant places with members of the

same unions as those that were out on strike, but they will find before many days that what they actually did was to kindle a fire of industrial unionism among their craft unions which will spread in all directions and which will never be extinguished until the railroad workers are industrially united in harmonious co-operation with all other industrial workers.

When the train crews of the Colorado Southern, three of them in rapid succession, refused to haul the uniformed man-killers and strike-breakers, called the state militia, to the mining camps of that state a few days ago to murder the striking miners, it was in obedience to their class instinct and expressive of the spirit of industrial unionism even though it was in violation of their craft union obligations and subjected them to the penalty of expulsion from their unions.

The railroad men of Colorado, the loyal unionists among them, are heart and soul with the striking miners, and if it was not for the craft union fetters which bind them to their tasks they would be out with the miners and not a crew would there be to haul the soldiers to shoot the strikers and protect the scabs, or to handle the scab product of the mines. As it is, these railroad men feel, as they have admitted to me, that they are indirectly scabbing on the miners and helping Rockefeller and his butchers to slaughter and roast their wives and babies, and these men are in revolt against the craft unions which force them into an attitude against which their better nature rebels, and they will eagerly welcome the opportunity to throw off the fetters which bind them and unite with their fellow workers in the bonds of industrial unionism.

I have already made reference to the dismal failure of arbitration so far as any substantial results to the employes are concerned. The eyes of many, especially the younger element, are being opened to the hollowness of the claims put forth by the unions as to their power to protect the rights and safeguard the interests of their members. The recent arbitration fiasco has been of great service in helping the rank and file to see the light.

The railroads clamored for an amendment to the Erdman Act, claiming that under its provisions they could not get a square deal,

and they flim-flammed the chiefs of the unions into joining with them in asking for an amendment to the law. Notwithstanding the fact that under the Erdman Act the employes got the long end of the settlement the chiefs were inveigled into "co-operating" with the railroad managers in demanding an amendment which was written by the managers. It turned out just as anyone of sense must have known it would, namely, the railroads are now getting the long end and the employes the short end of the arbitration.

As a matter of fact it was the late Edward Moseley, Secretary of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and a friend to the railroad employes, who wrote the Erdman Act and had it passed through congress before the railroads realized what there was in it, and it was probably as good an arbitration law for the employes as it would be possible to get under a capitalist government. It was far too good to suit the railroads and as soon as they found themselves up against its provisions they began to clamor for its amendment and promptly, to demonstrate their loyalty to the men who paid their salaries, the civic federation leaders of the craft unions helped the railroad managers to gain their point, and the rank and file are now reaping the legitimate fruit of the perfidy or the crass stupidity of their own leaders.

The railroad workers as well as the mine workers are having their eyes opened to the class war and to the imperative necessity for industrial organization. The heavy assessments and light benefits of the craft unions are driving their members toward industrial unionism and they are ripening rapidly for the change.

The two miners' unions are ready for consolidation. Colorado, Michigan and West Virginia all bear the same testimony and

the slaughter and sacrifice in those states cry aloud for it.

The industrial mine workers and the industrial railroad workers in harmonious co-operation should in the near future become a realized fact.

What a gigantic power there is in the very suggestion of such an industrial combination!

In the days of long ago when I still shoveled coal into the fire-box of a locomotive the thought already occurred to me that railroad men and miners, being so near and so necessary to each other, should be in close union alliance and I often wondered why there was such an aloofness between them, why they persisted in remaining strangers notwithstanding they were so closely related, and why they struck and lost separately instead of striking and winning together.

The railroad and mine workers combined can of themselves halt every wheel and close down every industry. Why then, in the face of the threatening conditions that confront them upon every hand, do they not unify their forces and fight together under the banner of industrial unionism?

If the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners will consolidate, as they undoubtedly should, and that without the unnecessary loss of a day, then pull out of the Civic-American Federation of Labor and issue a call to all bona fide labor unions for a convention for the purpose of effecting the industrial organization of the American workers, it will mean the greatest working class convention ever held and will be rapidly followed by the most powerful consolidation of labor's forces ever known in the United States.

In that direction lies the triumphant industrial organization of the American workers and the road to industrial emancipation.

THE VALUE OF THE STRIKE

By Ferdinand Maroris

THE South African Labor party have recently gained one seat in the legislative assembly of the union, one seat in the Kroonstad municipal council, three seats in the Bloemfontein municipal council, one seat in the Cape Provincial council, three seats in the Natal Provincial council, and twenty-one seats in the Transvaal Provincial council, in which body they enjoy an absolute majority of one.

Every one of these contests was fought on four issues only: Martial law, deportations, indemnity act and the peace "preservation" bill. And not one of these issues would have been raised, had it not been for the strikes of July, 1913, and January, 1914. And yet the intelligent gentlemen who lead the South African Labor party are now telling us that strikes in general are an obsolete and futile weapon, and that the general strike in particular can only spell disaster for the working class! If the only effect of a strike, sectional or general, were the election of "labor" leaders who advocate constitutional methods of revolutionizing capitalism out of existence, then we might perhaps agree that industrial action is certainly proven to be an utter failure, except as regards the providing of politicians with soft jobs. (An ordinary member of the provincial council gets \$50 a month and a member of the legislative assembly gets \$165 a month, apart from such perquisites as a free railway pass, appointment on commissions, etc., etc.) So it can be seen that to be a "labor" politician is becoming quite a lucrative profession in these democratic days.

Happily, however, the provision of regular incomes for labor legislators is only the political reflex of an economic upheaval. It does not mitigate the essential fact that the strike is the one thing—and the only thing—which can educate the workers, which can force capitalism to reveal its true class character, which can show the workers where their strength and their weakness lie.

Thousands of trade unionists of the safe and sane variety believed with Cresswell, Andrews & Company that the South African defense force was a splendid thing, because it trained young men to bear arms for

the safeguarding of liberty against foreign aggression. They would not listen to the rabid revolutionist, who pointed out that the defense force would prove a splendid weapon for the protection of capitalism, or, to put it the other way round, for the subjugation of wage workers. Nothing but actual experience would convince them of the fact. That experience they got as a result of the strikes of July and January, and now they are just as convinced as the most rabid revolutionary that soldiers and policemen are meant for the protection of the life and property of capitalism and capitalism only. I take it that every class-conscious wage worker will agree that such a valuable lesson was well worth learning, even at the cost of a general strike. And I take it that no one will dispute the fact that it could not have been learned in any other way. The next time a general strike takes place in South Africa (and another will come soon), members of the defence force will be called upon to refuse to act as scabs.

The workers of this or of any other country have it in their power to seize and run industries for their own benefit, whenever they feel inclined so to do. They have the power, but they do not realize their own strength. Anything that helps them to realize their strength and to realize the need for exerting that strength is a good thing from their point of view. Therefore, it follows that every unjust, arbitrary, tyrannical or murderous act of the master class, acting as a stimulant to working class action on the industrial field is an educative factor of the very highest importance.

Sectional strikes are easily defeated by a combination of masters, not because the masters so combined are stronger than the strikers, but because the masters are relying upon the support they get from other bodies of organized workers, who, whether they know it or not, are playing the part of strike breakers. That is why a sectional strike does not usually call for an elaborate display of the repressive forces of capitalism. When, however, a general strike breaks out, the matter of obtaining a sup-

ply of scabs becomes extremely difficult, not to say dangerous, and then the masters, much to their annoyance and alarm, are compelled to use large bodies of soldiers and police under pretext of maintaining "law and order." They deceive no one by so doing. They only arouse working class hatred, which is the very thing they are most anxious to avoid. A general strike is, therefore, *always* successful from a working class point of view and *always* disastrous from a master class point of view.

Capitalism—the system whereby the many pile up profits for the few—can only maintain itself upon the assumption that the interests of masters and servants are identical. Politics, it seems to me, is merely the machinery by which this pretense is kept up. No attempt is made to arrive at a solution of the bread and butter problem, because such solution would only mean the dissolution of the profit-making system. Thus we find different political red herrings thrown over the economic trail in different countries. The American red herring is the tariff question or, perhaps, so-called anti-trust legislation. The British red herring is church disestablishment, home rule, or woman's suffrage. In South Africa it is called Hertzogism, or the question as to whether Dutch should be compulsorily taught to children of British parents. It is curious to note how suddenly such red herrings become stale whenever an industrial upheaval threatens the master class. Then, and only then, does the ever-present problem of labor versus capitalism force its way into the forefront.

For three years it has been dinned into us that Hertzog was the arch enemy of British freedom in South Africa. He was going to force us all to forget our mother tongue. And all the while thousands of British and Dutch fathers were working for less than a dollar a day when they were

lucky enough to find work. But when Botha, the alleged political opponent of Hertzog, countenanced the dismissal of hundreds of poorly paid railwaymen, the alleged existence of racial hatred did not prevent thousands of Dutchmen on the railways, in the mines, and in the workshops from joining hands with their British fellow slaves in a general strike of protest against the inhumanity of the master class. The strike in this case achieved the miracle of destroying racialism in South Africa.

Other red herrings are in process of preparation and they will be dragged across the trail by the Labor party. One of these is entitled "taxation of land values." It will be worked for all that it is worth, and I fear it will serve the capitalist class better than the British versus Dutch one. There are still a good many Boers who own their farms without mortgage, and they constitute the last line of defense for the capitalist system. Taking advantage of the recent mobilization of the defense force, Generals Botha and Smuts, with the connivance of the leaders of the late Unionist party (formerly champions of the "liberties" of Uitlanders) have allowed the Boers to retain 50,000 modern rifles, which were served out to them for the shooting of Dutch and British strikers. These rifles will be at the service of the Rand magnates and other cosmopolitan financiers when the next industrial upheaval takes place. The Boers are already being warned that the "industrialists" intend to steal their land! And the cream of the joke rests in the fact that their land is already being stolen, bit by bit, by these same financiers, who have formed themselves into land speculating syndicates! If the Dutch bijowners (poor whites who recently owned farms themselves) could only be reached with the revolutionary message, we would make a clean sweep of the whole gang of political humbugs.



FORMOSAN NATIVES.

How Japan Is Civilizing Formosa

By S. Katayama

IT is nearly twenty years since Formosa became a territory of Japan. We took Formosa from China in the China-Japan war, and since then Japan has spent much money developing Formosa and educating the natives into what she thinks they ought to be.

The island of Formosa is rich in natural resources and situated in the sub-tropics. It is especially noted for its splendid forests of camphor. Oo Long, the most delicately flavored tea in the world, has made famous the Formosa tea gardens. Sugar cane is a valuable product and there are infinite areas of valuable timber lands all over the mountains, while oil wells and priceless minerals are richly deposited over the island. Formosa salt is to be had for the mere gathering on the sea shore, and rice crops are harvested twice a year. Already the fertility of Formosa is affecting prices in Japan.

There are now three races in Formosa, the remaining Chinese, Japanese and the natives of the island. All speak different languages and have different ideas and customs.

The aborigines are comparatively small in number now, but they still remain unbroken. Their ferocity toward the invaders knows no bounds in many cases. Few clothes they wear and no shoes, and they clamber up and down the steepest mountain slopes like monkeys, over sheer crags that no one else can scale.

At first the Formosans welcomed the Japanese, who promised to drive out their enemies, the Chinese. While the Japs were expelling the Chinese, the natives gave them every assistance and obeyed the Japanese faithfully. But when the rebels were pacified the Chinese were not driven from the island and Japan began at once to encroach on the territory of the natives. Trees were felled and forests laid low. The ground was cleared and many Japanese gallants hunted the native girls to satisfy their sex depravity.

These aggressions and the debaucheries of the Japs among the native women caused a violent revolt against Japanese authority. It has been said that a native Formosan never fails to miss killing an enemy when he lifts his gun. The Japanese who have

been on the island speak of their marksmanship with something very like awe.

Relentless war was declared on the Japs, who were encroaching more and more every day. A sortie of natives would rush madly down the mountain slopes, fire a volley into a group of toiling Japanese and scamper off over the rocks before anybody could return the onslaught. Often a lithe native would toss his life in his hands by stopping to decapitate an enemy and bear off the trophy to a sweetheart waiting for him in the mountain fastnesses.

The Formosans became so feared and dreaded by the Japanese that the progress of the "great nation" was vastly retarded, and at this time the Japanese government voted a fund of 15,000,000 yen (nearly eight million dollars) for the total extinction of the natives.

And year by year the mighty empire has advanced, ranging the mountains with machine guns and step by step advancing into the mountains with electrified or live wires so that, once laid, the Formosans were unable to pass alive. Gradually the territory remaining has been circumscribed. But from the depths of dark nights a flying group of avengers still occasionally work the old miracle and leap from the mountain forests to exterminate a few barbarous Japanese officials, when they again flee away to their lofty hiding places.

The Formosans are among the most noble, intelligent, kindly and moral natives. They asked only to be left in peace to spend their days in their native land, as their fathers had done. But Japan is so eager to grab the profits that will accrue from the peaceful possession of the entire island that she has, by her cruelty and greed, turned these kindly people into avenging heroes of revolt.

The Formosans are of Chinese descent. They are a very industrious people, and have always been devoted to farming, the preparation of camphor and their own peaceful pursuits. As long as the Chinese or Japanese invaders occupied only the lowlands and the cities, they cared very little who might be nominal ruler of the island. It was systematic exploitation and enslavement against which they revolted.

The fund for the extermination of the native Formosans has been used, and now Japan is talking of another donation for further "work" along these lines.

The colonial government has adopted a policy for the raising of sugar cane. The natives would willingly produce the cane on their own land, by their own labor, for their own reward. But this is not the plan of the government. Japanese capitalists are to take over the land and raise sugar cane for their own profits. It is believed these capitalists can supply the entire Japanese sugar market. The Japanese government has put a high tariff on other sugar, but gives the Japanese companies a big bounty every year. This has enriched the sugar companies and doubled the price of sugar in Japan.

At first, of course, there were a dozen new sugar companies in Formosa. Then the Japanese government allotted certain lands to each company, to which this company was confined for sugar output. Some of the companies bought the lands from the Formosans, but there has been much actual robbery on this score. You see, the Formosan farmers were compelled to sell their cane product to the company allotted their own land at the company's OWN FIGURES. When the natives refused, Japan stepped in once more and sold the land at her own valuation.

Men who tried to escape being party to such an enforced "sale" (or theft) were shot down in their tracks. Remember, too, that the natives were FORCED TO RAISE SUGAR and sugar only.

The lot of the Formosan is indeed a hard one. Oppressed and robbed when they decide to submit to Japanese rule and till the soil, they are hunted like wild beasts and murdered when they rebel and flee to the mountains.

The natives are prohibited from sending their youth to the high schools. They have no political rights whatever. Of the 200 Formosans who have passed civil service examinations, not one has been given any appointment. They are the outcasts and conquered, the people to be set up and exploited.

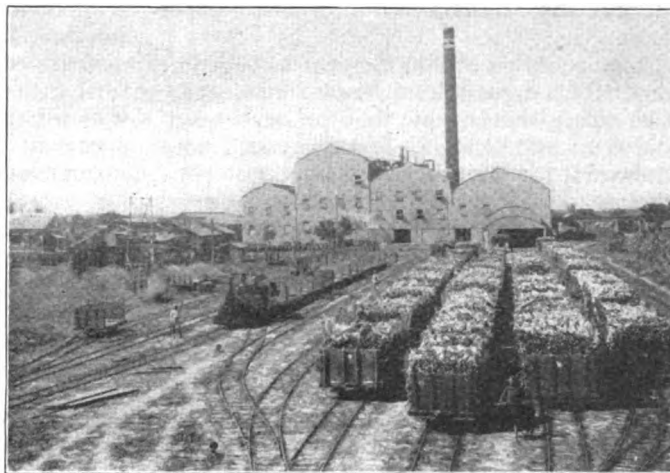
As the Japanese road builders and forest layers work, they are surrounded by armed Japanese guards. At these "outposts of civilization" the rebellious Formosans retreat only when life is extinct. So many Japanese laborers have been killed that the government has made no official statistics of them. Gradually, however, the news leaked out and the hand of the dread For-

mosan became so feared that men refused all such government employment. Then Japan forced men into this service. Laborers were recruited by force in every village. Few of these ever return to their families.

Last fall a widespread revolt was planned by the Formosans. Arms and ammunition were secretly secured and a flag of emancipation was to be raised on the emperor's birthday, October 31st. But the plot was discovered and many of those accused of complicity were immediately put to death. There was no appeal for any of the accused. All were doomed to be butchered. But in spite of the rivers of blood flowing through the island, a revolt arose at another point close on the heels of the first one. Perhaps it is written on the hearts of the natives: "We will die, but we will not be slaves."

Little, of course, is positively known of the government's attitude in these revolts, as every paper inimical to the official policy has been suppressed. All attempts to report the truth are crushed in a high-handed manner.

In Korea revolts and plots against the government have followed each other in



SUGAR MILL IN FORMOSA.

rapid succession since the assassination of Prince Ito. Official Japan is accused of widespread bribery and corruption. Some members of our naval department are to be tried soon at the Martial Court of Crimes.

There is revolt, rebellion and restlessness everywhere, caused by the increasing capitalist exploitation. The rebels are easily caught and condemned. Capital is growing stronger every day. But the work of education is going forward also. And it is this education and organization, together with the misery of the working people, that will some day save us from bourgeois dominion.

NEWS FROM NEW ZEALAND

By the Vag

LOOKING at the map of the world down in the lefthand corner about eight o'clock, if it was the face of a clock, the reader will find two little red marks labeled New Zealand. Looking at that great patch up about three o'clock, marked America, it looks an insignificant little spot that could be very well passed over without a second thought.

But New Zealand is a country that is being heard of everywhere, because it is a remarkable country in more ways than one. It produces some of the finest mutton in the world and sends it away to foreign coun-

tries frozen, where it is sold cheaper than here, and the good, kind New Zealanders keep back all the tough old rams and ewes and eat them themselves, and pay a third more than the foreign consumer does for mutton.

New Zealand produces the finest wool that can be raised and sends it away, and buys it back in shoddy clothes for the New Zealand workers to wear. New Zealand produces three million pounds worth of virgin gold every year and sends it to foreigners, and asks these same foreigners to give the New Zealand workers permission

to raise three million in the form of a paper loan.

One could go on like this for a long time and tell what good, kind people inhabit these two small islands, how they produce splendid fruit and send the best away and keep the worst for their own consumption. How their exports exceed their imports and yet they are compelled to borrow money to keep going. How a lot of thimble riggers are working the gold brick trick on the Dubb family, but the recital would become monotonous. When one takes into consideration that the population of these two islands is roughly about one million, and that 500,000 of these actually voted at the last general elections, and when we remember that 75 per cent of these people who vote for the government are workers whose average wage, according to the government year book, pans out at about two pounds per week, one begins to doubt the sanity of these people, and to wonder what Carlyle would have called them if he had been writing their history.

Still, there is one gleam of hope, because out of these 500,000 people who voted solidly for the things they didn't want, and got them, there are a few who voted for the things they did want, but didn't get, and this noisy minority are out on the street corners telling the majority what fools they are.

Slowly it dawned on the minds of the Dubb family that they can get the things they don't want without voting for them, and they made an attempt to kick the voting machine right out of existence. Some of the workers believed they could get from the master class the things they wanted by putting the boss into parliament. So they formed a political alliance with the enemy and called it the Liberal Labor Alliance. The minority called it the Lib Lab Alliance and used this "£" to write "£ib" with. The agreement was that Lab should keep working and £ib should draw the dividends. By promoting a few of the Labs now and again to inspectorships and other soft jobs, the Labs were kept contented for a number of years. The noisy minority kept plugging away and showing the silliness of the co-partnership scheme, and was making fairly good headway when suddenly America flooded the little islands with a mass of literature of the direct action order.

This had a good effect in one way and perhaps as time goes on it will prove a God-

send to the workers. It created a disgust for the parliamentary machine, it created a distrust of everyone who believed in capturing that machinery, and for a time it ran riot and made much headway. Advantage was taken by some good fellows to form a one big union federation, and this organization captured, for a time, everything they went for. Non-political and successful, they were building up a mighty direct-action-at-the-point-of-production army. Little groups here and there became damned cheeky to the boss, wages were increased 40 per cent, and even those of the Dubb tribe benefited considerably because the master class had to bribe them to keep quiet.

Just when the organization was going ahead with leaps and bounds, the master class decided to stop it. Just at a time when internal dissensions began to creep in, the enemy got to work. A little militant group was picked on, the General Labourers, road makers, and that class, and a small pin was gently inserted. Mr. G. L. jumped and said: "Look here, stop it! Don't do that again, or I will write and tell the Federation to stop the wheels of industry." The enemy apologized and said they didn't mean to hurt Mr. G. L., and then went out and bought a six-inch hat pin, came back and jammed it into Mr. G. L. in one jam. Down went Mr. G. L.'s long-handled shovel and the Feds received a mighty hot wire to stop the machinery. The machinery wasn't stopped because the executive saw through the game and saw also that the enemy was trying to put up a fight with local bodies or municipal funds. This wasn't good enough, and so Mr. G. L. was told to get back. He got back, but he swore a mighty big swear against the Federation, said they weren't a fighting organization, and not worth a damn. The enemy smiled and passed on to another small group of militants and went through the same game. And be it observed that it was always the most militant group that was picked on by the Master Class. All this time the deadly work of dissension was going on because those groups that had not got any rise began to think the organization had been organized on bluff. The Waterloo of non-political direct action soon came.

A group of two thousand militants was picked, half of them owning partly paid off houses in a small town which wholly de-

pended on a gold mine for its existence. The pin was inserted, the men responded, and with a mighty yell we were plunged into a one-sided fight with the enemy. The enemy laid back and laughed, told the government that these men were threatening to blow New Zealand into kingdom come, and asked for police. Hundreds of police were sent, but as organized labor was paying wages weekly, the strikers simply went on playing quoits and other such like games. That didn't suit the enemy, so they imported all the roughs and toughs and gaol scum into the district and let them loose under police protection. They cleared the town and the strike ended. But it left a lot of sad hearts and one grave, and the savings of years of toil of most of the workers went with it, and the Federation as a fighting force much depreciated. During this time factional fights were very bitter between the direct actionist and the political actionist, led mostly by men who wanted political honors with six pounds a week and free railway traveling thrown in. The Fed., commonly called the Red Fed., had received a staggering blow, but some genius dropped to the idea of seizing onto the reaction and suggested that the fighting factions should join together and form two mighty arms to the one body. One to hit politically, the other to hit industrially. But the industrialist was to provide the food for this animal. The rank and file of both sections of labor was sick and tired of the faction fighting and took to the scheme, and a mighty congress was the result. It was too bulky and mighty to do much practical work but make a grand demonstration. The enemy winked its eye and said nothing. This scheme went with a swing; men who had fought like Kilkenny cats previously were found now hugging one another and

telling each other what splendid fellows they were.

The enemy sniggered. Then, just when this organization was getting into fighting form, ammunition being stored away and everything looked as if elections would be a mighty big win for labor, the enemy bought some more hat pins. These were used most effectively on the most militant but somewhat ignorant group, and in a few minutes the fat was in the fire and we were plunged once more into a strike. Butchers, bakers, tinkers, tailors caught the fever, and out they came. The country being an agricultural one, had a lot of idle men back on the farms, because the seed was in and they were waiting for the grain to grow, so they were imported into the towns in thousands, armed with three-foot batons and revolvers. They were mounted on horseback, with military officers in charge, all paid for out of the public purse, and what oh! she bumps, things were lively whilst they lasted.

Did a man or woman dare to laugh at these mounted Dubbs, they were fined five pounds, and the strike had to be declared off. It has left the labor movement in New Zealand financially weak. It has left the labor sentiment as strong as hell! But the fear is that the strike having failed, the workers will now turn only to the political machine. This will be a pity, because whilst labor is 75 per cent of the population, and everyone over twenty-one has got a vote (men and women), yet the organized workers are only 100,000 out of 500,000 voters. The other 400,000 voters consist largely of the Dubb type, who will vote the same way their grandfather voted. So on the political field the militants are weak. On the industrial they could do anything if they could be brought to see the need of doing it all *together*, when they were all ready to do it.



Washington's May Day

By Ellen Wetherell

THE Spirit of the Revolution is astrir among the Socialists at the Nation's Capital. Solidarity in effort against the master class and for the working class is the watchword of the comrades. War between the classes, even defensive war of bullets by the workers, is being recognized as part of the inevitable processes of Social Evolution; the while the economic struggle is more and more emphasized by fraternal sympathy with the methods of organized labor evinced by the General Strike. The impending war with Mexico and the horrible stress of the Colorado miners has awakened Washington Comrades to the needs of the hour.

May-Day Festival with Charles Edward Russell in an address brought a crowd of enthusiastic revolutionists to the front, and when the speaker broke into a passionate declaration again War with Mexico and "The Power Behind the Throne," calling on all workers on war ammunition—makers of guns, bullets and powder—to fold their arms and

stop work, a loud responsive acclaim went up from the audience with cries of "Good, Good!"

At the close of the address the stage curtain rolled up, revealing a large chorus of Socialist Sunday School children amidst a sea of red—bunting, flags, and flowers—dressed to represent the various nations of the world. The children sang the Marseilles with strong and clear voices. Following came the reading of resolutions, drawn up by Comrade Roscoe Jenkins, Secretary of Local Washington North East Socialist Party. These resolutions, upon War with Mexico and the Class War in Colorado, were unanimously adopted. A dance and supper was a pleasing feature of the evening; the revolutionary German Branch was a marked factor in the success of the Festival.

Lack of space prevents me from giving the resolution in full. I quote in part. . . .

Socialist Party, District of Columbia:

Whereas, The administrators of the Government of the United States have involved the

United States in a conflict with President Huerta, the irresponsible dictator of our sister republic, Mexico, and

Whereas, This intervention on the part of the United States has been taken because the irresponsible dictator of Mexico refused to salute the United States flag at the request of a subordinate of our navy, in reparation for the arrest of a few American soldiers by a few of the dictator's war dogs, and

Whereas, At the same time this incident occurred, the war dogs and hirelings of the capitalist of the country, under the guise of keeping the peace and in the name of the same flag that was said to be insulted by the agents of the dictator, Huerta, brutally murdered and shot to pieces miners of Colorado and their innocent wives and children, and

Whereas, The continuance of the hostilities with Mexico will only bring the workers of both countries into bloody conflict and more completely enmesh the workers of Mexico in the clutches of American capitalism, the very thing they are valiantly trying to extricate themselves from in their struggle with Huerta; and

Whereas, The real honor of the flag is involved in preserving a just peace in the world, in minding our own business, and in promoting the welfare of our own people along the lines of self-governing democracy and equalized economic opportunity, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of the District of Columbia, in mass meeting assembled this first day of May, 1914, do protest against the action of the government in precipitating the nation in a war over such a flimsy pretext as the so-called insult to our dignity and with a neighboring country already in the throes of rebellion, and be it further

Resolved, That the workers of this whole land be called upon and urged to rise up in holy wrath and indignation and stop the great wheels of industry until peace is restored in both countries and that they, the workers, are insured the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

ROSCOE JENKINS.
Chairman Committee.

Proving the spirit of the Working-Class strength in these resolutions, I quote a criticism appearing editorially in the Washington Herald—a paper financed by the Association of Manufacturers and controlled by McClure's magazine:

"When 'Bill' Haywood, I. W. W. leader, advocated a nation-wide strike in the event of actual war with Mexico, the nation was shocked but not surprised. Labor Unions all over the country repudiated the seditious sentiment; yet in the Capital of the Nation Socialists met on Friday night and adopted Haywood's sentiments in the form of a resolution calling on the workers of the whole country 'To rise up in holy wrath and indignation and stop the great wheels of industry until peace is restored.'

"As for these resolutions the honest workmen of the country will repudiate them, just as they repudiated the same sentiment when uttered by 'Bill' Haywood. The most deplorable circumstance, therefore, is the disgrace brought to the United States by the publication of the account of such a meeting under a Washington date line; and one Charles Edward Russell, lecturer and writer and Socialist candidate for Governor of New York, declared 'I will not take a single step towards Mexico to participate in the indefensible murder for all the conscript laws that can be passed; if that be sedition, make the most of it.'

"Fortunately the nation has not to rely on Russell's services and they will not be missed. ITS HIGH SCHOOL BOYS ARE READY TO GO TO THE FRONT."



STUDY COURSE IN SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

LESSON VI

Surplus-Value (Continued)

By J. E. Sinclair

HIDDEN away in every capitalist industrial process is the secret of surplus-value, the foundation and inspiration of every capitalist venture. It is the ever-widening wedge that separates into two warring camps the whole population of the civilized world—on one side the workers, possessing nothing but the bare necessities of life at best, and on the other side the owning class, possessing all the productive property of the earth. In spite of the complexity of the productive processes, the glaring inequalities of the present economic status, the fatal contradictions that it reveals, its recurrent hard times in the face of all its technical advance, and its vast armies of unemployed and often starving men, are all serving to bring the workers to see that they are robbed—to see that they do not get the value of what they produce.

In return for the labor power of the worker, the capitalist gives the bare necessities that will enable the worker to reproduce his labor-power. This is simply the commodity value of labor-power, as we saw in the last lesson. It may be, and usually is, that during the first two or three hours the worker, using improved machinery and organized systematically by skilled bosses, produces more value than he receives as wages for the entire day. During the balance of the day his product goes to form that incalculable mass of wealth which the masters annually extort from the workers and for which they give nothing in return. "It is this sort of exchange," says Marx, "between capital and labor upon which capitalist production, or the wages system, is founded and which must constantly result in reproducing the working

man as a working man and the capitalist as a capitalist."

It is at the bargain counter of human lives on the labor market of the world that the capitalist class arranges for its initial and only act of robbery. Is there, in the presence of the armies of the starving unemployed, that labor-power is bought at its merciless bargain price. It is there that the deal is made whereby the extraction of surplus-value becomes as inevitable as the rising of the sun. It is there that the one commodity upon which capital realizes a profit is bought at the lowest price that will enable the laborer to reproduce that commodity. This commodity out of which grows all profits is LABOR-POWER.

Although surplus-value is created at the point of production, it is not realized until the various commodities produced by the workers are thrown upon the market and exchanged. The million pairs of shoes produced annually by a western shoe factory are of no use to the "Company." These dignitaries do not wear such coarse shoes. For them they can have no use-value whatever. But these shoes are made to have a use-value for loggers and farmers. So they are sold to these at their approximate value. But the logger did not bring in a stick of timber to exchange for his shoes. Nor did the farmer bring into the shoe store a sack of potatoes. There was a time in the history of exchange when this kind of barter was quite the go. At the great tribal dances of the Eskimos we might see such methods of barter in which two white fox skins might exchange for one wolverine skin; but capitalist society with its world market could not wait for such proceedings. The shoes that the farmer and logger got

are paid for with money. Surplus-value expresses itself in cold cash.

When the shoe company parted with its million pairs of shoes it received in return money. As good business men, these manufacturers saw to it that this money had value equivalent to at least the value of the shoes. The problem that now confronts us is, how did this money get its value? It is needless for us to go into the details of the origin and evolution of money here. The student, however, should, by all means, master this matter in the first volume of "Capital," and if possible, in the "Critique of Political Economy," by Marx. This is the one point on which many Socialists who come to us from the Populist fold are decidedly hazy.

The utopian dreamed that money could be made out of paper by the mere fiat of some capitalist government. This boundless faith in capitalist government or in any government is entirely unwarranted, for the law of value governs exchange, whether we exchange money for shoes or fox skins for wolverine skins. Laws, decrees and proclamations cut a very sorry figure when they run counter to economic forces that are bigger than government itself.

The value of money is determined just as the value of cloth, lumber, shoes, or labor-power is determined—by the amount of socially necessary labor-power required to reproduce it on the world market. Money is a universally acceptable equivalent. After much experimentation with other commodities, capitalist society has been driven by the laws inherent in its very nature to adopt gold as the basis of its monetary system. As with all other commodities, the value of gold fluctuates with the changing quantity of labor-power needed in its production. When gold was scarce and much labor was needed in prospecting and in mining it, its value was much higher than now, when science has made gold mining a veritable factory process and has tremendously increased the annual output. This cheapening of gold means higher prices.

Price is the monetary expression of value. This does not mean that value and price are necessarily the same; but Marx by a careful study of prices through long periods proved that prices approximate values very closely on an average. Supply and demand may temporarily affect prices, but the value of a commodity is always determined by the amount of socially necessary

labor-power crystallized in it. Improved methods, increased production, or anything that reduces the socially necessary labor-time used up in a commodity decreases its value. But the manufacturer may for a time be able to hold up the price owing to the fact that the new process may not yet have become general. This is why the capitalist who happens to be unable to put in the latest and the best machine is inevitably crushed by his stronger competitor, who thus grows ever more powerful.

Wages is the price paid for labor-power. The difference between wages and the value of the commodity produced by the laborer is surplus-value. In the United States about four-fifths of the value created is surplus-value and one-fifth is wages. But it would be misleading to assume that the individual capitalist who employs you gets such an enormous profit. With a part of this surplus-value your capitalist employer must pay interest possibly. Then there is insurance. Very likely there is rent to pay. Then, too, he must pay some taxes so that "law and order" may be maintained and the flow of surplus-value may not be stopped even momentarily by some dissatisfied workers striking at the wrong time. In fact, the spoils wrung from labor are shared by innumerable exploiters and petty grafters at every turn, who quarrel among themselves about the division of the loot. But these family squabbles among the exploiters are no concern of ours. The worker, robbed at the point of production, robbed when he sells his labor-power at its value and contracts to give to the boss the value of his product, has no business worrying about problems of taxation or insurance rates or high rents or any of the other thousand and one capitalistic side shows whose spielers hope to keep the workers from comprehending the class struggle that is going on all the time in the main tent.

You workers are robbed through the operation of the law of surplus-value. For your days of heavy toil you get a bare subsistence. Lower the rents, lower the cost of living and down comes your wages. In all lands, in all climes this is the way the economic forces of capitalist society have you in their grip. You have no struggle but one struggle, and that is for the full product of your labor. You have no fight but one fight, the fight for the possession of the means of production and exchange that

will enable your class that produces all the wealth to keep it for its own use. You have no class to fight but the class that stands between you and the ownership of the earth and the machinery of production; but with this class you have a life and death conflict in which you can waste no time with trifling side issues.

There was a time when each nation, geographically separated from other nations, had a separate standard of living of its own. In that day American workers could disdainfully speak of "cheap foreign labor." But the development of mechanical science moved on apace. Steel rails were jabbed through international boundary lines. The world was wrapped in telegraph wires and ocean cables. Steel ships and steel bayonets opened the way for the internationalism of capital in distant ports. The empire of business rose above the petty world of little lands and little national minds rotting with a petty patriotism that still survives among the ignorant. With the gradual perfection of international commerce, which we now witness in its culmination, national standards of living, national ideas, national and race prejudices cannot survive. Labor-power is now sold on the world market under world-wide conditions of competition. The capitalist buys labor-power where he can buy it the cheapest. If the cheapest labor will not come to his factory, he takes his factory to the cheapest worker. He moves from Massachusetts to Alabama, from Alabama to China. From each point of vantage he throws his product on the world market and puts his less fortunate competitor out of business on the other side of the globe. In this way wages are forced down to a world-level, and with them the old national standards of living sink to world conditions and all labor that can get a job is "cheap labor."

This process of the internationalization of standards of living was only in its infancy when Marx and Engels wrote. It is now an approaching reality here in America, where, owing to the great free land area that until recently existed, labor had some advantage in the past. But with the force of economic law back of him, the capitalist becomes the greatest of levelers. He will go where he can get the greatest amount of labor for the least possible outlay, and that will be where labor can live on the least possible wages and can put up

with the lowest of living standards. Before the advance of international capitalism, political boundary lines and the laws passed to shut out foreigners and foreign products are as chaff before a gale.

The lower the standard of living in the remotest parts of the earth, the lower capitalists can force wages everywhere. Every extra hour added to the labor time in one country means that sooner or later it will be added in another, else the factories will close. Then by a process of starvation and half living the workers in the favored land are reduced to the world level. Such is the inexorable operation of the laws of capitalist production.

No national laws passed by reformers can prevent this brutal lowering of the life standards, this heartless increase in the rate of surplus-value. Thanks to the technical progress of man, the human mind must now rise to a broader conception of life problems. Industrial evolution has at last reared above the world horizon the international capitalist, and facing him in a wide world conflict there stands the international proletariat, both creatures of a system of production that has developed between them an antagonism that reaches down to the roots of life.

In our next study we shall deal with this conflict between the workers of the world and the international buccaneers who live as parasites upon the sweat and blood of labor.

Suggestions for Study.

Read carefully the first thirteen sections of Value, Price, and Profit. You have already read this maybe; but without a full understanding of the economic laws therein briefly elaborated, you are badly handicapped in any discussion of surplus-value. Also read all of Part I (pages 41 to 162) in the first volume of Capital. Keep at hand, as you study Marx, Mary E. Marcy's *Shop Talks on Economics*. I know of nothing better than this little ten-cent book as a help in the study of Marx. Another little book peculiarly helpful has just been issued by the publishers of this magazine. It is the work of the comrades of Local Puyallup (Washington) and is entitled "Scientific Socialism Study Course."

Topics for Short Speeches, Discussions, or Essays.

1. What is value?
2. Use-value and exchange value.
3. The determining factor in fixing prices.
4. The fluctuation of prices.
5. Where the worker is robbed and why.
6. Surplus-value.
7. The evolution of money.
8. The standard of living and wages.
9. The immigrant and the native worker.
10. The in-

ternationalization of capital. 11. The internationalization of labor. 12. The patriot.

Questions for Review.

Write answers to these before coming to the study club. 1. Show how shortening of the working day will affect the rate of surplus-value. 2. How might the capitalists shorten the working day and yet keep up the old rate of exploitation? 3. Why can we say that labor-power is a commodity? 4. In what way does it differ from all other commodities? 5. In what way is the value of labor-power determined? 6. As civilization advances does the worker get a relatively greater or a lesser proportion of his product under capitalism? Why is this? 7. How do you account for the fact that some workers get more pay than others? 8. How would a general increase in wages affect prices? 9. How would shortening of the hours of labor affect prices? 10. If all the workers saved their money and bought only the very most needed of physical necessities, would it help them any? If so, why?

If not so, why? 11. How does the increased productiveness of labor affect use-values? How does it affect exchange values? 12. Can Rockefeller fix the price of coal oil arbitrarily? 13. Would it be possible to fix the price of wages by law? 14. Can legislatures or commissions fix the freight or passenger rates on railroads below the value of the services rendered by the railroads and make it stick? 15. How do capitalists get their profit if they pay the laborer the full value of his labor power? 16. In what way does the standard of living affect wages? 17. What forces are making for a universal standard of living and how is this affecting the American worker? 18. What prevents the Waltham Watch Company, for instance, from moving their plant to China? 19. How does an injury to the workers of India affect you? 20. What is money? 21. How has the cheapening of gold affected prices? 22. Are the interests of the workers affected permanently by a raise in rents or an increase in taxes?

EDITORIAL

A Rich Man's War.—This term was applied fifty years ago by a few clear-headed observers to the civil war in America. It applies even more unmistakably to the possible war between the United States and Mexico. Suppose the hopes of the most optimistic imperialists should be realized: suppose the armies of the United States were to over-run the whole of Mexico within a few weeks, were to crush out all opposition, take possession of the country, and annex Mexico to the United States. Then all the Mexicans would be American citizens, with the "Right to Work" wherever in the United States they might choose. They are said to be "good" workers, and all accounts agree that they are happy when they get 40 cents a day in U. S. money; they usually get less. With all the misgovernment and robbery under which they suffer, they have still been increasing in numbers, even though their industrial technique is of the eighteenth century rather than the twentieth. Suppose that American capitalism with its modern machinery were suddenly to take possession of Mexico, so that a fifth of the peons could produce more wealth each year than all of them are produc-

ing now. What effect would the competition of the other four-fifths have on YOUR job? But the Mexicans don't want your job. What they want is the land they are laboring on. If President Wilson were to withdraw his troops and let the soldiers under Villa have the cartridges they need, the Mexicans might settle their problems in a way that would be very much to the interest of the working people on both sides of the border. What will happen on a larger scale if American soldiers extend their lines in Mexico is well foreshadowed by the letter from a young marine which we print on another page. The Mexicans, men, women and children, will be massacred wherever they resist invasion, which will be pretty nearly everywhere that "our" soldiers go, and the young men who compose the U. S. army will be efficiently trained into calloused butchers fit to do the dirty work of capitalism at home as well as abroad. It is a healthy sign that there is no such wave of enthusiasm for war now as in the days of "Remember the Maine." It is not yet too late to protest against war with some hope of success. Let us Socialists make our protest heard.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

Socialist Progress in England.—Good news continues to come from England. While the capitalist parties are racking the famous constitution out of shape the Socialists are getting together. The reports of the annual conferences of the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labor Party are almost too good to be true. For a generation England has had some of the strongest personalities and clearest heads in the Socialist movement, but that strange sectarian spirit which is so prevalent in English religion has seemed to dominate even here. To carry on a revolutionary movement one must be able to see two things at once; and this our English friends have seemed unable to do. So they divided the task: the I. L. P. looked at one and the B. S. P. at the other. And because they didn't both see the same thing each one called the other blind.

The two things to be seen are the ultimate end of activity and the immediate means of getting masses of people to work toward that end. The comrades of the B. S. P. have kept the Socialist commonwealth clearly in view. They have written and spoken energetically against the befuddled reformism of the Labor Party. To the present writer there is something truly sublime about the faithfulness with which they have labored without visible reward. They have made thousands of Socialists but their converts have joined other groups. Yet they have kept on steadily about their business.

The I. L. P., seconded by the Fabians, has worked within the Labor Party. The Labor Party is largely made up of conservative labor unions. Many of its representatives in Parliament have been Conservatives or Liberals by conviction. Among these, about forty in number, the seven representatives of the I. L. P. have had to carry on their parliamentary work. The seven have been bound by the convictions and alliances of the group as a whole. Needless to say, it is seldom that they have spoken or acted clearly for Socialism or the working-class. They have

been so busy maintaining their connections with the masses of conservative workers that they have said little or nothing about their Socialist aim.

Readers of *THE REVIEW* have already learned of the move made in December by the International Bureau. The Bureau proposed that the three chief Socialist groups in England combine on the basis (1) that all join the Labor Party, and (2) that they attempt to bring about such a change in the Labor Party policy that candidates be permitted to run as "Labor and Socialist" candidates. This proposal was debated at the party conferences held during Easter week. For the first time each conference received a fraternal delegate from the other. The speeches of these delegates were warmly received in both cases.

Before the unity matter came up at the I. L. P. conference a very refreshing thing happened. For years past the delegates from Bradford have regularly introduced a resolution in favor of calling on the I. L. P. men in Parliament to vote independently according to party principles. In England this is a much more radical proposal than it would be in most countries. The English cabinet system is so delicate an affair and the results of a cabinet overturn are so serious, that the cabinet habitually plays the tyrant. It hardly ever occurs to an M. P. to vote according to his own mind. The Bradford resolution submitted this year attacked the main point. It demanded that "the Parliamentary Labor Party be asked to vote on all issues in accordance with the principles for which the Party stands" in order that the nefarious cabinet system be broken down as soon as possible. And this resolution was carried by a vote of 233 to 78.

In the discussion on the unity resolution there was some of the detestable sort of prejudice against clean-cut Socialism which we have often seen in this country. But it was represented by an unpopular minority. One man said that it would be impossible to do any practical work

with a lot of "theorists" like those gathered under the B. S. P. banner. But he soon found that times have changed in England. He was told that many of these "theorists" are doing manful work in the labor movement and that they are already serving in the Labor Party as members of the labor unions. The resolution was carried by a vote of 225 to 113. On only one point was there successful opposition. It was said that if Socialists could describe themselves as "Labor and Socialist" candidates, others might run as "Labor and Conservative" candidates. This was denied, but this matter of party denomination was referred back to the Executive Committee.

Of course it is the B. S. P. which must take the definitive action with regard to this matter. It is the only group which has anything to lose by the proposed action. There is to be a referendum vote on the matter, so nothing is decided as yet. But the discussion at the conference gives reason to suppose that the unity proposal will be carried by the vote of the membership. The following account of the speech by Hyndman, taken from Justice, sums up most of the arguments delivered pro and con: "He had a great deal of sympathy with those who are opposed to joining the Labor Party, and they must recognize that there must be some very strong reasons indeed for him to change his opinion. He did not like schemes of 'expediency,' but neither did he like schemes of 'inexpediency.' Looking back on the past thirteen or fourteen years, he regretted that they had come out of the Labor Party. Had they remained in it Socialism would have had a stronger hold among the workers. How could they get at their minds if they did not reach their bodies? Though we don't like joining the Labor Party, nevertheless, if we go in we shall go in with the red flag flying. Further, no speech that could be delivered here could have anything like the effect that could be produced at the Labor Party Conference. Look at the 193,000 votes given last Tuesday at the conference on South Africa. We should have obtained more had we been inside the Labor Party. What we had now to do was to take back to the branches the arguments presented on both sides with the full belief that all

of us were striving for the progress of Socialism."

The Church and the Trade Unions.—

The organs of the Roman Catholic church are paying more and more attention to the union movement. Threats made at the last A. F. of L. convention were evidently part of a studied plan. In utterances of priests in print and in the pulpit it is plainly to be seen that there is something afoot. And this something is nothing more nor less than an attempt to dominate the unions. There is some pretense of interest in the workers' welfare. Now and then comes a luke warm reference to hours or wages. But the real enthusiasm of the movement appears when the ecclesiastical agitators fight Socialism. The whole thing, as seen in this country, is so plain that only the most thick-headed workingman would be deceived by it. But anyone who is in doubt has now an opportunity to inform himself accurately of the way in which the church takes up the union movement.

Last year Dr. A. Erdman, a member of the German Reichstag, published a short history of the ecclesiastical efforts to throttle the German unions. It is called *The Church and Trade Unions in Germany*. This has now been translated into English and can be procured by writing to the Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands, Berlin, So. 16, Engelufer 15. It will be useful to have this pamphlet circulated as widely as possible in the United States at the present time. Members of unions are urged to send for as many copies as they can distribute.

Dr. Erdman is authority for the statement that the average German priest spends one-fourth of his time doing religious work and the other three-fourths trying to get hold of the workers and fight Socialism. The church's effort to influence the workers for its own benefit is not by any means limited to the "Christian" unions. Every time the working people have made a step forward the church has been ready with a new organization to throw them off the track. Of course, in Germany the church is openly and strenuously in politics. The Center Party, a rock-ribbed Conservative organization, has been from the beginning of Germany's modern political life di-

rectly a tool of Rome. Very early the leaders of this party brought about the organization of a "People's Union for Catholic Germany." This organization, which has at present some 750,000 members, publishes books and pamphlets, gives lecture courses, starts societies, and in every way imaginable tries to get hold of the working people in order to "save" them from Socialism. The "Christian" unions were founded by this "People's union."

But it was before this event that the real history of the church's "social" work began. At the time of the Revolution of 1848 the workers were getting interested in politics. Then was founded the Catholic Journeymen's Association. This organization includes the members of skilled trades. Its president is appointed by the Archbishop of Cologne and all the officers of the local groups are priests. It preaches humility in relation to the employers and pretends to ignore politics. Everybody knows, however, that it is constantly used to further the interests of the Center Party. At present it has 80,000 members.

Much the largest Catholic organization of this sort was formed in the early sixties at the time when Lassalle was rousing the workers and gathering them into his General Workingmen's Union. It is called the Catholic Workingmen's Society, and was started by the famous Bishop Ketteler. Bishop Ketteler was a real person with genuine knowledge of the proletariat and sympathy with it. His organization was, at first, very radical. In more than one instance his followers got into bitter quarrels with the leaders of the Center Party. But the Centrists had the support of Rome and the Society had to yield to them. Since the eighties its members have been kept strictly within the bounds set by the bishops. All the local leaders are priests. Any member who subscribes to a Socialist paper or in any way shows leanings toward the real trade union movement is instantly expelled. At present this organization numbers 480,000.

Bismarck's Anti-Socialist law was repealed in 1890, and its repeal was immediately followed by a great forward leap of the Socialist and labor movements. The church leaders were not caught napping.

Immediately they started their own unions of various sorts. Some were frankly Catholic, some pretended to be non-sectarian, some were Catholic and Protestant. In short, there were all sorts of little ecclesiastical "unions" fighting for life and all seeking to stem the upward tide of the workingclass movement. By 1900 a regular system of organization and body of principles were agreed upon and the "Christian" trade unions were fairly got under way. They were finally based on the interdenominational plan. It was thought that this would hide the manifest purpose of the Catholic leaders and so hoodwink the public. But from the beginning there have been Catholic leaders who saw grave danger in the association with Protestants. The division on this question has brought about the so-called "Berlin Faction" and the "Cologne Faction."

This question of association with Protestants was taken up by the German bishops and the interdenominational unions were condemned in a letter to the clerics. Finally the whole matter was taken to the pope. Pius X, as is well known to REVIEW readers, finally issued an encyclical in which he favored purely Catholic organizations, but permitted mixed unions where it seemed advisable to have them. The members of Christian unions were, however, told always to submit to the advice of the priests and to conduct all their affairs according to the rules of the church. "Whatever the Christian does," says this document, "even in the disposition of earthly matters, the heavenly treasures must not be lost sight of." "Those who individually or collectively profess to be Christians," it continues, "must not stir up strife or animosity among the different classes of society."

The result of this encyclical was soon evident. In former times the "Christian" unions had sometimes struck with the regular organizations and stood out manfully for their rights. In 1912, during the great mine strike in the Ruhr district, they brought the struggle disgracefully to an end by serving as strike-breakers and doing everything in their power to give the government an excuse for introducing the troops. Since then they have

been everywhere regarded as nothing but "yellows." At present they have about 350,000 members as compared with the two and a quarter millions in the regular unions. Dr. Erdman well says, where the Christian unions gain 10,000 the regular unions gain 100,000.

What gives all these matters importance for us at the present moment is the evident intention of certain Catholic groups in relation to our own labor movement. It is noticeable that the leaders of the activity in this direction are almost always German priests. Herr Gies-

berts, the great man of the Centrists, was recently in this country trying to work up enthusiasm for their work. To be sure it is doubtful whether it would be at all possible for the church to do in this country anything like what it has done in Germany. But a very small body of consistent "yellows" is a very dangerous thing to the labor movement. Workers everywhere should be on their guard against outside domination. There is nothing more calculated to make them watchful than an understanding of what has happened in Germany.

All Aboard the Pennsylvania!

SEVERAL of the REVIEW hustlers who are sending in subscriptions for the free trip to the International Socialist Congress at Vienna, August 23, have taken big strides forward during the past month.

And Comrades Davidson, of Kansas City, Stevens of Jamestown, Welling of North Bend, Oregon, Dickson, of Winnsboro, Texas, Cleveland, of Baudette, Minn., and Pierce of Washington, D. C., have sent us word that they are entering the 300 sub-dash to win the race.

All our winners are going via the Hamburg-American line, one of the oldest and most reliable transportation companies. One or two may prefer to go via the greatest ship on earth—the IMPERATOR. Those who have to rush back to work and have only a few days to spend in Vienna, can take this palatial steamer, provided they will pay their own hotel bills while in Europe. They will have second cabin accommodations on this greatest of all ship-building achievements.

The Emperor is of 55,000 ton loading capacity and over 910 feet in length. Passengers walking from prow to stern cover nearly a quarter of a mile each time. 800 tons of coal are used on the Emperor daily and she carries over 4,000 passengers and a crew numbering 1,300 men. The

Hamburg-American people have done all that modern science and money could procure to make the Emperor the Star of the Seas and to give their passengers the greatest comfort, and safety in crossing the Atlantic. The Emperor makes the trip from New York to Hamburg in seven days.

Comrade Leslie H. Marcy, Associate Editor of the REVIEW, will represent the REVIEW at the International Congress. He will be one of the REVIEW party. Comrade Carpenter, of Boston, has 75 per cent of the required 300 yearly subscriptions. Dr. Gibbs has won his trip and Comrades Dr. Wilson of Rodi, Penn., and Burns of Wilkes Barre, will doubtless be among the winners. Other comrades write that from now on they will do double work in getting the required number.

Nearly all the winners and prospective winners have signified their preference of one of the big, slow liners that carry only second, third and steerage passengers and will sail from the company's new pier, at the foot of 33rd street, South Brooklyn, N. Y., August 6th. Most of them will return during the early part of September, but stopover arrangements may be secured if we are notified in time to so state to the Hamburg-American people.

Several friends have written that they

want to become one of the REVIEW party though they cannot secure the 300 yearly subscriptions. We have advised the comrades that we will give them the same terms we are able to secure from the steamship line. But we cannot reserve any cabins for anyone who wants to pay his passage and join our party unless they pay the required deposit the Hamburg people demand.

Naturally those making arrangements first will secure the best berths and best cabins, so that we would advise you to write at once if you contemplate joining our delegation. In case you should pay

the small deposit required, and find that you would be unable to make the voyage, you would, of course, forfeit the deposit.

As the Pennsylvania arrives at Hamburg, Germany, on August 19th, the REVIEW delegation will have four days to spend passing through The Fatherland and can stop off and spend some time in Berlin. Or, if they prefer, they can stop off at one of the ports in France and pass through Paris on their way to Vienna. One or two of our friends plan a short jump down into Italy and to the Alps either before or after the Congress. The REVIEW offer is the opportunity of a lifetime.

TO FRANK TANNENBAUM IN PRISON.

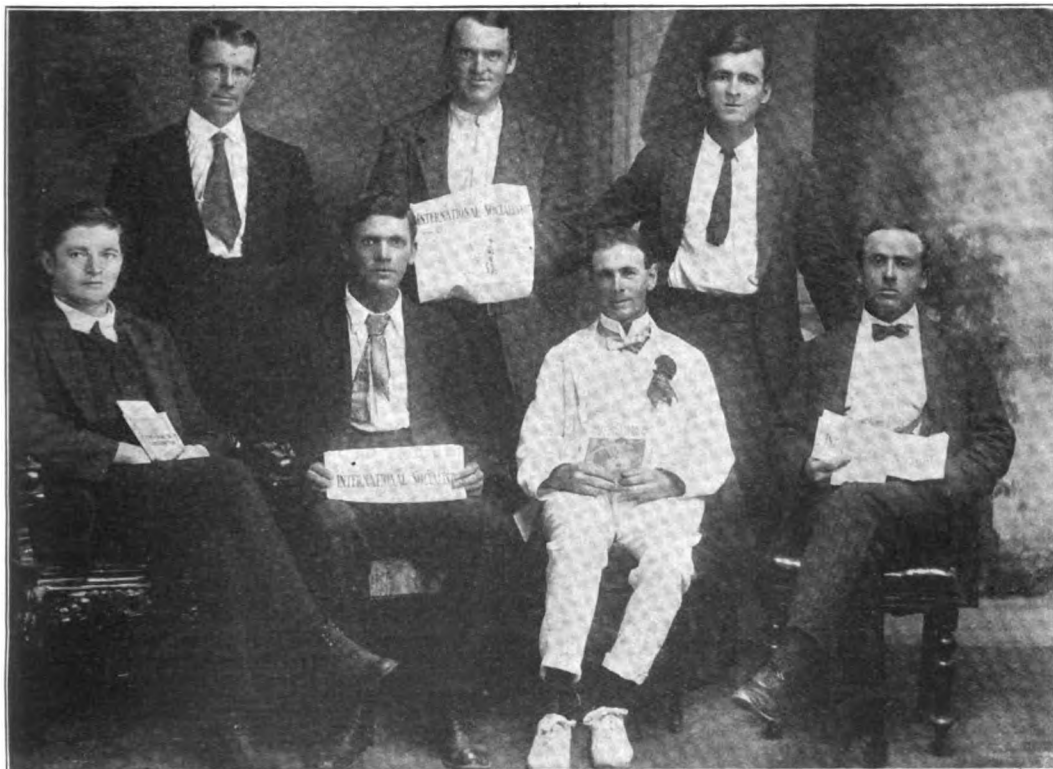
By Upton Sinclair.

Poor boy, that came too newly to our shores,
And cannot understand our native ways,
Our dignity and precedent and peace—
Poor foreign boy, with conscience for our sins!
That could not go his humble, tread-mill round,
While men were starving, dying in our streets,
And winter lashed them with its icy whips,
And fashion motored over them in pomp!

Poor boy, they seized thee—bullied, harried thee—
And learned judges read the law to thee,
And righteous papers sounded loud acclaim.
The prison-walls clang on thee—oh, just God!
Think of this place, where human bodies rot,
And human voices weep the nights away;
A place unfit for beasts—so certified
By law itself! And have we razed its walls,
Its foul abominations swept away?
Nay, there it stands—our state is poor, we hear,
Our legislative thieves have taken all.
So let men rot within the slimy walls,
And learned judges read the law to them,
And righteous papers sound their loud acclaim!

Oh boy, brave boy, what can I do for thee?
Pay thee the tribute of a futile tear?
Write words of hope that cannot pierce to thee,
But break upon the slimy dungeon walls?
A thousand causes clamor for my pen,
A thousand horrors haunt me when I sleep;
Men's minds imprisoned, I cannot break their chains!
A world enslaved, I cannot set it free!
So I excuse myself, and do my task,
And let thee rot, poor sad-eyed, foreign boy—
One hero-soul in this our coward State!

NEWS AND VIEWS



GROUP OF AUSTRALIAN REDS—BRISBANE.

Rear Row—Percy Mandeno, Robert Rose, Bobe Bessant. Front—James Quinton, Gordon Brown, Albert Jenkins, Alf. Rees.

Free Speech in Australia—The Brisbane branch of the Australasian Socialist Party have been fighting more than eight months for the right to hold public meetings on a Sunday, a right which is extended to religious organizations but denied to secular bodies. Last June our party held a meeting on a Sunday afternoon. We were allowed to proceed for half an hour; meanwhile the police were making inquiries as to the proper attitude to adopt towards us. Having ascertained that we were breaking the Sabbath and the LAW, five of us were arrested, kept in the watch-house all night and next morning arraigned before a magistrate, who, after lecturing us on the possibilities which life offered if only we were good, sentenced us to twelve hours' imprisonment. At our next branch meeting it was decided to exhaust every possible means to gain our end "constitutionally" before again defying "Loranorder."

These "constitutional" efforts being of no

avail, it was decided that we speak every Sunday, Cahill's disapproval notwithstanding.

We picked out the busiest part of the city, a place where the Salvation Army are allowed to speak without let or hindrance. The first comrade (A. J. Brown) had not spoken more than five minutes before an excited "John Hop" demanded his permit, and, not receiving one, arrested him.

The next morning the magistrate informed our comrade that "if only he would express contrition he would be leniently dealt with." Brown pointed out that he had done no wrong and would certainly speak again when released. Such defiance, coming from a member of the working class, was too much for the magistrate, who, more out of spleen than aught else, imposed a sentence of one month's imprisonment.

The following week Com. Mandeno performed a peripatetic stunt, which for a space nonplussed the police. He walked up and

down the street talking all the time. For fifteen minutes he got home with some good propaganda work. At last he was arrested. Two weeks were his portion. Similar tactics were pursued the following Sunday and for his share in the good work Com. Jenkins was allowed four weeks free board and lodging.

Our next fighter, George Thompson, taking a leaf from the suffragette's book, chained himself to a veranda post and whilst the police were hammering away to release him Thompson addressed a huge crowd that gathered, drawn thither by the unusual sight of policemen working. Thompson was sentenced to a month. On his arrival at Boggs road jail he refused to eat and for nine days no food was consumed by him. A Dr. Macdonald was called in and declared our comrade to be insane. Thompson, although a sane man, now lies in Goodna Asylum, and if the authorities have their way he will never again be free.

The struggle went on. Every Sunday, in some part of the city, one of us would hold a meeting. On one occasion a comrade chained himself to the bough of a tree and from his arboreal rostrum addressed a huge crowd of people (and policemen). Several spoke from the awnings which cover our (?) sidewalks. For this offense we were not arrested straightaway, but were proceeded against by summons. This allowed us to speak for several hours and good use was made of the time. Once or twice we have spoken without injury to ourselves. This has been accomplished by the speakers quietly disappearing for a while. The authorities do not trouble to bring them back.

A few weeks ago Coms. Bessant and O'Brien hired a couple of horses, dressed themselves like Russian Cossacks and paraded down the main street of Brisbane. On each side of the horses was a placard bearing a couplet. One piece ran:

"Sorry to say can't speak to today;
Cahill won't let me."

The police formed a cordon at the top of the street and succeeded in capturing one horseman. The other, wheeling rapidly to the left and passing round a block, again confronted the defenders of "Loranorder." Riding straight towards the "Johns" Com. O'Brien once more eluded his would-be capturers, who are still looking for him.

Our persistent efforts in speaking despite the jailings have won the admiration of many who were at first bitterly opposed to us. The craft unions for many months hung back, but they are with us today and have organized a "Free Speech" demonstration, which is to take place next Saturday. Nine months ago we were an unknown, struggling quantity. Today, throughout the length and breadth of Queensland, people are inquiring what Socialism and Industrial Unionism mean. For this splendid ad we must thank the thick-skulled authorities who, by their autocratic and stone-age actions, have been the means of advancing our cause and spreading the light to an extent only otherwise obtained by several years of constant effort.

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Those of us who have suffered the pain of close confinement in King George's palatial boarding house make light of it. We are recompensed by the knowledge that "out of evil cometh good." Then, again, have we not enjoyed moments of sweet revenge, especially when fooling the old fogies who dispense capitalistic justice from the bench? It would take too long to tell of the many methods resorted to in order to delay business of the court, of the thousand and one questions we asked of witnesses brought to court who knew not the language and needed an interpreter, etc. All this was done until one magistrate swore he would try no more "Free Speech" cases. In conclusion, the comrades here in Brisbane desire to send fraternal greetings to the fighters in the common cause over the water and to inform them that even in this land of eternal sunshine, despite its boast of being in the van of the freedom loving and freedom practicing countries of the world, the same struggle is on—the struggle between Plute and Pleb—for industrial control and ownership of the wealth-producing forces of the country. With best wishes for the continued success of the REVIEW.

GORDON BROWN,

Organizer, Brisbane Branch, A. S. P.

The Deported South African Nine.—Arrested without a warrant, jailed without a trial; taken out of our cells in the dead of night, escorted by a regiment of armed men to a quiet station on the main line, placed in compartments of a special train there waiting for us, doors locked and armed guards within and without; kidnapped in this fashion and transported to the port of Durbar, our arrival timed at midnight; forced at the point of the bayonet to board the steamtub "Umgeni," locked into cabins with harbor police armed as guards, hawfers were unloosed and engines started with frantic haste as we sped "full steam ahead" till the three-mile sea limit was passed. We were faced with guns till our guards retreated over the side of the Umgeni and boarded their own tug. Left in the company of the detectives, we headed direct for England. Treated in this fashion, and with a month at sea for reflection, we wondered what our fellow workers in England would think about it.

The nine of us were of settled mind. We would fight if no one else did. We would stir up the sense of equity and justice and draw the attention of the people of England to the tyrannical acts of the South African government. We relied upon ourselves. If help came from elsewhere, so much the better.

Indescribable scenes were witnessed on our arrival in London. Camera and press men by the hundreds faced us at every turn. Papers and posters contained nothing but the latest about the Nine.

The Parliamentary Labor Party organized a welcome and reception inside the House of Commons, much to the disgust of the Tory party. A huge demonstration was held at the London Opera House, and, most impressive of all, a demonstration, unprecedented in numbers and enthusiasm, marched to Hyde Park

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on the first Sunday after our arrival to greet us.

Even after this remarkable display the British government was apathetic, but a message reached them from South Africa itself which they could not affect to ignore. The Transvaal Provincial Council (State) elections took place and the Labor Party, which had formerly only two representatives won 23 out of 25 seats contested, thus giving it the majority in a legislative body numbering 45 representatives.

The British House of Commons has now passed a resolution amounting to a vote of censure upon Botha and Smuts. The latter are in a dilemma. They are damned if they do, and likewise if they don't. They are passing laws to banish the Nine in perpetuity, and then issuing statements that we may return if we will promise to be good. They have withdrawn certain repressive measures under compulsion and are endeavoring to obtain the same repressive power through amendments to existing acts. We are going back shortly, and unconditionally, and they know we are. We have the South African capitalist class on the run. The doom of the Rand Mining Magazine is sealed as far as politics go.

All this political advance is purely the outcome of INDUSTRIAL ACTION. Before the strike the S. A. Labor Party was losing seats. Now nothing on earth can stop them. The strike has done more to educate the workers and make them class-conscious than ten years of ordinary propaganda.

It is to the credit of our industrial organization that it threatened the supremacy of the Capitalist State as no Capitalist State has ever before been threatened, and in martial law so fully and widely applied, the last card of Capitalism has been played, and we can now calmly organize and plan to beat them. I honestly believe, as I asserted to my American friends during my visit of three years ago, that the Industrial revolution will be first fought and won in South Africa. We have already had a victory for the "one big union."—By Archie Crawford.

One Union in the Clothing Industry

Between the working class and employing class a struggle is on which will only end when the working class come together industrially and control that which they produce by their labor.

Notwithstanding the fact that attempts are being made to mislead the working class into the belief that the interest of employes and employers are identical, the struggle for existence and supremacy clearly indicate that the working class and employing class have nothing in common.

The rapid gathering of wealth, the centering of the management of industries into fewer hands, the development of industries and the changing forms of production make the trade unions as now organized inadequate to meet the situation.

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We in the tailoring industry know that under the present form of organization that one craft is pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in strikes or lockouts.

This is a sad state of affairs and the Tailors Industrial Union has come out flat-footed and declared for a change.

They have decided that the interest of the workers in the clothing industry can best be upheld by having only one organization in the industry, where all the workers can, if need be, come to the assistance of any other branch that may be involved in trouble, where the workers will have only one allegiance and not three or four, as is now the case.

We realize it is hard to break away from the past, but the past is dead. We are living in the Today, which has brought with it the product, ideas, invention and everything else of the present, and if we are going to enjoy them we must use them now.

It is said that "Wise men are instructed by reason, men of less understanding need the experience, and the ignorant are guided only by necessity."

Reason, long ago, was put away; experience, we've had a sufficiency, but in some quarters not yet enough.

However, NECESSITY is on the threshold and in tones clear and loud it says to the working class: "If you do not want to perish, if there is any spark of life left in your carcass, YOU MUST UNIFY YOUR FORCES, YOU MUST CONCENTRATE YOUR EFFORT IN ONE UNION. AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE, for ONE UNION in the CLOTHING INDUSTRY.—From *The Tailor*.

Industrial Unionism or Destruction—The Industrial Railroad Workers

The present industrial situation is sufficient proof that craft union forms of organization have outlived their usefulness. They no longer tend to better the condition of the workers, according to the principles on which they were organized, but like the various political organizations have become corrupted by the power delegated to them by the rank and file and have developed into machines manipulated by parasitical heads that are proving a burden instead of a relief to the membership. The high salaried officials of most of the craft unions look upon themselves as the organization and are usurping more of its powers. The luxurious lives that their high salaries enable them to live puts them out of touch and out of sympathy with the workers whom they are supposed to serve. Because the rank and file permits them to usurp the powers of the organization, they soon grow egotistical and develop into a lot of credit seeking tools of the capitalist interests. As a result of these credit-seeking salaried officials of labor sacrificing the interest of the rank and file to satisfy their own personal ambitions the labor movement of the country is kept divided into crafts and factions with their petty jealousies and prejudices just when it should be cemented together into one solid body. While this applies

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to most all craft organizations, it is more noticeable in the railroad industry. Here they have the Brotherhood of Engineers, Firemen, Conductors and Trainmen, with the unskilled labor not organized at all. All of these are separate crafts, while they are all affiliated with the A. F. of L., yet the engineer will run his engine with a scab fireman; the conductor with a scab trainman, and even haul strike-breakers and scabs or gunmen and militia to break the strike of their fellow workmen, due to the sacred and separate contracts made by each craft; they can't do otherwise without violating their agreement with the masters. The railroad brotherhoods will haul in strike-breakers, gunmen and soldiers to take the places of striking miners, and will not protect one of their members if he refuses and is discharged on account of his refusal; they will haul the coal from scab mines and the union miners will supply coal for scab trains, all due to the various craft agreements.

The workers can agree with the masters for the protection of the capitalist interest, but they can't agree and refuse to enter into a contract with their fellow workers for the protection of their interest. In every industrial conflict the capitalist has always been able to use one body of workmen to defeat another body of workmen, yet in the face of these facts the strongest opposition to industrial unionism comes from the salaried officials of craft unionism, but the rank and file of all crafts are gradually awakening to the realization that craft unionism has become fossilized and no longer meets the requirements of the present industrial era. The high salaried officials will not be able to retard the industrial movement much longer and to further burden the workers with padded expense accounts and high salaries. With the rapid development of a class interest the craft movement will be abolished and with it the parasites and fossils that have bled the workers while the masters robbed them. We have a striking example of this usurped power and official dictatorship in the part the official machines both in the railroad organization and the mine workers of Pennsylvania.

The railroad workers out of Pittsburgh went on strike, but the salaried officials of the various brotherhoods held a gentlemanly meeting with the railroad magnates and decided that the workers had no grievances and refused to recognize the strike. The officials of the mine workers of the same state also held a gentlemanly agreement with the coal barons and decided that the miners should continue to work at the present wages and conditions for two more years; as a result of these high-handed tactics of these officials another industrial movement sprung into existence; the railroad strikers refused to be driven back to work by their official traitors and organized what is known as the Industrial Railroad Workers. From what we know of the rank and file of the railroad brotherhoods, an industrial organization of this nature will meet with their most hearty approval and support, and with an agreement between the railroad workers and the miners these two industries could

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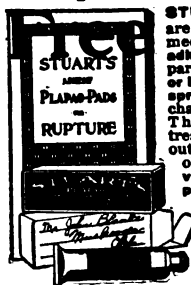
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practically wring from the masters their own price or else tie up the wheels of commerce. The working class must organize industrially as a class and not as crafts; they must organize politically as a class, and the world is theirs. The crisis has been reached and it is either industrial unionism or dissolution and destruction.—(Ed. Labor Argus.)

Alexander Scott Freed.—Supreme Court Justice Kalish, in an opinion handed down April 20, at Trenton, N. J., reversed the conviction of Alexander Scott, Socialist editor of the *Pas-saic Weekly Issue* of Paterson, N. J., who was sentenced to a term of imprisonment of from one to fifteen years for alleged incitation to "hostility and opposition to government" during the strike of the silk workers in Paterson last year. In reversing the decision, he declared there was no ground for the indictment and scored Judge Abram Klenert for not quashing the indictment or ordering a verdict of acquittal.

Judge Kalisch makes the main point of his opinion in his affirmation of the right of free speech and freedom of the press. Scott may have used ill-chosen language, he said, but he stood upon his constitutional rights in so doing. What bearing the decision of Justice Kalisch will have on the cases of Frederick S. Boyd and Patrick L. Quinlan, who were involved in the strike and convicted of similar charges, is not yet known. But the prosecution has received a severe setback in its case against these two comrades.

To the Rescue.—Fellow-worker Joe Hill, author of the I. W. W. song book, cartoonist and rebel from lower California with Jack Mosby, are in jail in Salt Lake City, charged with murder. An ex-policeman was killed one evening and four days later Comrade Hill was arrested for the deed at the home of some friends nine miles from the city. Eye witnesses failed to identify Hill as being the assailant so the police resorted to other means to "get" a man whom they all know is an agitator. The newspapers are being used to create the impression that Hill is a dangerous man, a bad man and author of the I. W. W. song book. This in itself is enough to convict him of chopping his mother up into little bits so far as the business interests in the community are concerned. Added to this the Utah Construction Company and the Utah Copper Company (alias the Mormon Church) are thirsting for revenge on the I. W. W. We have information that Axel Steele, who is reported to be a notorious gunman and scab-herder, has boasted in San Pedro saloons that the fact that Hill is a member of the I. W. W. is enough to convict him with the jury they are getting ready for him. The boys have started a defense fund for these two boys. Everybody will want to contribute at least 10 cents, so chuck any amount you can spare into an envelope and mail it to Ed Rowan, Local No. 69, 28 S W. Temple street, Salt Lake City, Utah.



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From an Old Reader.—I am an old reader and an admirer of the *REVIEW*, which seems to become "redder" every time I read it.—Julius Hess.

From a Reader.—I like your articles and illustrations on labor-saving machines and industrial conditions at home and abroad. Short articles and plenty of photo-engravings make the *REVIEW* interesting. I get the bulk of my foreign news of the movement in the *REVIEW*.—W. Carl Spencer.

From a Logging Camp.—I am about the only Socialist in a camp of about twenty men. A logging camp. Well, here is at least no competition for the glory. I was very much pleased with your May number. It is up to date and direct and bright.—C. O. O.

Getting Better.—She's getting better all the time, "Our Fighting Magazine," or I am getting better able to appreciate its tune or both; at any rate I devour each number with a relish and pleasure, I am frank to say, I cannot find in any other Socialist periodical.—J. J. Hisel.

From the "Live Ones."—The following comrades have sent in 10 or more subs during the past month:

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Hermann	Cleveland, Ohio.
Carpenter	Charlestown, Mass.
Rodgers	Rector, Ark.
Marcum	Leachville, Ark.
Griggs	Healdsburg, Cal.
Christensen	Seattle, Wash.
Brothers	Lake Bay, Wash.
Jones	Weirton, W. Va.
Hall	Neodesha, Kans.
Sorro	Bellevue, Alta., Canada
Seidel	Decatur, Ill.
Vieweger	New York, N. Y.
Landfried	Challis, Ida.
Fitzpatrick	Bellaire, Ohio.
Burt	Plummer, Ida.
Jensen	Silvana, Wash.
Sinclair	Arlington, Wash.
Hart	Marietta, Ohio.
House	Spokane, Wash.
Olson	Seattle, Wash.
Curl	Alliance, Ohio.
Phinney	Springfield, Mo.
Fisher	East St. Louis, Ill.
Rector	Great Falls, Mont.

Class War in Colorado and Mexico

Featured in the June Issue of

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Comrade H. A. Hedden, who is on his way from Jackson, Mich., to Aberdeen, Wash., is now passing through the state of South Dakota. Comrade Hedden is hoping to find some trace of his brother, Jess, who was last heard from at Aberdeen, Wash., more than twenty years ago.

The Frame-Up.—Thomas J. Mooney, our old friend from San Francisco, and H. G. Hanlon and Joe Brown, all class-conscious working men, are being held at the Contra Costa county jail at Martinez, Cal. Our friends write that they are the victims of arrogant western corporations, who have hired detectives for the purpose of "discovering trouble." These three boys spent months of activity in the strike of the electrical workers against the powerful Pacific Gas & Electric Company. It is claimed that Pinkertons were constantly on the heels of the boys faking up evidence against them. Their wives and relatives were also dogged. Of course the boys have earned the hatred of the big capitalists because of their activity in many western strikes. The detectives claim the boys carried enough nitroglycerin to blow up the whole city, but even they were able to produce only some fulminate caps, which they had undoubtedly procured themselves. We hope our California friends will unite to demand a fair trial for our friends and that they may soon return to their work in the Army of Socialism.

Prizes for Pictures.—The REVIEW will hereafter give a \$3.00 prize each month for the best photograph sent us, which we are able to use in the REVIEW. For all other photographs used we will send free one of our dollar books, the REVIEW one year, or two 50c books.

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